WORKERS VANGUARD

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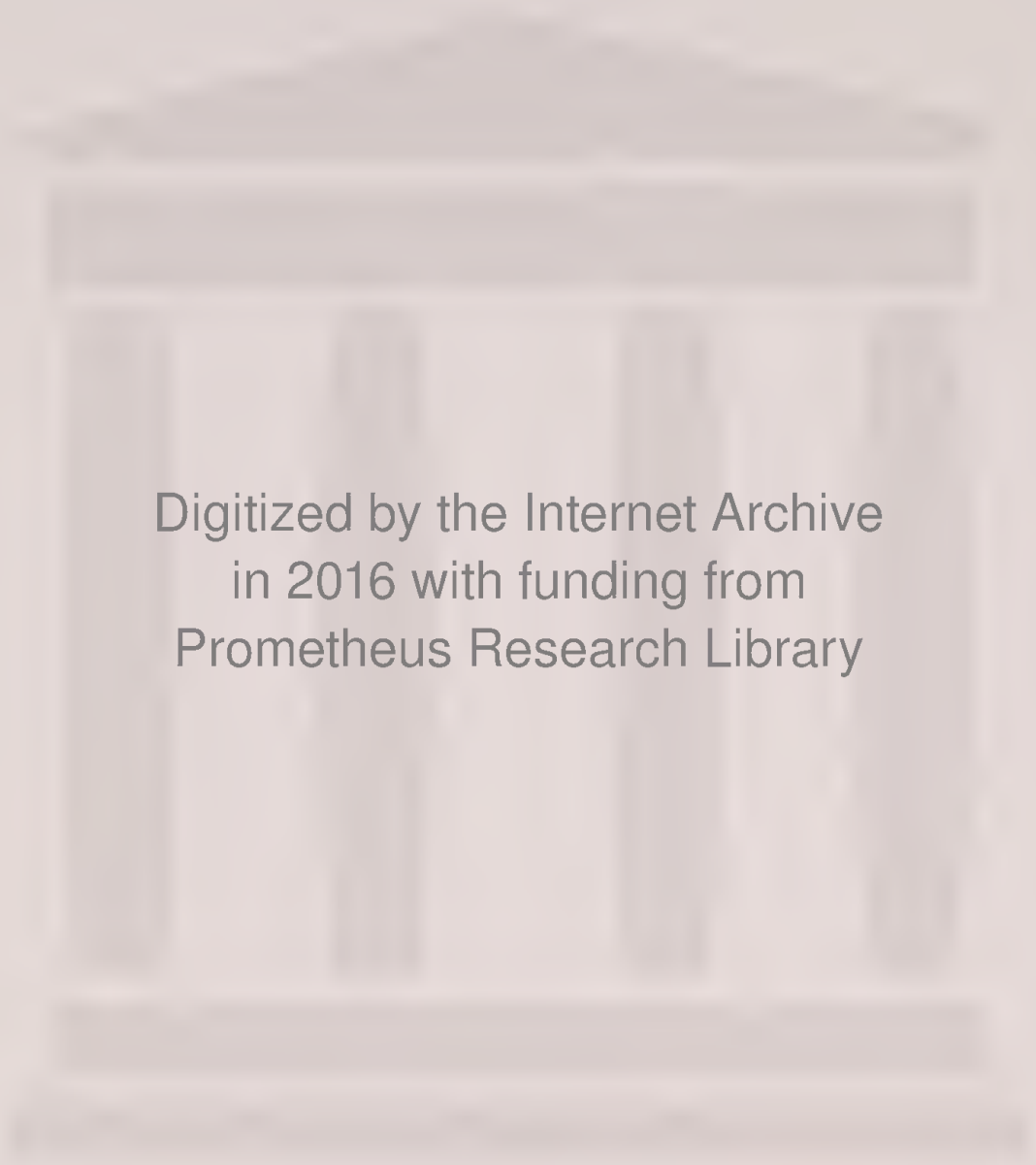
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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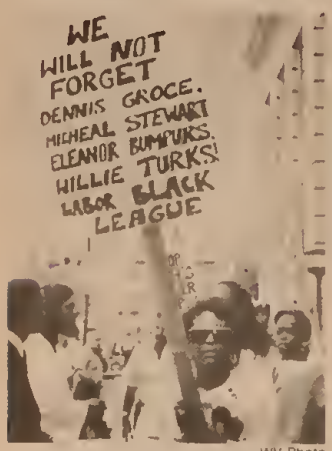
No. 419

9 January 1987



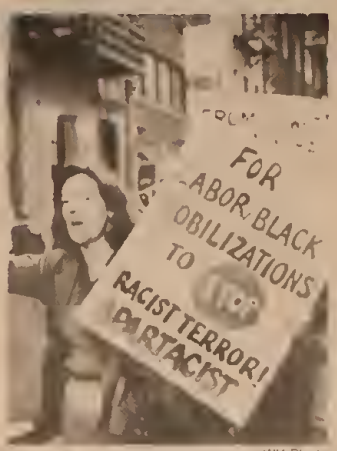
WV Photo

Spartacist League and NY Labor Black League protest Koch's racist killer cops, September 1986.

Gun Control Kills Blacks!

Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!

Spartacist League Statement



WV Photo

October 1985: SL protests South Africa's execution of anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise.

DECEMBER 26—Last weekend the racist punks that roam the Howard Beach section of Queens went on a bloody rampage. A gang of a dozen punks, screaming racist epithets and wielding baseball bats and sticks, savagely beat three black men, killing 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith, driving him into the path of an oncoming car. Three hours earlier in neighboring Ozone Park another racist gang attacked two Hispanic youths. And only a half-hour after and one block away from the earlier assault in Howard Beach, two carloads of bat-wielding thugs beat up a white fireman after trying to run him over. Assaulted along with Michael Griffith was his stepfather and coworker Cedric Sandiford, who told *Newsday* (22 December): "It was like a lynch mob. Like something that would happen in the days of slavery."

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Lynching in NYC

New York City is at the flash point. Michael Griffith, a young black construction worker, was murdered by a racist lynch mob; now his two surviving companions are getting a lynching by the courts, the media and the racist politicians, while the murderers go free. Howard Beach, a white ethnic enclave in Queens, has become synonymous with the racist terror inflicted on minorities in Reagan's America. For years, Mayor Koch and his killer cops have whipped up the bigots with their wanton, murderous attacks on minorities. And now the machinery of state—D.A., judge, mayor, governor—is proving once again that there is no justice for black people in this racist system.

Just after midnight December 20 in Howard Beach, a racist pack set upon the three black men who had walked into the 98 percent white neighborhood after their car broke down. They were brutally beaten leaving a pizza parlor. Timothy Grimes managed to escape. The other two were hounded past nativity scenes and trapped at the fence along the Shore Parkway where they were clubbed with bats and a tree limb. Cedric Sandiford, 36, survived by feigning unconsciousness. But 23-year-old Griffith was chased onto the parkway where he was struck by an onrushing car and killed.

The working people of this city must share the grief and anger of the family of Michael Griffith at this wanton racist killing. Representatives of the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee attended the funeral services in solidarity.

After the pumped-up punks killed Griffith they cruised the neighborhood boasting of their crime. When the cops finally got around to picking up the lynch mob, the murderers "showed no remorse," even admitting they were out to kill. Koch and the media insist that "the community" is not to blame. But as three of the killers were led off to be hooked, a crowd outside the Ozone Park/Howard Beach stationhouse cheered. The next weekend, as black preachers and politicians called a march to the pizza parlor, hundreds of white racists turned out to taunt the marchers. It was entrenched Northern-style segregation that fueled this murderous rampage. When the protesters chanted, "Howard Beach, have you heard, this is not Johannesburg," the mob responded "Bullshit!"

After first comparing the Howard Beach murder to a racial lynching, now Koch is leading the lynch mob. So when Griffith's stepfather and coworker Sandiford denounced the official handling of the case and refused to testify for the "prosecution," Koch obscenely called this refusal "another type of hit and run operation." According to *Newsday* (31 December 1986), on the MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour, "Koch said the refusal by Sandiford to cooperate was perhaps worse than the attack itself"! The victims are now being pilloried, along with their lawyers. Koch's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward denounced Sandiford's attorney Alton Maddox, claiming he was looking for a fat fee in a future civil suit.

The Spartacist League responded to the atrocity in Howard Beach with a leaflet (see above) demanding: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" Our call, reprinted (with some excisions) in the *Black American* (1 January), urged the formation of "*integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women*" to patrol the streets where Griffith was attacked and killed. NYC transit militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU issued a leaflet noting, "If Michael Griffith had a gun at least he might be alive today. But he might also be in jail. The anti-gun laws are killing black people." The CFTWU called for "a caravan of flatbed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads, to patrol Howard Beach to ensure that this neighborhood is safe for *all* working people." A similar call was raised at the December 29 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union by a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus.

MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

UPI

New York Times

Mob of racist thugs in Howard Beach.

Legal Lynching

The legal persecution of the black victims began as soon as the racist mob was finished with its deadly work. At a January 3 press conference in Harlem, Cedric Sandiford described what happened when the cops arrived. "When they took me off the highway, they were telling me about a crime committed in Queens. I was trying to tell them about the beating the mob was giving us and the death of Michael Griffith but no one seemed to care anything about it. All they were concerned with was some robbery. After taking me to where Michael was killed, they took off my coat and searched me.... At that time nobody offered any medical attention to me. I was bleeding in my head, my eyes and my legs and back were swollen and severely beaten. I stood out there for

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Racist Terror U.S.A.

SEE PAGE SIX

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Black Militant Ed Poindexter!

Ed Poindexter was framed up and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1971, following an explosion which killed an Omaha, Nebraska cop. As former leaders of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, a successor organization of the Black Panther Party, Ed and David Rice were targets of the racist COINTELPRO conspiracy to destroy the Panthers and their supporters. Since June, both Poindexter and Rice have been among the class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends.

Ed was able to transfer to a prison in Minnesota to further his education, and is working on a master's degree in management of instructional systems, while also writing movie scripts. He recently sent us a profile of himself which appeared in the Lincoln, Nebraska *Star-Journal*. Now 41 years old, Ed has spent more than 15 years in prison and meets the Nebraska Board of Parole requirements for their recommending commutation of sentence. But as he told reporter John Barrette in the newspaper interview, "I don't see it as an easy undertaking to get out. It's hard for me to imagine them keeping me beyond 20 years, but I could be in beyond that."

The article had this to say about Poindexter:

> "Poindexter said it took time to reach a crossroads in prison....
>
> "[After four years in prison including some time in the hole] 'I tried to stop being so bitter.'
>
> "What followed for Poindexter was an intense analysis and exploration of the world's religious and psychological disciplines and a survey of knowledge in a range of subjects....
>
> "'I no longer subscribe personally to any particular religion, but recognize the beauty in all of them as well as the commonalities they all share,' he said...
>
> "He spent six years in the service where, he said, he encountered racism despite an initial desire to make the Army a career. He left the Army and returned to Omaha, where he became an active leader in the struggle for civil rights."

Poindexter was convicted on the testimony of 15-year-old Duane Peak, who admitted placing the bomb and calling police to the scene.

> "'I'm in here for trying to do something for society,' Poindexter said. He said he doesn't blame others, but doesn't absolve them either. 'I got involved in a situation that I should not have got involved in,' he said. 'It was my associations...rather than anything that I did do or conspired to do.'
>
> "'...Regardless what the jury decided, the trial records reveal that I'm innocent,' he said. 'And, even if I were guilty, I have already served the sentence'....
>
> "Poindexter said a statement that echoes in his mind was made by Fidel Castro after Castro seized power in Cuba. It was that revolution isn't just to fashion a new society. 'He said, "not only to create a new society but to create a new man."' Poindexter said.... 'Of course, Cuba's a long way from that, you know.'
>
> "Poindexter said society may appear to have moved on to a new agenda since the 1960s, but underlying problems remain.
>
> "'It's not just a racist society,' he said. 'It's a class society. Where you find a racial problem, you'll also find something just as serious on a level that has nothing to do with race. Class against class. Capitalist interest versus the people'."

When the PDC asked Ed if there was a holiday gift he would like, he told us he had depleted his funds to buy an electronic keyboard for a friend's 10-year-old daughter. We sent Ed $50 to help pay for this generous gift.

Prison walls have not stopped Ed Poindexter's activities on behalf of others. As he stated in the early years of imprisonment, "There have been many times during my stay here at this camp that I have helped others whose philosophy of life was different than mine. Nevertheless, I helped them, as I felt it to be my duty to help those in need if it was in my capacity to do so."

Committee to Free Rice/Poindexter

Ed Poindexter

It is the duty of the workers movement to fight for Ed Poindexter's immediate freedom. It is criminal for this class-war prisoner to spend another day behind bars. Free Ed Poindexter Now!

• • •

MOVE member Ramona Africa told us last week she has been denied parole for her "unwillingness to comply with special condition of parole that you not associate with the MOVE organization in any way...." The Board told Ramona her case will not be reviewed again until October 1987. Protest this outrage! Send telegrams to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 N. Front Street, Harrisburg, PA 17110.

• • •

The PDC holiday fund appeal has raised over $400, receiving contributions from three continents. This has enabled us to send additional monies to class-war prisoners and holiday gifts to their family and friends.

• • •

The PDC has published the third issue of our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, featuring updates on class-war prisoners. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send your donation and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Marx and Trotsky on the Pen and the Sword

The common evolved adage holds that "The pen is mightier than the sword." But in contrasting the revolutionary tradition of Oliver Cromwell to the parliamentary cretinism that saturates British reformism, Trotsky noted:

> Nevertheless, it was Cromwell who paved the way for the parliamentary and democratic methods of the two succeeding centuries. In revenge for Cromwell's execution of Charles I, Charles II had Cromwell's body suspended on a gibbet. But no Restoration could reestablish the pre-Cromwellian society. The work of Cromwell could not be liquidated by the predatory legislation of the Restoration. For the pen can never eradicate that which has been written by the sword. This reversal of the popular proverb is much more correct, particularly when we speak of the axe of revolution.
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

The dialectical relationship between the common adage and the converse stated by Trotsky was succinctly put by Marx:

> The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.
>
> —Karl Marx, Introduction to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (1844)

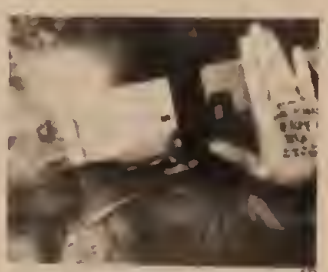
Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli technician whose revelation of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal made headlines around the world, is in Israel facing a possible death sentence on charges of aiding an enemy in wartime, "aggravated espionage" and disclosing state secrets. All court proceedings are being held in strict secrecy as the case of "Attorney General vs. X." If Vanunu is sentenced to death, it would be the first legal execution in Israel since Eichmann! The Partisan Defense Committee has called for an urgent international campaign of protest and publicity around this case. A PDC telegram to the Israeli embassy in Washington demands that Mordechai Vanunu be freed and that the charges against him be dropped.

Employed for ten years as a technician in Israel's Dimona nuclear power plant, Vanunu disclosed to Rupert Murdoch's London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) that the Dimona facility is actually a plutonium factory which has enabled Israel to become the world's sixth largest nuclear power. Before Vanunu's revelations, it was widely believed that Israel had a nuclear arsenal of perhaps 15 to 20 warheads. His disclosure of an Israeli nuclear force of *100 to 200* bombs created a sensation internationally. As we noted in *WV* No. 416 (21 November 1986):

> "A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play.... Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?... Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III."

Vanunu disappeared from London on September 30, shortly after being interviewed by the British newspaper. On November 9 Jerusalem confirmed that he was under detention in Israel but refused to say how he had been captured. Appearing in public briefly after a court hearing on December 21, Vanunu dramatically flashed before photographers a message written on his hand, revealing that he was hijacked September 30 in Rome after taking a British Airways flight from London. While the Israelis (along with their American financiers) routinely flout the sovereignty of other countries, the virtual certainty that the Mossad (Israeli CIA) violated British and/or Italian sovereignty in seizing Vanunu has caused diplomatic embarrassment for the Israeli government at a time when it is, among other things, trying strenuously to woo the Vatican.



AP

Mordechai Vanunu exposes Mossad kidnapping.

A nuclear arsenal of the size described by Vanunu means that Israel has a bigger target than the likes of Syria in mind. Israel is suspected of providing nuclear weapons technology to racist South Africa. (Pretoria is presently expanding its military facilities on Marion Island, permitting it to test nuclear

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 419 **9 January 1987**

Terrorism and Imperialism

Athens
20.9.'86

Letter to "Workers Vanguard"
On Terrorism

"Workers Vanguard" in an article "Who Bombed the Berlin Disco" asked the question did Libya truly take part in an "act of terrorism" or was it a fabrication made by the USA so it could be used as a *pretext* for the invasion of Libya. To anyone who does not take Reagan's word for granted, it is clear as daylight that they who bombed the Berlin disco *also* bombed Libya.

What appears peculiar is that numerous so-called "terrorist attacks" all over the world have occurred (Italian Akile Laure cruiser, Vienna, Rome, Athens airports, countless TWA flights, recent Paris explosions etc.) and hardly no-one has pointed their finger at the CIA, the world's greatest terrorist? Why? Everyone from the right to the so-called revolutionary left has condemned terrorism. In almost every European country Parliaments have voted in "anti-terrorist" laws where anyone labelled a "terrorist" by the capitalist state will be dealt with severely.

In the late 50's and 60's we had the "communist threat," in the late 70's and 80's we have the "terrorist threat" to Western capitalism. The aim of these attacks is to *ally* everyone behind the capitalist state machine in its struggle against "terrorism."

"Senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terror" is what you called the attack in Pakistan and Turkey. Like most people "Workers Vanguard" believes that they who organised them *are not the CIA* but so-called "terrorists" of a Libyan or Arab descent. In *any event*, your position is reminiscent of Healy's who in Britain whenever the IRA *did* bomb unarmed civilians always condemned them in the most chauvinistic manner as "Trotskyism is against individual terror"(!) forgetting one main thing that the Irish *are at war* (and have been for hundreds of years) with British imperialism. During a war of liberation casualties will exist. Or do we distinguish the "superior" British casualties from the Irish ones?

Have the readers of Workers Vanguard ever asked the question why in Reagan's America no "terrorists" exist, when they exist in every other European country. Why is Reagan attacking the population with anti-homosexual laws, anti-pornographic and anti-drug laws. Isn't this the American version of the European anti-terrorist laws.

American capitalism in its death agony is trying to return to the past epoch of direct colonial rule (Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua are examples) using as a pretext manufactured by the CIA terrorist attacks. The Berlin disco raid is the clearest example of all.

Fraternally,
J. Lucas

WV replies: Brother Lucas, who seems to have considerable familiarity with our press, attempts to ascribe to us positions which are the polar opposite of those we hold. U.S. imperialism is the world's biggest terrorist, as we have said and substantiated time and time again. We have insisted that the manufactured hysteria over "international terrorism" is designed to whip up public support in the U.S. and West Europe for the war drive against the Soviet Union and for domestic repression against the left and minorities. Lucas suggests that *WV* blamed the Libyans for the Berlin disco bombing. In fact, our article in *WV* No. 402 (25 April 1986) presented substantial evidence implicating fascist groups in the atrocity, noted that the bombing was "oh-so-convenient for the Americans" and observed that the disco, patronized by American black GIs and Turkish immigrant workers, was a very unlikely target for Qaddafi in any case. In the wake of Reagan's first attack on

AP

Jet

Mother holds photo of son, GI Kenneth Ford, killed in criminal bombing of Berlin's La Belle disco. Reagan blamed Qaddafi; WV said "Reagan's story stinks."

Libya last March, we sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to underline our anti-imperialist solidarity against the barbaric American attack.

More recently, in response to the Paris bombings which have been exploited to whip up anti-immigrant sentiment, we again asked, who benefits? We listed as suspects the French secret service, fascist groups, the CIA and the Israeli Mossad. And we wrote that the bombings "can only strengthen French ties to Israel and the U.S. in the name of 'anti-terrorism,' the code word for the anti-Soviet war drive in the Mediterranean" ("Criminal Terror Bombings in Paris," *WV* No. 412, 26 September 1986).

However, the CIA is not the only terrorist organization on the face of the planet. Brother Lucas partly denies and partly *defends* indiscriminate terrorism against civilian populations carried out in the name of "wars of liberation."

It is a fact that petty-bourgeois nationalists claiming to speak for the oppressed have been known to engage in indiscriminate mass terror. To deny it is just silly. We consider such acts to be crimes against the people. For example: George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine publicly took "credit" for the 1972 massacre at Israel's Lod airport, killing innocent Israeli civilians and others, including 13 Puerto Rican Baptist pilgrims. Known Palestinian militants associated with the Arafat wing of the PLO carried out the stupid and criminal hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship last year, killing an elderly American Jew. Lebanese Shi'ites seized an American TWA airliner in June 1985 and wantonly murdered a U.S. Navy diver. Such actions are not only crimes from the standpoint of elementary socialist morality but also play into the hands of the most rabid, bloodthirsty chauvinists, including those with state power, like Reagan and Zionist war criminal Ariel Sharon.

We take indignant exception to being compared by Brother Lucas to Gerry Healy and his gang of political whores, who as is well known will support anything if the price is right, as for example when they supported anti-Communist state terror in Iraq by justifying a mass execution of members of the Iraqi CP, which has historically had a base among the militant oil workers. Yes, Healy does capitulate to British chauvinism against the Irish, but not because he condemns the IRA for its policy of individual terrorism, whether carried out in Northern Ireland or England. Healy has refused to agitate for British troops out of Ireland, refused to actively defend IRA militants against British state repression, and refused to distinguish between symbols of British imperialism—like Lord Mounthatten, blown to smithereens aboard his yacht in 1979—and people who just happened to be in the wrong pub at the wrong time.

Brother Lucas, however, defends precisely the Irish nationalists' indefensible acts of terrorism. As Leninists, we understand that the chauvinism of the oppressed must be distinguished from the chauvinism of the oppressor, but we know also that in all nationalism lurks the appetite for genocide of the "enemy" people. There is absolutely no common ground between Marxists and nationalist terrorists who believe that all those of the "wrong" nationality, race or religion simply deserve to die, and that those who fraternize with them do too. In the

McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

Terrorism USA: Pensacola, Florida abortion clinic bombing, Christmas 1984.

Irish nationalists' 1974 bombings of two pubs in Birmingham, 21 people were killed, including two Irish Catholic brothers and two West Indian blacks.

Of such actions, Brother Lucas writes:

> "...the Irish *are at war* (and have been for hundreds of years) with British imperialism. During a war of liberation casualties will exist. Or do we distinguish the 'superior' British casualties from the Irish ones?"

No, we distinguish the British ruling class and its armed forces from the working people of Britain! Brother Lucas here seems to accept the ideological premise of a Winston Churchill or Margaret Thatcher which identifies British imperialism with the entire British people.

What a despairing perspective, to redefine a "war" as something that can go on for hundreds of years! In fact, even when there is a war and imperialist military forces are involved, revolutionists seek where feasible to fraternize with soldiers of the enemy, appealing to their class solidarity and urging them to oppose their own rulers. In Nazi-occupied France, for example, the Stalinists often assassinated individual German soldiers, many of whom were the sons of Communist or social-democratic parents. This terrorism could only strengthen the hold of Nazism on the young conscripts of the German army. The French Trotskyists sought to organize underground cells among German "workers in uniform," putting forth the perspective of destroying Hitler's Third Reich from within through proletarian revolution.

Moreover, Brother Lucas' argument on Irish terrorism and permanent "war" is transparent sophistry. He observes that wars sometimes involve civilian casualties, as if the pub patrons are like some old wino who falls asleep too near an air force base and gets killed in a bombing raid. What does the death of an unfortunate as the by-product of a military act have to do with a cold-blooded atrocity like a pub bombing whose sole purpose is the death of civilian victims? By Lucas' logic, *anything* that is done to the members of the Protestant community by an Irish Catholic can be defined as a justifiable political act on behalf of the oppressed. We reject this view absolutely.

Proletarian morality is not an abstract moral question, either. The practice of indiscriminate terrorism drives a wedge between "the boys" and the people, eroding their base of support and sympathy. Even where it does not drive the people into the arms of "law and order" and other reactionary forces, it makes "politics" into a dirty word, thereby impeding the development of mass struggles and completing the circle of demoralization that allows the "heroic" terrorists to portray themselves as the only game in town. Moreover, indefensible terrorism corrodes and corrupts the "militant" forces themselves, and history from Ireland to Sri Lanka shows that it's only a short step to fratricidal turf warfare where "the boys" are killing each other.

We should also inform Brother Lucas that there is indeed terrorism inside Reagan's America, from the bombings of abortion clinics by "right-to-life" bigots to the gas-grenade attack by the fascistic Jewish Defense League on a performance by a Soviet dance company. Puerto Rican nationalists took "credit" for the bombing of the Fraunces Tavern in New York. The KKK and Nazis, with the collusion of the state, shot down five anti-fascist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. Last year a Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver was murdered by neo-Nazis. And the firebombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, in which eleven people were killed, five of them young children, is a signature of the Reagan years. When Brother Lucas says that terrorists don't exist in America, we can only suggest that he has been reading too much U.S. imperialist propaganda. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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TWU: Fight for the Right to Strike!

Rejection of the strike weapon by the misleaders of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 has emboldened the New York City Transit Authority bosses and capitalist politicians. Transit workers face job cuts, deadly unsafe working conditions and union-busting assaults on the seniority system. We reprint below a leaflet published by the class-struggle Committee for a Fighting TWU.

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

On December 11, [TWU] Local 100 President Sonny Hall agreed to co-sponsor legislation that would slash 1,300 union jobs and further tighten the no-strike noose. A binding arbitration panel will now dictate the conditions of labor exploitation in New York City transit. And what is the crumb that is falling off the banquet table for Hall? A seat on the MTA Board! There are no limits to betrayal for the ratfink bureaucrats of the Sonny Hall gang. For years they have been telling us the way to fight the no-strike Taylor Law is to give to COPE and give a vote to "friends of labor" Democrats, like Cuomo who saddled us with union-busters [Transit Authority bosses] Kiley and Gunn, or like Reaganite [Senator] D'Amato. Now we see the depth of the lies and hypocrisy.

The union bureaucrats' sabotage and sellout of the powerful 1980 transit strike is still serving the interests of labor's enemies. Since then we have seen the steady erosion of long-established working conditions and the rights of labor. Everything from safety to job security to seniority rights is under attack by management. Their main weapons are the Taylor Law and compulsory arbitration; their main allies are the class-collaborators of the Sonny Hall gang.

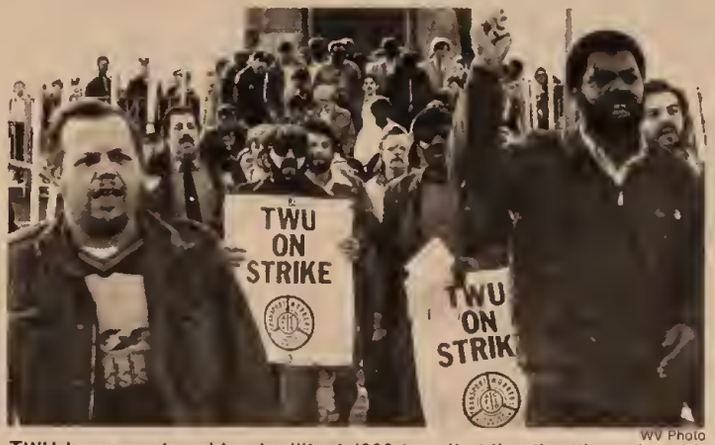
The main target of the TA's union-busting drive is the seniority structure. For the vast majority of transit workers, management is unilaterally abolishing seniority rights as our only defense against day-to-day discrimination and favoritism—a blatant violation of the contract. Unless the principle of seniority prevails, the bosses will slice this union to pieces. In this deeply racist society, management violates seniority to whip up racial and ethnic hostility among the workers. A divided workforce is a defeated workforce.

At the present time there are a number of seniority grievances being held up in the arbitration quagmire. Some of these, like the one from the 207th St. Shop Test Lab, concern daily job pick by seniority shape-up. Management knows they will probably lose this grievance based on past practice so they are postponing arbitration while they try to blackmail this small gang into dropping their grievance by taking away their seniority shape-up. It is criminal for the Sonny Hall bunch to isolate such workers in the front lines of the fight for seniority rights, letting them take the full brunt of the TA's attack.

The defense of seniority is a union-wide issue and requires a union-wide fight, up to and including strike action, to win this and similar grievances. Sonny Hall, Organizer Tony Corona, and 207th Shop Chairman Arnold Cherry should have *their names* on these vital grievances and prepare the membership for strike action. What we get instead is Hall's endorsement of that piece of union-busting legislation up in Albany!

The Kiley, Hall, Cuomo scheme to slash 1,300 jobs and cut and discontinue many bus routes is in addition to the many jobs already lost to outside, low-wage contractors. Daily intimidation and threats by management are making life intolerable for transit workers. We have heard from several sources that Line Supervisors are instructed, *as policy*, to violate contractual working agreements and to suspend any workers who object. The TA does not care if it wins or "loses" these discipline cases in arbitration. Back pay is accepted by management as a small price to pay for an atmosphere of fear and intimidation on the job.

Railroad Safety Board and OSHA [federal job safety agency] regulations, never adequate, are now gutted by the Reagan administration, giving the green light to the TA to throw "safety first" out the window. On the job accidents are up sharply. From January to October of this year the burn unit of New York Hospital was virtually monopolized by a stream of transit workers with serious 3rd rail burns. Injured workers are afraid to report many accidents because it means an immediate drug test and possible suspension. Management's disregard for safety has deadly consequences. In January 1984 six workers in the Coney Island Shop floor gang were rendered unconscious and hospitalized by fumes from SKIDO flooring compound; all these workers suffered intense headaches, nausea, dizziness and chest pains. One of them, CMA Jimmy Stark, 41 years old and father of three, was never able to work again. After nearly three years of increasingly intense headaches, nausea, and agony Brother Jimmy Stark, *poisoned by the Transit Authority*, died of brain seizure in November.



WV Photo

TWU bureaucrats sold out militant 1980 transit strike, throttle ranks with the bosses' laws.

For a Fighting TWU! Abolish the Dues Checkoff!

In a fighting union, system-wide *elected* Stewards would collect the dues and have the power to stop the work immediately when management violates the contract. But any Steward system or grievance procedure is meaningless unless the strike weapon can be wielded.

continued on page 10

Expropriate the Shipowners!

NMU SOS

United States Lines, the oldest and once largest American shipping company, has filed for bankruptcy, threatening the demise of the National Maritime Union (NMU). U.S. Lines is only the last of many shipping companies to collapse over a 15-year period. The shipowners have been on the government gravy train, receiving millions in government subsidies over the years, while seamen have gotten a screw job. Seamen aboard U.S. Lines vessels in foreign ports spent Christmas under virtual arrest, as their ships were seized by creditors. When they finally got paid off, they found out there were no vacation benefits—amounting to half their pay, in many instances several thousand dollars. Union pension and welfare plans are threatened.

The merchant marine, like railroads, is essential to an industrial economy. The Founding Fathers recognized its importance: Thomas Jefferson sent naval frigates to the Barbary Coast to defend merchant shipping against pirates demanding tribute. What is involved here is not a particular capitalist loser, like the Chrysler bankruptcy several years ago. No one makes money out of merchant ships. Even the largest Japanese shipping line has gone broke. Seamen must demand: Nationalization of the merchant marine, *without compensation for the shipowners*, under full union wages and union control of the hiring hall, including the right to strike! As the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained:

> "The socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case during the present transitional period hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (1938)

But the groveling NMU bureaucrats have always subordinated the interests of seamen to company profits. Thus, union officials turned over a half million dollars of NMU funds to the bosses in an ill-fated scheme to bring out a laid-up U.S. Line passenger ship. And at the December union meeting in New York, the officials asserted that they would continue to "aid and abet" U.S. Lines. The NMU tops, who used to back the anti-labor Democrats, went for union-buster Reagan in 1980 in the hopes that he would throw them some crumbs from his anti-Soviet war buildup. But as Reagan has made clear, the only ships he's interested in building are those owned and operated by the Navy.

As opposed to the bureaucrats' concessions to the bosses and chauvinist calls to throw foreign seamen off U.S.-owned ships, the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) appeals for a class-struggle fight internationally. The M-SC laid out the situation in their newsletter, *The Beacon* (29 December):

> "But seamen can't fight this battle alone. The only way out is to link up with the rest of labor and take on the entire decrepit capitalist system—the cause of the economic crisis in the steel, auto, textile as well as shipping and other industries. Such a link-up would organize the entire working class and all the oppressed through a workers party (big business controls the Democrats and Republicans) and could replace the bosses' government with a workers government and replace the chaos of a capitalist economy with a planned centralized economy producing for people's use and needs—not profits. This is what the Russian workers built in the Soviet Union and why it is the greatest victory labor ever had. This is the only way to end racial and ethnic hostility within the labor movement to end racism and flag-waving protectionism. While the U.S. merchant marine is sinking, even [NMU president] Shannon Wall had to admit that '...The Russians are out buying new merchant vessels from the West...' and that the 'Soviet Modernization Program Aims to Replace 70% of Fleet by 1995' (October *NMU Pilot*, p. 3)....
>
> "Joint militant labor action is what built the labor movement, like the tie-up of the S.S. *California* or the Flint auto sit-down strikes—not empty union merger proposals for bureaucratic maneuvers. Our officials' grovelling to the companies breeds anti-unionism within our own membership. Opportunists as well as well-meaning, misguided members are threatening to sue the union again. The bosses' courts should never be allowed into the labor movement! Real union unity for labor strength is built through battle action against the bosses!" ■

WV Photo

U.S. merchant marine goes down the tubes. U.S. Lines ships laid up at Manhattan pier.

Returning Sakharov

Jasmin/Gamma-Liaison

Reagan's favorite Soviet "dissident" Andrei Sakharov comes out against Star Wars.

For over a decade Andrei Sakharov has been Western imperialism's most prized and praised Soviet "dissident." And for good reason. He has repeatedly called on the capitalist world to use economic and political blackmail against the USSR. This man, who played a key role in developing the Soviet H-bomb, has repeatedly encouraged NATO militarists to build up their nuclear arsenal. Far more respectable and influential than the crazed Slavic chauvinist and tsarist Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov's has been the most strident Russian voice in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. In 1984, after he publicly endorsed Reagan's drive for nuclear first-strike capability, we called for Sakharov and his accomplice and wife, Yelena Bonner, to be tried as traitors to the Soviet Union and the heritage of the October Revolution.

Gorbachev seems to have found another way. The new Soviet leader did an end run around the prominent pro-imperialist dissident by lifting his internal exile at Gorky and pardoning Bonner, earlier convicted of anti-Soviet activity. Gorbachev, who spoke with Sakharov personally by phone, may actually have turned him with honor—that is, away from his patrons in Washington. Back in Moscow and speaking on American TV, Sakharov, while reading a list of nine political prisoners he wanted freed, declared, "I have great respect for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev," and took a shot at Reagan's Star Wars plans: "I think that a potential enemy with highly developed technology can always find a means to overcome the space defenses, and it is much easier and cheaper."

"Has Sakharov sold out?" asked columnist Lars-Erik Nelson (*Washington Post*, 2 January). No doubt the White House is feeling betrayed by their favorite Soviet dissident, though these days they have rather more pressing things to worry about. So now maybe Sakharov will tell Ms. Bonner to keep her mouth shut. (When she went to Boston in 1985, after an international hullabaloo over her need for advanced medical treatment for cancer, the doctors asked her why she didn't stop smoking five packs of cigarettes a day. "She appears to smoke more than the entire city of Pittsburgh," said one.)

The Traitors Sakharov at Gorky

When in December 1979 the Soviet army intervened in Afghanistan to crush the CIA-backed counterrevolution of mullahs, landlords, tribalists and bandits, U.S. imperialism went ape. Jimmy Carter slapped a grain embargo on Russia, pulled the U.S. team out of the

Turnley/Newsweek

Mikhail Gorbachev

Moscow Olympics and openly threatened military action against the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. Sakharov not only endorsed these policies but called for even stronger Western actions on behalf of the Afghan contras, Islamic fundamentalists who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls how to read. For this Sakharov was hailed in the West as a great champion of "human rights."

That provocation finally caused the Kremlin tops to send Sakharov off to internal exile in Gorky. This did not, however, stop his anti-Soviet agitation. He kept up a barrage of articles, letters and messages which Bonner delivered to the American embassy in Moscow and to the Western media. In the summer of 1983 he published an open letter in the prestigious U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs* advocating the development of the MX missile and the deployment of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in West Europe. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation," he wrote, "then perhaps this is what the West must do." Thus, Sakharov lined up with the Reaganite warmongers against not only the Soviet Union but also against the bulk of American liberals and West European social democrats. Lars-Erik Nelson now admits that "Sakharov's letter was close to treason."

Despite this the Kremlin rulers treated him with kid gloves. He and Bonner lived at a level far above the average Soviet worker or collective farmer. There could be no question of allowing Sakharov to emigrate to the West. As father of the Soviet H-bomb, Sakharov possesses intimate knowledge of Soviet military defenses which has not necessarily decayed over time. And given his oft-stated political loyalties, he would certainly have blabbed everything he knew when face to face with the CIA on "free world" soil. Concluding our article "Try the Traitors Sakharov!" (*WV* No. 356, 8 June 1984), we suggested a "modest proposal": that Sakharov might be traded for the father of the American H-bomb, Edward Teller. Today Sakharov himself recognizes emigration to the West "is impossible because of my secret work" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1986).

Sakharov and the Soviet Bureaucracy

For now, Sakharov seems willing to play the role of loyal opposition to Gorbachev, whose reforms he welcomes. At his Moscow press conference he stated: "I think a great change for the better is taking place in the area of openness.... I am glad we have these changes, but I think they should go deeper." Gorbachev has appealed to Sakharov to resume "doing patriotic work," and the liberal London *Guardian* (24 December 1986) speculates: "What Gorbachev seems to be banking on is the hope that, in the dissidents of the Brezhnev era, Gorbachev may have found a kind of loyal opposition."

In Stalin's day the only loyal opposition was a corpse, and Sakharov would simply have been shot the first time he opened his mouth. But Stalinism, a system of bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property, is not synonymous with the person of Joseph Stalin. He was a truly evil man, a paranoid psychopath who killed millions of people, including Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms and the cream of Russia's communists. It has taken over three decades for the Soviet Union to get in Gorbachev a Stalinist not personally tainted by Stalin's bloody reign.

Nonetheless, the Kremlin bureaucracy remains profoundly hostile to workers democracy and fearful of genuine proletarian justice. We strongly condemn the Stalinist practice of depriving dissidents, oppositionists and émigrés of their Soviet citizenship. If they are deemed guilty of crimes, they should be so charged and given a fair, public trial. By resorting to administrative measures like denying opponents their citizenship, the bureaucracy shows its contempt of Soviet legality and distrust of the masses.

Fearing Trotsky's still considerable

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KAL Pilots Knew

Ronald Reagan has shot himself in the foot over the Iran/contra affair, but the American media are doing their best to contain the damage. The word's still mum on the most sinister and dangerous Reaganite covert operation: the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 spy plane provocation, where 200-plus innocent passengers were sacrificed in an insane penetration of Soviet airspace on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983. Seymour Hersh's recent book, "*The Target Is Destroyed*" (1986) was intended as the definitive whitewash on the subject, laying to rest all "conspiracy theories" (see our critique, "The Spectre of KAL 007," *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986). But outside the U.S., sane people everywhere see a White House connection in the 007 affair.

And now the closest thing to an eyewitness—indeed, most likely an accomplice in the operation—has shot down Hersh. Y.M. Park, captain of KAL Flight 015 which took off from Anchorage 14 minutes behind Flight 007, has broken a three-year silence to give an interview in the December issue of the South Korean monthly *Chosun*. Just before Captain Park was scheduled to testify two years ago in the court suit brought by relatives of the victims against the U.S. government, he suddenly resigned from KAL and refused to talk. But after having read an abridged translation of Hersh's book, Park evidently felt compelled to come forward to "remedy misunderstandings" (*New York Times*, 28 December 1986).

Park dismisses Hersh's "accident" theory that Flight 007's captain Chun had incorrectly inserted a shortcut into the plane's computer navigation system to save fuel as "a laughable conjecture." In answer to Hersh's supposition that Chun had left the cockpit for some five hours to talk to passengers—and hence was not present in the cockpit to notice numerous instrument warnings that the plane was drastically off course—Park reports, according to the *Times* account, a radio exchange with Captain Chun "almost three hours into the flight.... about the time Flight 007 entered Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula." So Chun was *in the cockpit* at the crucial moment. Park also says that when he asked Chun why 007 was falling behind schedule, "Captain Chun's answer was short and hasty. He seemed to be hiding something and in trepidation."

Park offers his own laughable theory for all this, namely that Chun had discovered a navigational error but concern for loss of face and fear of "severe punishment" by KAL led him to continue flying through Soviet airspace—at risk of getting shot down! Park has some more explaining to do: he was the one who relayed Chun's obligatory (and false) position reports back to Anchorage when 007 flew out of direct radio range of Alaska ground control. Park had to know that Chun's reports were not only alarmingly late but also inaccurate. In short, the evidence suggests Park was an accomplice in the plan. It would not have been the first military mission for the two men: Chun was junior officer under Park when they were in the South Korean air force.

Other evidence has surfaced indicating that the KAL pilots knew. Back in 1984, attorney Melvin Belli, who represented several relatives in the disaster, revealed that the widows of the pilot and co-pilot of KAL 007 told him that their husbands were frequently paid to penetrate Soviet airspace. Another lawyer told the *Nation* (17 August 1985) that Captain Chun's widow said her husband "had told her Flight 007 was an especially dangerous mission." And speaking to a packed house at Brown University last November 11, retired State Department officer John Keppel revealed a South Korean press report that Chun's wife had taken out a supplementary insurance policy on her husband's life, worth about $36,000, before Chun boarded Flight 007 for the final fatal flight.

Shortly afterward, a referendum at Brown on impeaching President Reagan came within a few votes of passing. In addition to Washington's anti-Qaddafi disinformation campaign, the revelations over the captured American mercenary Hasenfus and the World Court verdict against the U.S. for mining Nicaragua's harbors (all

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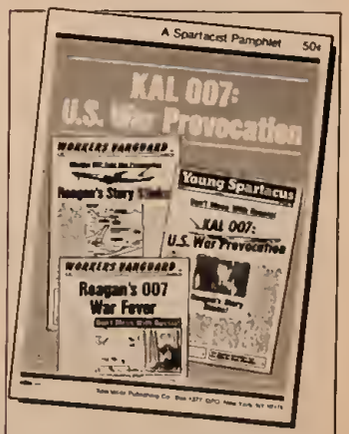

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Terror U.S.A.

Klan foments race war in Chicago's Marquette Park.

Southwest News-Herald

Eva Stimson

KKK scum stage provocation in Raleigh, North Carolina.

The white lynch mob in Howard Beach, Queens which savagely beat three black men, killing 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith, threw a spotlight on the wave of terror against minorities across Reagan's America. When racist NYC mayor Koch compared this hideous murder to a lynching in the Deep South, it was official recognition of the fact they can no longer cover up—across America the lynchers and cross-burners are riding high. "It's open season on blacks," said LeRoy Thomas, executive editor of the Chicago *Defender*. White ethnic mobs in New York, racist riots on campuses, at least 60 KKK marches last year in North Carolina alone, trigger-happy cops gunning down minorities in the streets—and they're all taking their cue from the top. The rollback of busing, voting rights and all integration laws, together with vicious cutbacks of services to the ghettos and the grotesque government bombing of the Philly MOVE commune—these are the Reagan administration's "message" to black America.

The frenzy of racist reaction has been particularly ominous on the campuses. At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, hundreds of stampeding whites set upon a handful of blacks after the Mets beat the Red Sox in the World Series. Next door at Smith College, one of the elite "Seven Sisters" schools, menacing slogans scrawled on campus buildings say, "Niggers, spics and chinks, quit complaining and get out." At the University of Texas, the "Aryan Collegiates" vow to rid the campus of "outspoken minorities," while graffitti on the walls at Ohio State call on whites to "Get Out Your 22s" against black students. At a Charleston, South Carolina military academy left over from the days of slavery, white-robed cross-burners terrorized black cadet Kevin Nesmith (see "KKK Terror at The Citadel," *WV* No. 418, 19 December 1986).

WV Photo

November 1982: SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C.

It's racist terror, U.S.A., in white sheets and blue uniforms. In the Los Angeles area, Huntington Park and Huntington Beach cops imitating New York City's 106th Precinct (which includes Howard Beach) have gone on a spree of torturing minority youth with 50,000-volt stun guns: four cases reported in the last month. In San Diego last November, a black man arrested allegedly for walking his dog without a license was paraded through the streets on a rope by a mounted cop. In Oakland, the black community is outraged over a new round of racist cop attacks. Last spring, in separate incidents, two black women, phone worker Virlee Berry and community activist Denise Gums, were stopped for traffic "infractions," yanked out of their cars and brutally worked over by the cops. In September, two white Alameda County sheriff's deputies burned a cross in the cell of a black inmate. That same month, black youths Karlos Hill and Edwin Smith, Jr., were shot and killed by Berkeley and Oakland cops, respectively.

This reign of terror extends beyond the inner city ghettos. Louisiana sheriff Harry Lee issued an apartheid-style order to automatically stop blacks driving in "white" areas of Jefferson Parish outside New Orleans. On December 13 in Tampa, Florida, Mets superstar pitcher Dwight Gooden was driving his silver Mercedes home from a basketball game when he was pulled over by the cops and beaten bloody with fists, nightsticks and Mag-Lites. Gooden, who was born and raised in Tampa, said the police "were laying for me," and that one cop jammed a .38 revolver into his neck. "Hit his arm. Hurt it. End his career," yelled the cops while calling him "nigger." "Dwight Gooden was beaten because he was driving an expensive car," wrote black columnist Tony Brown. And at Amherst, when they brought in black Mets player Mookie Wilson and a white Red Sox player for a "unity" rally to cool out the tense campus, racist punks booed Wilson.

It's not only blacks who are targeted. In June 1982, a 23-year-old Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a white auto plant foreman and his stepson, who mistook Chin for a Japanese and blamed him for auto layoffs. Four years later, the killers are still free: last September, a federal appeals court overturned the murder conviction of the foreman on a technicality. Faced with mass outrage from Asian Americans across the country, the U.S. announced it would retry the case. This was protectionist murder: the auto bosses and chauvinist union tops had whipped up a poisonous atmosphere as the city was plastered with signs, "Send 'em back to Japan," and the UAW sponsored bash-ins of foreign cars.

Trade war and imperialist war mean racist terror at home. Soon after the movie *Rambo* opened in Boston in May 1985, a group of Southie whites attacked three Vietnamese. The macho flick quickly became the cult picture for racist hoodlums, who repeatedly sat through the 96 minutes of Sly Stallone killing Russians and Vietnamese and yearned to be a "Rambo Man." On Memorial Day, a white gang with lead pipes in East Boston put a Cambodian teenager in the hospital. This was followed by a series of assaults on Asians in the Boston area, culminating in August in the Revere Beach beating of Cambodian Bun Vong, who went into a coma and died ten days later. With their taunts of "Kill the gooks!" and "Cambo-Rambo," these white ethnics are acting out the revenge fantasies of their rulers who were humiliated by the heroic peasants and workers of Vietnam.

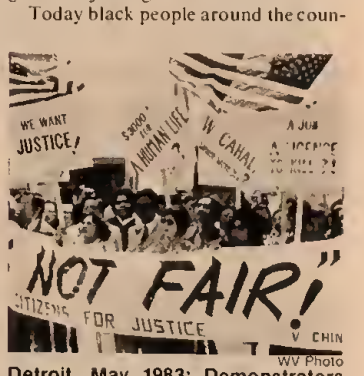
"There is this steady drumbeat from this administration," says NAACP chief Benjamin Hooks, an ominous "national mood" being whipped up against blacks. What he's hearing is the beat of war drums, as the administration whips the country into war frenzy against the Soviet "evil empire" and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya. Reagan's rape of Grenada is their idea of "standing tall," as white GIs with their M-16s stomped around the tiny black Caribbean island. But the Reagan years really began under Democrat Carter who undertook the post-Vietnam War buildup and campaigned in Cleveland in 1976 saying that neighborhoods had the right to preserve "ethnic purity." It was under Carter—and with the aid of the FBI, ATF, state and local cops—that KKK/Nazi terrorists gunned down five leftists, labor organizers and civil rights workers in the 1979 Greensboro massacre.

In 1980 and 1984 the Klan campaigned for Reagan, and was rewarded by the media and politicians who sought to make these racist killers "respectable." *Newsweek* (29 September 1986) "jokingly" quoted KKK Imperial Wizard James Farrands about having "to do the cross lightings and everything" himself, while the *New York Times* ran an obscene feature on the Connecticut Kluxer and the rising price of hooded robes. And as the burning crosses lit a fiery swath of terror North and South, racists hurned down anti-apartheid shanties in Baltimore and firebombed the homes of black and Hispanic families who dared to move into Chicago's Southwest Side. But the decent people of this country are revolted by this racist filth. In the last year, the KKK was driven out of Atlanta, Georgia and the college town of Radford, Virginia as hundreds mobilized to protect their communities against the fascist killers.

Even in Boston, where busing had been defeated by racist mobs in the streets (with the connivance of Democrats in Congress), the hooded racehaters were run out of town in October 1982. The showdown came in Washington, D.C. that November, when the KKK vowed to parade in the nation's capital for the first time since 1925. The Spartacist League initiated a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan which won the support of scores of unions and labor officials, bringing out 5,000 predominantly black workers and youth who stopped the Kluxers before they started. While the Reagan administration and Democratic Party mayor Barry called out their cops to protect the lynchers' "right" to terrorize the 70 percent black city, other black Democrats and their reformist flunkies tried to divert black anger with cheese handouts and gabfests. But to no avail, as red and black power took the streets of Washington that day.

The key to smashing fascist terror is revolutionary leadership, mobilizing the power of labor at the head of the oppressed. A class-struggle integrated workers party must be forged in the fight to unchain the black masses from the parties of the racist oppressors, whether Republican Reagan or Democrat Koch. And that requires a political fight against the black overseers of America's cities, like Wilson Goode who bombed Philly MOVE, as well as demagogues such as Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan who with their "black capitalist" schemes and anti-Semitic ravings oppose integrated struggle while joining hands with the KKK.

Today black people around the country are bitterly lamenting the total absence of any leadership prepared to defend the ghetto masses against racist attack. The nativist fascist killers will not be moved or removed by pray-ins, pizza eat-ins or pizza boycotts, or appeals to the racist Democratic Party of American capitalism. Just as it took a second American revolution—the Civil War—to do away with slavery, labor/black mobilization must serve as a springboard to socialist revolution to smash the racist terrorists and achieve genuine emancipation for all the exploited and oppressed. ■



WV Photo

Detroit, May 1983: Demonstrators protest murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin. Protectionist frenzy fuels anti-Asian terror.

NYC Lynching...

(continued from page 1)

three and one-half hours before they removed the body from the ground and after that I went back to the police station"—i.e., to the 106th Precinct, notorious for using stun guns to torture blacks.

Of the eleven suspects brought in, only three were held, charged with second degree murder, manslaughter and assault. Instead of going to a grand jury for an indictment, Queens district attorney Santucci gave away all his evidence to the press and the killers' lawyers, while ignoring the confessions he has in hand. And on December 29, Criminal Court Judge Ernest Bianchi threw out all charges except reckless endangerment. Outraged blacks in the gallery stood up and shouted "Injustice!" and "Disgrace!" Bianchi ordered the cops to push them out, screaming, "Shut out all the loudmouths before I hold them in contempt." Bianchi blamed the victims for his dropping the charges: "Mr. Sandiford is a Negro, a black man who did not come to testify."

They didn't need his testimony, either to get an indictment or to simply hold them for a grand jury. The cops *know* who killed Michael Griffith because the killers *bragged about it*. Jon Lester, 17, told detectives that after seeing the black men in the New Park pizzeria, he rushed to a friend's birthday party and shouted, "Hey, there's some niggers in the pizza parlor! Let's go kill them!" A dozen or more whites in three cars raced back to the restaurant. Sandiford says that cops in a patrol car from the 106th Precinct saw the mob gathering but drove off without doing anything. With a green light from the cops, the killers went to work. Lester fought with another white over a baseball bat because he "wanted a piece of the action." He said he was "not going to give up anybody. I am going to be a capo" in the Mafia. (Cosa Nostra boss John Gotti is a Howard Beach resident.) But today Lester is a free man.

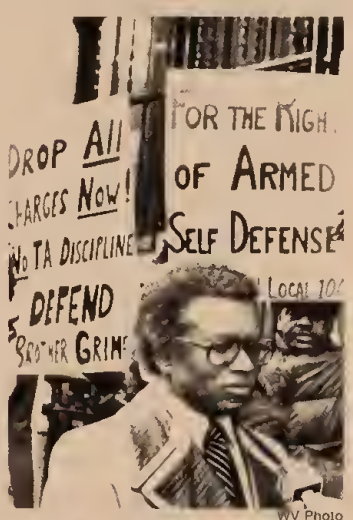
The cops ignored Sandiford's charge that the car which killed Griffith was among those in the original chase. Dominick Blum, a cop in family court and the driver of the car which killed Griffith, claims he stopped after the impact but saw nothing, and believing he had hit a tire or an animal, proceeded to drive his girlfriend home. His car's hood and left side were damaged and the windshield was shattered, and one of the gang members said he saw Griffith's body thrown 20 feet in the air. Moreover, Blum returned to the scene of Griffith's death later, accompanied by his father, another cop, in a different, undamaged car. He was not given a breathalyzer test nor even questioned at the scene. At the very least, Blum left the scene of an accident—yet he has not been charged with *anything*.

Sandiford's attorney Maddox commented, "Given the outcome of the Willie Turks case where you had a dead body and no murder conviction, it is clear that whenever white people murder a Black man this city is unprepared to prosecute a white mob on murder charges" (*Daily Challenge*, 22 December 1986). So Queens D.A. Santucci, Judge Bianchi, Mayor Koch, NY State special prosecutor Hynes and the entire establishment media joined in a chorus claiming Sandiford, Grimes and Maddox "must now bear a heavy share of responsibility for the reverberating tensions" (*New York Times*, 30 December 1986). Whatever Maddox and Mason's reasoning in keeping Sandiford off the stand, their strategy is based on pressuring the state or federal government to take over the case. The idea that they'll get a better shake from Reagan/Meese is grotesque. And Governor Cuomo has joined the Dixiecrats, denouncing Koch for comparing the murder to a Southern lynching: on the eve of a pre-presidential campaign swing through the South, Cuomo said, "this is too sensitive an issue for that kind of rhetoric" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 4 January).

Class War or Race War

As a predominantly black protest moved into the Howard Beach area on December 27, someone in the white crowds lining the sidewalks shouted, "Here come the animals!" This gutter racism echoes that of Reaganite New York Senator Alphonse D'Amato who justified voting against a housing project saying, "We didn't do too well with the animal vote, did we?" (*New York Times*, 12 October 1986). Koch's Democratic predecessor Abe Beame referred to widespread looting in Brooklyn during the 1977 blackout as the work of "animals." And it is Koch more than anyone in this city who has created the climate in which racist attacks are now daily occurrences. In the last election Koch got 85 percent of the vote in Howard Beach, but when the mayor visited a Roman Catholic church December 28 he was met with shouts of "go home!" and "go to a synagogue!" As Malcolm X used to say, "The chickens have come home to roost."

Lily-white and heavily Italian Howard Beach is surrounded by parkways, Jamaica Bay and JFK Airport serving as a virtual moat to keep out blacks. To ensure "safety," local householders pay $220 a year to maintain a private security force. A local racist was frank: "If Whoopi Goldberg came into this neighborhood she'd be killed" (*Newsweek*, 5 January). When the NAACP, clergymen, and liberal and reformist organizations held a "prayerful observance" in this bastion of white racism December 27, it was an experience of humiliation, degradation and terror. Hundreds of racists itching for blood lined the streets screaming epithets and drowning out the demonstrators. The march was "protected" by the cops of the 106th stun-gun Precinct. One black remarked: "What was really scary is that if these groups [of racist punks roaming Howard Beach] would have come, they could have closed all 1,500 folk in there and had a field day."



WV Photo

Mobilizations by militant TWUers spearheaded successful defense of subway clerk James Grimes.

In the face of this orgy of racism, the city stands at the brink. Lacking any leadership capable of mobilizing to *crush the lynchers*, clots of enraged black youth have responded by assaulting isolated whites. On December 23, two dozen black teenagers shouting "Howard Beach! Howard Beach!" chased, punched and kicked Jeffrey McCarthy, a white youth, in Jamaica, Queens. Unlike the lynching in Howard Beach, black passers-by came to McCarthy's rescue. In another case in Jamaica, a black family gave a white victim refuge in their home. Meanwhile, New York is degenerating into an all-sided ugly meanness. On New Year's Eve, a woman was pushed from an upper-story hotel window, a French tourist was stabbed to death and an off-duty cop was shot in the neck by teen rowdies at Penn Station.

WV Photo

Cedric Sandiford (center), survivor of Howard Beach racist attack, with attorneys Alton Maddox (right), C. Vernon Mason (left).

And as the city slides toward race war, Hispanics have been taking it from both whites and blacks. The same night as the Griffith lynching, racist thugs in Ozone Park attacked two Latino youths. A week later, light-skinned John Santiago was assaulted with bats and sticks by ten blacks shouting "Howard Beach!" in the East New York section of Brooklyn. When Santiago started speaking Spanish, one of the assailants reportedly said, "Leave him alone, he's not white." Another replied, "he looks white," and the beating continued. In the Belmont section of the Bronx there has been a wave of assaults on Puerto Ricans by Italian gangs. And there is the constant police harassment: on December 27, three Hispanic women were beaten and jailed by transit cops in the Bronx when they came to the aid of a friend who was robbed on the IRT and then seized by the police while the muggers escaped.

In New York City's black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, Koch's venal and brutal police are universally hated. So when outlaw Larry Davis, who plugged six cops and got away, was able to negotiate his surrender last month after evading a massive police manhunt for 17 days, dozens of tenants in the Bronx housing project leaned out of the windows chanting, "Lar-ry! Lar-ry!" He became a folk hero, known on the streets as the "dude that elude." Claude Brown, author of *Manchild in the Promised Land*, the autobiographical account of growing up in Harlem, explained:

> "The white police department has been intimidating the black community—think of Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart—and all of a sudden here comes Larry Davis the avenging angel It's like, 'We finally won one'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 2 January

And meanwhile the courts and cops are using gun control laws to keep decent citizens helpless in the face of racist mob terror. As the Committee for a Fighting TWU stated: "The Democratic Party and the liberal left are exploiting the Goetz case in order to strengthen the anti-gun laws.... The racist right-wingers also used the Goetz case for their own ends to inflame vigilantism."

For a Multiracial Class-Struggle Workers Party!

In the face of this horrendous lynching in New York City and the seething anger of the black population, the black leaders have shown their utter bankruptcy. "Establishment" pols like Floyd Flake and Charles Rangel obediently trooped to City Hall to praise the mayor's handling of events. The suddenly respectable Rev. Herbert Daughtry held a private meeting with the mayor six weeks ago and is now calling on *Koch* to head up a task force on racial higotry! This call was echoed by none other than Jesse Jackson, who said that the city's Number One Bigot displayed "aggressive leadership to combat an incident that would have become worse" (*New York Post*, 31 December 1986). And the Rev. Al Sharpton has gone from vigilante attacks on Arab storeowners in Harlem (for selling "drug paraphernalia") to a pizza eat-in in Howard Beach.

And what is the program of the lawyers Maddox and C. Vernon Mason? At a January 3 press conference they talked grandly of a new movement for black "empowerment." But in the concrete all they had to offer was anti-Italian demagogy (calling for a boycott of pizza parlors) and reliance on the racist Democrats (Mason ran for Manhattan D.A. in the Democratic primary). While such stunts seem merely absurd ("How in God's name does a pizza pie jump up and run you over?" one kid commented), ultimately it leads to another Crown Heights, where in 1978 Daughtry diverted angry black protests against the police killing of black businessman Arthur Miller into pogromist marches on a Hassidic synagogue. As if to prove this point the January 3 white-exclusionist Abyssinian Baptist Church meeting was laced with anti-Semitic rhetoric, and heard

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Spartacist Forum

Racist Lynching in Howard Beach

For Labor/Black Defense To Stop Racist Attacks!

Speakers:

Ed Kartsen
Spartacist League Central Committee
NY Labor Black League for Social Defense
1985 Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President

Marjorie Stamberg
Spartacist League Central Committee
1985 Spartacist candidate for Mayor

Richard Dundy
Partisan Defense Committee,
New York representative

Friday, January 23, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41 Auditorium, 116 W. 11th St. (at 6th Ave.)

For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Stop Racist Attacks...

(continued from page 1)

DeLucia NY Times

July 1983: Angry black residents chase racist Koch out of cop brutality hearings in Harlem.

In Reagan's America and Koch's New York lynch-mob terror is on the rise, as even the *New York Times* was compelled to editorialize. The *Times* praised Koch's "rightful anger" and the "appropriate urgency" of his racists in blue after the racist terror in Howard Beach. But it is racist pig Koch who inflames the white, ethnic middle-class backlash. As his egomaniacal biography brags, "hizzoner" really gets off on closing down West Harlem's only hospital, Sydenham, and trying to break the 1980 transit strike. It was Koch's SWAT team cop Stephen Sullivan who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with two shotgun blasts in her Bronx apartment because she was two months behind in her rent, while his Uncle Tom police commissioner Ward exonerated Sullivan's brutal murder as "within departmental guidelines."

Koch and his ghoulish coroner Dr. Gross covered up the racist murder of black artist and son of a retired transit worker Michael Stewart at the hands of the transit cops in Union Square. From the cop murder of 81-year-old Dennis Groce in the vestibule of his own apartment building, to the systematic stun-gun torture of black youth in the 106th Precinct, Koch's racist killers in blue have been given license to kill.

Blacks and other minorities, all decent people in this city, share the deep grief and bitterness of the Griffith family over the brutal racist murder of Michael Griffith. We are fed up with racist terror, in and out of uniform. Koch is Reagan reaction in New York City, and he has driven this city to the brink of race war. From Trump Tower to Wall Street, the swindlers who rule NYC are afraid the lynch-mob murder of Michael Griffith might push it over the edge. So they got the big-mouth bigot of Gracie Mansion to denounce the "racial lynching" in Howard Beach. That's about as sincere as Reagan denouncing the diversion of Iran arms money to the contras. Queens D.A. Santucci dredged up three likely suspects from the sewers of south Queens and slapped them with second-degree murder charges.

But working people in New York remember the similar lynch-mob murder of Willie Turks and the beating of two fellow workers in 1982, only blocks from their Coney Island shop in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. The most any of the killers of Brother Turks got was a slap on the wrist from Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman. And every single one of those racist thugs are back on the street, free to kill again. Yet liberal Democrat Holtzman subjected black token-booth clerk James Grimes to a four-month "legal" lynching for defending his life (and transit funds) from armed muggers. Gun control is killing black people in this city, ensuring that the racist thugs and the killers in blue are armed to the teeth while decent working people remain defenseless. If Willie Turks and Michael Griffith had been armed, they would be alive today. No reliance on Koch's "injustice" system, which turns loose the racist killers of Willie Turks, and tries to jail a courageous black worker like James Grimes!

Across the country large cities are run by Democrats, frequently black, who are front men for Reagan reaction. In NYC the black Democratic Party politicians and preachers have rushed in to contain the flood of anger over Michael Griffith's murder. Led by Rev. Al Sharpton, they held a December 22 "eat-in" at the pizzeria in Howard Beach where the lynch-mob assault began. Relying on the "protection" of stun-gun cops from the 106th Precinct and the sinister Guardian Angels, the black ministers and a handful of supporters at the pizzeria were subjected to threats and humiliating taunts. Such dangerous stunts, preaching reliance on Koch's racist cops, will only embolden the racist scum and leave blacks defenseless from racist and fascist terror. Similarly, the liberal left's call for the hoax of a "democratic civilian review board" to "control" the racists in blue is a *diversion* meant to channel the outrage over Michael Griffith's murder into empty schemes to "reform" Koch's cossacks. It will mean *more* black victims on the streets of New York. The lawyer for the Griffith family has already charged the Queens D.A. and the 106th Precinct with a cover-up of the full extent of the racist crime while the press has put the surviving victims on trial.

What is needed *now* is a powerful mobilization of labor and minorities on the streets of Howard Beach. Let those racist scum try and take on thousands of integrated transit workers, hospital workers and city workers patrolling Cross Bay Boulevard on flatbed trucks. Then the racist punks with their Mussolini T-shirts will get a taste of what their hero got. In 1982, following the murder of Willie Turks, the Spartacist League supported the call of militants in the TWU to provide such a defense against racist terror in the streets of Gravesend. But it was sabotaged by the TWU tops, who seek to keep the integrated power of the labor movement in the chains of their masters in the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party. The absence of that labor power to smash racist terror leaves blacks and other minorities defenseless, and prey to the deadly schemes of nationalist and anti-Semitic demagogues like Farrakhan and Herbert Daughtry. *For integrated armed workers defense guards, drawn from responsible union men and women!*

In 1985 at a forum in solidarity with the victims of the hideous racist massacre in Philadelphia of the MOVE organization, Ed Kartsen, SL candidate for Manhattan Borough President, called for the kind of integrated labor power that must be mobilized against the racist terror in Howard Beach: "We stand ready at all times to mobilize our strength in united actions against racist terror. The mass power of organized labor, black militants, once broken from the Democratic Party in mass actions, will constitute the kind of invincible force that will avenge the Philly bombing. Legal lynchings must be met with revolutionary class justice.... United actions mobilizing the power of organized labor and minority organizations must be brought to bear to smash racist terrorism.... We have to move forward to a mass labor/minority party that can lead the working class to seize power in order to end racist terrorism once and for all."

—NY Spartacist League

WV Photo

Brooklyn Supreme Court, 20 July 1983—Militant transit workers demand union action to defend blacks, following lynch-mob murder of union brother Willie Turks.

NYC Lynching...

(continued from page 7)

greetings from Hitler-lover and KKK ally Louis Farrakhan, *the man who wanted Malcolm X dead.*

Discussing the December 27 preachers-and-politicians march in Howard Beach on WLIB radio, talk show host Gary Byrd noted the similarity to the kind of racism Martin Luther King encountered in Chicago and the show's guest remarked, "Yes, Cicero, Illinois, that area is pretty rough and that's what it reminded me of." It was precisely in the lily-white Chicago suburb of Cicero, in 1966, that the civil rights movement was killed, and the white backlash won its first major victory. King and the pro-Democratic Party civil rights movement had won victories over Jim Crow discrimination in the South in alliance with sections of the state. But in the North they ran aground on the economic bedrock of racism in America because they lacked a program for a revolutionary fight for equality and social integration against capitalism.

What is urgently needed is to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities, who are the majority of the New York City population, with the social power of the organized labor movement, particularly the heavily black and Latin municipal unions. Speaking at a protest meeting in Brooklyn on December 30, Gene Herson, a class-struggle oppositionist in the National Maritime Union, pointed out:

> "They're talking about swapping police precincts because of the Crack crackdown. What are they going to do, swap the [Howard Beach/Ozone Park] stun-gun precinct with the Union Square precinct, the cops who killed Michael Stewart? Or with the SWAT team that killed Eleanor Bumpurs?... The murderers of Willie Turks are free on the street. The murderers of Griffith are free on the street. The courts are part and parcel of the racist, capitalist system. That's no answer and I don't want to hear about appeals to the mayor or the governor or other politicians. The only answer is the integrated, powerful force of the unions in this country. And in New York, the TWU in particular is a heavily black union which is a cornerstone of city labor. What we need is one or two thousand union defense squads on the streets, on flatbed trucks, going through Howard Beach and other areas, because you've got to command respect. And that's the only way: make a show of force. And the unions can be in the forefront of that."

In this deeply racist country black emancipation has always been the measure of general social progress, and racist terror is the cutting edge of social reaction. Every civil right and social gain we cherish has been won through hard, often bloody, integrated struggle, from the abolitionists in the Union Army in the Civil War and Reconstruction to the industrial union movement during the Great Depression. During World War II, as hundreds of thousands of blacks flooded into the industrial North, there were racist riots in Detroit where white thugs and police murdered 26 blacks. The then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party proclaimed:

> "The hoodlums and hooligans who are today assailing the Negroes are training themselves for other acts of violence. Tomorrow or the day after they can be unleashed by the Fords, Wilsons, and Chryslers as storm troops and strikebreakers against the unions themselves. Workers, take warning! This is how fascist gangs were formed and fascism arose in Europe and crushed the labor movement. Do not permit them to take root here.... Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow workers menaced by the mobs. The various local unions should maintain order and clear their respective territories of anti-Negro, antilabor gangs."
>
> —*Militant*, 3 July 1943

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League continue the struggle for labor/black defense today. While murderous mobs and Koch's killer cops wreak racist terror in the streets, and black Democratic demagogues feed into this orgy of racism with their ethnic appeals, we stand for united struggle against the capitalist oppressor: *For class war, not race war!* Counterposed to the dead ends of liberal integrationism and black separatism, the road to social progress is the road of revolutionary integrationism, of the liberation of oppressed minorities in an egalitarian socialist society. Forging a multiracial vanguard workers party is the key to building a society where Jim Crow segregation and the lynch rope are but bitter memories of a barbaric past. ■

Stop Execution of Indonesian Communists!

SYDNEY, Australia, December 17—Today some 25 people took part in a militant picket at Garuda Indonesian Airways, the Indonesian national airline, to protest against the threatened execution of leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) planned by the blood-drenched Suharto dictatorship. The protest was called at short notice by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency, in response to reports that seven political prisoners held in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, were to be executed by the end of the month and possibly before Christmas.

Chanting "Stop the executions of Indonesian Communists!" and "Free Indonesian Communists! Free all class-war prisoners!" the spirited picket attracted much attention from passers-by, including several Indonesians. Calling for urgent action by the Australian and international labour movement to save PKI prisoners from the military firing squads, demonstrators chanted, "Union action must be the weapon, against Suharto's bloody repression!" A protest telegram from the Partisan Defense Committee of the U.S. was read out.

The seven in imminent danger are among between 16 and 33 political

New York Times

Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia.

prisoners remaining under death sentences imposed in the wake of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath in which Suharto came to power in 1965, and who have spent most of two decades in prison. They include four PKI leaders:

Australasian Spartacist

Emergency picket called by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.

• Ruslan Wijayasastra, 69, former deputy chairman of SOBSI, the All-Indonesia Federation of Trade Unions, which numbered 3 million members in 1965.

• Sukatno, 56, secretary-general of the PKI youth organisation Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth).

• Asep Suryaman, 61, and Iskander Subekti, 64, PKI Central Committee members. The other three are non-Communist military personnel charged with involvement in the abortive "September 30 Movement" coup of middle-ranking officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the pretext for Suharto's takeover. In addition, over 200 political prisoners from 1965, including many women, remain in prison.

A key demand of the Spartacist demonstration was "Avenge the 1965 massacre—for workers revolution!" In the orgy of mass slaughter unleashed by the military in the last months of 1965, at least half a million and probably many more members and supporters of the PKI and its unions, peasant, women's, youth, student and cultural organisations, as well as the Chinese minority, died. The annihilation of the largest Communist party outside the USSR and China, in this strategically central country of Southeast Asia, was a historic defeat for the international proletariat and stabilised imperialist domination of the region. Spartacist spokesman Andrew Giannakis told the picket:

> "The bourgeoisie of this country along with its servants in the ALP [Australian Labor Party] bureaucracy breathed a sigh of relief. For years previously they had offered their services to a U.S. imperialist drive to quell the combative Indonesian proletariat via CIA/ASIS [Australian Security Intelligence Service] provocations. The aftermath of the 1965 massacre enabled them to disengage from the Vietnam debacle and embark on a streamlined imperialist push into Asia. Indonesia today is a key anti-Communist bulwark for imperialist anti-Soviet war preparations in this region. It forms a central part of the reactionary ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) alliance directly targeting the Vietnamese workers state as part of the war drive worldwide against the gains of the Russian Revolution. Suharto wants to place the threatened Indonesian Communists on the altar of imperialism's anti-Soviet war frenzy. It is a war drive that the Australian bourgeoisie is four-square behind. They are the self-styled imperialist cops for the U.S. in this region."

Placards at the demonstration read, "Smash ASEAN, U.S.-Australian Alliance! Defend USSR/Vietnam!", "Down with Hawke, Suharto's Anti-Communist Ally, Reagan's Lackey!" and "Stop Australian Military Aid to Indonesia!"

According to Amnesty International, there have been as many official executions in Indonesia in the last three years as in the entire preceding 38! After a long lapse of 13 years, the junta resumed executions of Communists sentenced to death in 1985 with those of SOBSI general secretary Mohammad Munir and three others, followed by a further nine executions in September/October 1986. They are linked to a new campaign of anti-Communist hysteria, including mass sackings [firings] of former PKI members, supporters and even their relatives and children. For example, 1,638 oil workers were sacked and blacklisted by companies including the U.S. giant Caltex for membership in a pre-1965 PKI-led union. Another 900 "ex-PKI" railwaymen are to be dismissed, according to *TAPOL Bulletin* (July 1986).

Why has the butcher Suharto now opted to resume killing members of a party drowned in blood 20 years ago? Part of the reason must be to terrorise anew the Indonesian masses. With the economy in crisis and oil prices falling, revolutionary turmoil next door in the Philippines where another 20-year anti-Communist tyrant has just fallen, and the aging Suharto preparing his succession, the Jakarta generals sit nervously atop a social volcano. And they invariably combine anti-Communism with chauvinist hysteria against the country's significant Chinese minority. Three times in this century the combative Indonesian worker and peasant masses have risen in struggle, at times to the point of posing the question of power. And now, two decades after 1965, a new generation has come on the scene, thirsting for vengeance. Moreover, executing Communists also serves to placate rising Islamic fundamentalist opposition.

This demonstration was especially significant for revolutionaries in racist white Australia, where the ALP has historically poisoned the working class with anti-Asian chauvinism, and the nationalist "left" seems to itch for "democratic" *Australian imperialism* to rescue East Timor and West Papua from their Indonesian invaders. The ruling class is stirring the pot of anti-Indonesian chauvinism because they fear that the crisis in the Philippines has destabilised the region and the regime that follows Suharto in Indonesia may not be so reliable an anti-Communist buffer. One SL placard, "Waterfront Unions: Remember the Black Armada! For Labour Action to Stop the Executions!" recalled the better traditions of the Australian working class—the large-scale black bans [hot-cargoing] of Dutch shipping by dockers and seamen in solidarity with the Indonesian independence struggle from 1945 to 1949. The road to revolution in this white imperialist outpost lies in struggle against racist Labourism, for revolutionary class solidarity with the workers and peasants of Asia, a perspective expressed by the Spartacist slogan, "For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia!"

The 1965 bloodbath can only be avenged by forging a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership that has drawn the lessons of that defeat and the bankruptcy of the PKI's strategy, which the Chinese Maoists backed to the hilt. As Giannakis explained:

> "It was the PKI's alliance with the nationalist bourgeois Sukarno that disarmed the proletariat before the butcher generals and the reactionary Muslim marauders. The Stalinist strategy of class collaborationism/popular front has its history drenched in workers' blood from China and Spain to Indonesia and Chile. Only the proletariat can lead the oppressed masses of the imperialist-dominated countries to working-class revolution. The historic example of the 1917 Russian Revolution remains to this day the inspiration to the oppressed and exploited of the world. The Indonesian masses today need their Bolshevik party." ■

PDC Appeals for International Protests

On December 13, the Partisan Defense Committee issued an urgent appeal, sent to more than 600 individuals, newspapers, civil rights and civil liberties organizations, calling for international protests against the executions of Indonesian Communists. The PDC sent the following telegram to: Indonesia Embassy, 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, and urges others to do the same:

Hands of Indonesian government dripping with workers' blood for more than 20 years. Stop executions of PKI leaders Wijayasastra, Sukatno, Suryaman and Subekti. Demand immediate release of all workers and PKI members imprisoned after government slaughter of one-half million in 1965.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Atlanta, GA 30302

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(617) 492-3928

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Sakharov...

(continued from page 5)

popularity and authority among the advanced workers, in 1929 Stalin had *secretly* and forcibly deported the man who, along with Lenin, led the Bolshevik Revolution. A few years later he stripped Trotsky and his wife, Natalia Sedova, of their Soviet citizenship—a then unprecedented act. And in 1940 Stalin had Trotsky assassinated. Following Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech denouncing some of Stalin's crimes, the Trotskyist movement supported Natalia

AP

1977: Sakharov waves letter from U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

Sedova's call to restore her Soviet citizenship. Insofar as the Soviet Union has modified Stalin's legacy by permitting some emigrants to return, including from the U.S., and regain their Soviet citizenship, the homeland of the October Revolution has reaped a propaganda bonanza while inflicting a stinging indictment on the "Free World."

In the U.S. today we are fighting the government's efforts to deny citizenship to Margaret Randall, an American writer of leftist sympathies who lived for some years in Latin America. The latest newsletter of the Partisan Defense Committee states:

> "Citizenship is an inalienable birthright of the bourgeois revolution. A person may choose to deny his or her citizenship, then decide to take it up again. It is the choice of the individual—not the state. But as the case of Margaret Randall shows, the U.S. government wields the denial of citizenship like an axe, hoping to intimidate all citizens. Even the Soviet Union, which certainly needs to defend itself against a gaggle of U.S. imperialist-inspired 'dissidents,' today denies citizenship as a political reflex. This is contrary to the historic traditions of the Bolshevik Revolution which proclaimed the right of citizenship for all workers living in Russian territory."
>
> —*Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 3, December 1986

Sakharov has represented those elements in the Soviet petty-bourgeois elite who became capitulators to Western imperialism. Now it appears that Gorbachev has rather elegantly levered Sakharov away from his previous role as the pre-eminent Soviet participant in the Western Cold War propaganda machine. But as long as the Soviet Union remains confronted by hostile capitalist powers more economically advanced than itself, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its intellectual periphery will spawn more Sakharovs. The only road to ending the terrible danger of nuclear holocaust is to return to the program of Lenin and Trotsky. Not appeasement of imperialism, but international proletarian revolution to sweep away the bloodsuckers on Wall Street and in the Common Market, and the NATO militarists who serve them. ■

KAL 007...

(continued from page 5)

mentioned in the referendum), another factor which reportedly influenced students was the evidence of a government cover-up in the KAL 007 affair. They had good reason to be worried.

W. Friolo

New York memorial service for KAL 007 victims, 31 August 1986. Families of victims say U.S. government silence "is beginning to resemble a deliberate cover-up."

The U.S.' KAL provocation almost triggered the Reaganites' apocalyptic wet dreams. In his minimal attempt to appear evenhanded, Seymour Hersh revealed some of the dangerous goings-on in the U.S. government and armed forces in the first day or so after the event. "Some senior Air Force and Navy officers in the Pacific...'got emotional,' as one officer recalled, and began formulating actions for retaliation against the Soviet Union, actions 'that could have started World War III'." One officer said an Air Force general asked him to send a falsified intelligence report to the Pentagon to justify U.S. provocations. Six F-15 interceptors and an AWACS electronics surveillance aircraft were ordered to "orbit adjacent to Soviet territory near Sakhalin," and instructed to "take advantage of the situation"—i.e., to provoke an incident.

Back in Washington, National Security Council officer John Lenczowski had gathered a group of conservatives from around the government to plan "military steps":

> "'We wanted action—military action,' one member of the group recalled. 'We discussed everything from attacking Cuba to rolling back the Soviets in Eastern Europe'.... The Lenczowski proposals were appended, at [National Security Adviser] Clark's direction, to the formal NSC options paper on the crisis."
>
> —"*The Target Is Destroyed*"

Only five months earlier, the U.S. Navy had conducted the largest maneuvers since World War II in the North Pacific, during which aircraft carrier *Midway* suddenly went into radio/electronic silence heading toward Soviet territory in the Kuril Islands, and six U.S. Navy jets violated Soviet borders, overflying the island of Zeleny.

KAL 007 was the culmination of a string of U.S. anti-Soviet military provocations. Since then Washington's dangerous policy of nuclear brinkmanship has continued unabated. If Reagan didn't pull the trigger after his KAL 007 war provocation, it was because he felt he wasn't ready. If he doesn't invade Nicaragua today, it's because the powers that be in Washington worry that they don't have the popular support for it. These people sent a civilian airliner to its doom in order to "tickle" Soviet air defenses, risking World War III. Today the Dr. Strangeloves in the White House have been wounded by the Irangate/Contragate flap, but wounded beasts are also dangerous. ■

Vanunu...

(continued from page 2)

weapons in the Indian Antarctic Basin.) An even more sinister danger is Israel's role as the key anti-Soviet ally of U.S. imperialism in the Near East. Israel has already announced it is joining the U.S. in developing "Star Wars" technology with its aim of an anti-Soviet first strike. And those 200 nukes could be intended as a sucker punch from the south, to provoke Moscow into an action that would draw American "retaliation." The Zionist rulers, who have their own ambitions with a bunker mentality to boot, may be preparing to plunge humanity into a thermonuclear holocaust on their own timetable.

French prime minister Chirac recently stated that the Mossad was likely behind the London bomb plot against their own El Al airliner, to create a pretext for war with Syria, Moscow's principal military client in the Near East. Nixon/Kissinger almost launched nuclear war against the Soviet Union over the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Today Israel's arsenal is a nuclear trigger for World War III, in which the entire country would be annihilated within minutes. For the actions of the Zionist warmongers have placed Israel's nuclear arsenal high on the Soviet target list. This is a horrible confirmation of Trotsky's warning that the Zionist project of creating a "Jewish state"—necessarily a garrison state founded on the brutal oppression of another nation, the Palestinians—could only result in a deathtrap for Jews.

Mordechai Vanunu's courageous revelations must serve as a warning to working and oppressed people throughout the world, and not least in Israel, of the urgent necessity to disarm the Zionist nuclear terrorists and their American backers through socialist revolution. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Drop the charges! ■

TWU...

(continued from page 4)

In Sonny Hall and Co.'s union, an individual Steward or gang of workers, no matter how militant and determined, can be isolated by management, left to twist in the wind by the labor traitors, and eventually victimized and driven out of the job or hammered into submission.

Even in the worst of conditions, it is necessary to struggle and possible to win. The James Grimes victory was won through the independent political mobilization of transit workers. A political fight against the pro-capitalist labor sellouts is central to the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the workers movement.

What can be done now:

1) Corner your union officials; demand that the entire union take whatever action is necessary, up to and including strike action to defend seniority rights.
2) Cancel your COPE checkoff, if you have not already; this is buying bullets for our own execution. Labor must break from the Democrats! We need our own workers party to fight for a workers government!
3) Call or write THE COMMITTEE FOR A FIGHTING TWU to set up a meeting to discuss the class-struggle program needed to defend the interests of the working class and all the oppressed.

Reagan, Koch and their TA flunkies are destroying public transportation. The TA scapegoats transit workers to cover for its own incompetence and downright sabotage of the transit system. Reagan is pouring billions into the Star Wars program which is intended to destroy the gains of the Russian workers revolution. He intends to pay for it through destroying social services in this country.

It is insane to think that New York City can function without an efficient, clean, safe transit system. From chemical corrosion due to salt usage in the winter to massive service cuts, it is the TA and the Koch administration that are responsible for the decay of the mass transit system.

Instead of seniority violations, mass victimizations and injury or death through industrial accidents, transit workers united with workers throughout this city must demand that New York be rebuilt for the working people. New York City labor must launch a socialist fight to rebuild the transit system and all public services!

TAKE BACK THE GIVE BACKS!
NO CONTRACT—NO WORK!
UNITED WE CAN WIN!
UNITED WE ARE INVINCIBLE!

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15 December 1986

Spartacist

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As part of our struggle to continue the traditions of V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, outstanding revolutionary Marxists, the Spartacist League will hold a memorial meeting in Oakland, California. No greater tribute can be paid these historic leaders of the proletarian fight for socialism than to commemorate their deaths by propagating the ideas they lived and died for, and to organize the working masses for the mighty battles against capitalism. Forward to the international proletarian revolution!

Sunday, January 18, 4:00 p.m.

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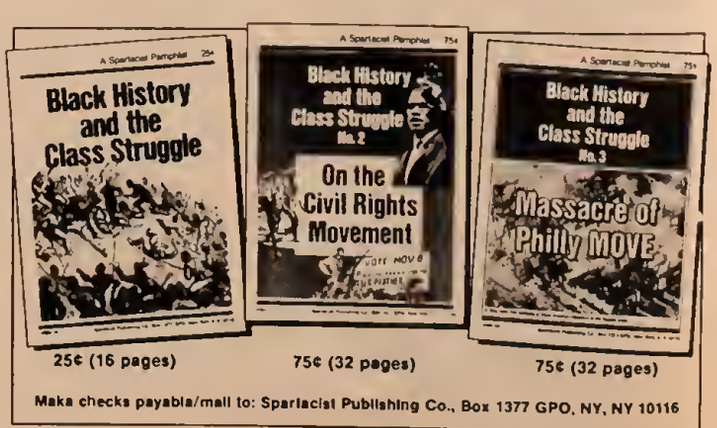

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France...

(continued from page 12)

hureaucrats, but has not created a means to replace them. The movement is not a repeat of the student strike, as many superficial commentators have claimed, but the culmination of a series of hard defensive strikes over the past few years, waged along job category lines, which have frequently bypassed the unions.

After 10 May 1981, when Fiterman was given a back seat in the government as minister of transport, the leadership of the French Communist Party (PCF) and the CGT—which had a stronghold in the SNCF—systematically sought to throttle any strikes against the "left" government. May 1984 was the high point: railroad workers fought back against Fiterman when he introduced measures which attacked working conditions. The CGT leadership sought to stifle this supposedly "minority" movement at all costs. Today, despite verbal opposition to "cohabitation," the Stalinist leadership of the CGT has again opposed the strike in the name of the traditional anti-worker ploy—"the interests of the public." As for the CFDT, it denounced the strike from the start.

Sygma

Striking Peugeot workers, July 1983. Predominantly North African auto workers took the lead in fighting the austerity program of Mitterrand's popular-front government.

For years these social-democratic piecards have been propagandists for "self-managed" austerity.

Real Problems, False Solutions

At least for the moment, the discredited leaderships have lost all authority and control over the SNCF strike. But the workers feel the need to go beyond job category limitations, to centralize the struggle and to counter the maneuvers and compromises of the bureaucratic leaderships. Right now the rail workers have two "national coordinating committees": one, centered on Paris-North, emphatically restricts itself to the engineers; the other, at Paris-Southwest, open to all categories, is influenced by [pseudo-Trotskyist] Lutte Ouvrière. The "engineers" coordinating committee seeks only to pressure the union bureaucrats, leaving negotiations to them, while refusing to go back to work if they come back with anything less than cancellation of the new schedules which abolish promotion by seniority. The other, "provisional," coordinating committee ignores the union leaderships and tries to go around them. Both leave the bureaucrats a free hand to break the strike as soon as they are able to do so.

The tool the railwaymen need to win the strike is a national strike committee, democratically elected and recallable at any time by general assemblies in which the strikers, with full knowledge, can make a majority decision on what strategy to apply. The union leadership would have to seek strikers' votes for their program, and their policy of defending the bourgeois order could be exposed directly to the mobilized workers. The union leadership could be consciously rejected in the heat of action, under the hammer blows of revolutionaries fighting for leadership of the strike committees. That is the only way the bureaucrats' stranglehold on all the workers can be broken.

Krivine's LCR [French section of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat] presented its "perspective" in a 21 December leaflet which called for "popularizing," "extending" (but only to the SNCF) and "organizing and controlling the action" of the strike—three proposals, each more vague than the last, and no means to implement them. Nothing about picket lines or strike committees. The LCR tail on the "left" CFDT bureaucrats has no program but unity of the reformist union apparatuses.

Lutte Ouvrière, for its part, is verbally hostile to the bureaucrats, but its verbiage encourages anti-Communist backwardness. LO is not at all trying to fight and defeat them *politically*, it merely tries to go around them. In fact, LO has no criticism of the bureaucrats except for their absence of "democracy" and lack of combativity. LO is opposed to real picket lines which would stop production. In the Rouen area recently, one of their leaders used Stalinophobic arguments to justify crossing a CGT picket line. LO's calls to extend the strike beyond the SNCF are at best pious hopes, at worst cynicism. At a meeting of the provisional coordinating committee on December 26 a militant obviously associated with LO intervened vehemently against a postal worker who was calling for extending the strike to the PTT [post, telephone and telegraph administration], saying he should shut up and come back when there was a PTT strike.

Victory to the Railway Strike!

On December 24 at the Chambery depot, Chirac sent 150 CRS [paramilitary riot police] up against strikers who were occupying the station and blocking five TGV [high-speed] trains. Facing 100, then 300 strikers, it took the cops three hours to push them back and free up the tracks for the scab trains. That shows the strike can he won if strikers go all out now. Railroad workers should block all traffic by occupying train stations, depots and especially signal centers which control the signal lights. There must be mass picket lines to defend occupied installations against the cops, against scabs organized around the CGC ["union" of managers and small businessmen] into committees to defend the "right to work," and against the threat of fascist groups which are organizing active strike-breakers on the pretext of "defending the consumers."

SNCF workers need the assistance of other sectors of the working class. Militants of the Ligue Trotskyste de France [section of the international Spartacist tendency] who are CGT union members in the postal system distributed a leaflet dated 28 December in various PTT centers calling for solidarity with the rail workers and preparing a strike of the PTT and the civil service. Workers everywhere should instruct their unions to contact the SNCF strikers, their "coordinating committees" and their unions immediately. Mass delegations should be sent to reinforce picket lines in the train stations. Traveling and stationary postal workers in the stations, for example, should immediately join the strike. They should refuse to load mail on trains or any other substitute means of transport. Even before the SNCF strike, sailors were on strike, blocking most French ports in a strike which has an economic impact like that of the SNCF strike. Linking these two transport strikes is a natural. Go out on strike *now*, all government employees together against austerity.

At the same time, the trainmen should build a bridge to the immigrant workers, who represent a key sector of the industry. There is a whole sector of railroad workers without status—temporaries, contract workers and workers of subcontractors employed as laborers and track cleaners. In April 1982 these workers demonstrated under the slogan "Railroad workers, same work, same status." Walkouts spread from Paris-North where there were 200 immigrant workers, mainly Moroccans, among the 900 temporaries and contract workers. The engineers, who are fighting new wage scales which eliminate promotion by seniority (in the future, all promotions will be by "merit"—i.e., according to the bosses' whim!), could draw in *all* temporaries and contract workers—the best response to reactionary propaganda which describes rail workers and functionaries as greedy "well-off" workers. Immediate full status for temporaries! Down with restrictions against foreigners in the civil service! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! For massive reduction in the workweek and massive wage increases! For mass hiring!

It's possible not only to block the social rollback and anti-worker austerity, but to reverse gears, beginning with the public and nationalized sector where anger is high. And if the working class goes on the offensive, strike committees can become real factory committees, organs of workers control, that is, organs of dual power in factories and businesses—embryos of dual power across France, where the government is as unstable as it is reactionary. The necessary precondition is an alternative leadership which wins authority in the labor movement by intransigent struggle for a revolutionary program, the Trotskyist program.

AP

Anti-Soviet strikebreakers: French prime minister Jacques Chirac (left) and "Socialist" president François Mitterrand.

To win, a general strike needs a leadership with an internationalist program. Remember the British miners strike which shook the Thatcher government. That strike gave rise to many demonstrations of international working-class solidarity, but there should have been an international boycott by transport workers on imports of scab coal. In France as well, a general transport strike should call for solidarity by Belgian, German, Italian and Spanish rail workers. This question is already posed acutely by the sailors strike against registering ships in the Kerguelen Islands—actually a strike against French shippers' hiring cheap labor. The real solution is to extend the gains of French sailors to all ships which dock in French ports and raising wages to the highest scale, which would require construction of a powerful international union federation.

A general strike is a tangible perspective in the current situation. The reformist apparatuses, although weakened, are desperately seeking to throw up obstacles to workers' mobilization by channeling it into a new class-collaborationist alliance, like that of the Union of the Left—which the LTF, which didn't vote for Mitterrand in 1981, fought against from the outset. The task of a Trotskyist vanguard is to fight this treacherous policy of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships, to break the workers from their domination and build the revolutionary party capable of leading them to victory. Then the proletariat can finish once and for all with the double disaster of inflation and unemployment by expropriating the capitalist class, bringing down the bourgeois state and installing a workers government—the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Boccon-Gibod/Keystone
Striking French rail workers block tracks.

Leloup/Collectif
CRS riot cops called out against strikers.

Workers Strikes Derail French Regime

PARIS, January 5—The reactionary Chirac government has opened up a full-scale attack on the railway strike, now in its 16th day. The last several days have seen repeated attacks by police and CRS riot police on picket lines at most of France's major rail centers, including Paris' Gare du Nord, a strike bastion. This is accompanied by a lying propaganda campaign aimed at demoralizing strikers, claiming that workers at different rail stations have voted to go back to work. The strike still suffers from the lack of an authoritative national leadership—a democratically-elected national strike committee. Nonetheless, the strikers remain determined and the basis exists for mass strike pickets capable of shutting down all rail traffic.

The Communist Party and the CGT unions, in an attempt to refurbish their image, are calling for strike action throughout the public sector, starting tomorrow. This could be the jumping-off point for a general strike against the Mitterrand/Chirac government, escaping the control of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy. This strike is already polarizing French society. While the reactionaries are creating phony movements of "irate passengers," many students remember that the threat of working-class action forced the government to withdraw its unpopular university bill. As in the students' revolt, "Socialist" president Mitterrand is emitting vague hints of "solidarity" with the strike (with an eye to the presidential elections of 1988). But if this strike sparks a working-class explosion, his class-collaborationist schemes could be shipwrecked.

EXCERPTED FROM LE BOLCHEVIK NO. 69, JANUARY 1987

DECEMBER 28—At stake in the French railroad strike is the government's entire anti-working-class austerity policy, from the civil service and nationalized sector to French industry as a whole. This strike must be won! The trains must not move! Shut down the train stations, lower the signals, all lights on red! Sailors are shutting down the ports, the Paris subway is going back on strike. All transportation should be stopped! Postal workers and all other government employees should join in! What's needed is a general strike against the Mitterrand/Chirac government's anti-worker, anti-immigrant and anti-youth attacks.

Over and above the strikers' particular demands, this strike wave constitutes a political challenge to the government. The strike movement has been gathering for some time. Ever since October 1981, with "left" governments in power, there have been a series of harsh battles in the SNCF [French national railroad system]. But the immediate origins of the strike lie in Chirac's retreat on the education front, a retreat due largely to the fact that the working class was beginning to mobilize. It was obvious to everyone at the time that this takeback government was only retreating to regroup and counterattack. This was confirmed when Chirac decided to impose at all costs his law on "flexibility" [permitting mass layoffs]—a frontal attack on decades of workers' gains. His minister Seguin said, "it is a question of recognizing whether or not March 16 [the electoral victory of the right which put Chirac in power] happened." The strikes are a graphic response to this provocation.

Rail workers demonstrate in front of St. Lazare station in Paris.

The stakes have been clear ever since last summer. As we wrote in *Le Bolchévik* (No. 66, September 1986): "The SNCF poses a new test, this time against the so-called 'privileged' sectors which retain certain job guarantees...it's a question of breaking the resistance shown to date by the SNCF workers, whose immediate and generalized response forced the previous Mitterrand/Fabius government to retreat. A strike in the SNCF...could be the catalyst for a general strike against the government. By stopping rail transport, the trainmen can paralyze the entire economy and open a breach into which workers at Renault, naval shipyards, steel, could step...seizing the bosses and their government by the throat and posing the inevitable question: who is master of the house, the proletariat or bourgeoisie?" Today, the rail workers have indeed begun a test of strength with the government. And the strike raises point-blank the question of the leadership of the movement.

In the railroads today, the reformist union leaderships of the [Stalinist-dominated] CGT, [social-democratic] CFDT and [right-wing anti-Communist] FO are widely discredited, clearly as a result of their treacherous role in sabotaging and suppressing the fight-back against the anti-working-class attacks carried out by Mitterrand's Union of the Left popular front for the last five years. The strike organization shows a generalized distrust of the union

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With the Strikers in Paris

Monday, December 22. A worker who participated in stopping a train from leaving the station at the Gare du Nord told *Le Bolchévik*: "We occupied the tracks, preventing trains from going through. A train driven by a foreman arrived, whistle going full blast. It stopped ten feet from workers in the middle of the tracks.... What they're doing is very dangerous: if ever anyone were hurt, the guy would have been lynched. Finally, the train crept back to the station."

Le Bolchévik asked how the movement started. Denis, one of the most active strikers, said that there was general discontent among the train conductors because they have lots of demands which are never taken into account. One day they held a general assembly which decided to put out a leaflet and call for a strike on the 18th. The leaflet was written by conductors. Some of their wives made photocopies at work, several hundred copies of which were distributed all over France—Marseille, Lyon....

"At the bottom of the leaflet there was an SNCF phone number to contact us from anywhere. When management saw that, they cut off the bell on the phone before the strike. When we went on strike on the 18th, some guys fixed the bell. Depots phoned in from everywhere, all night, all the next day. Based on that, we went for a hard strike because the guys were highly motivated, it was a movement which started from the grassroots.... In three or four days it spread all over France, people called us for a day and a half; after that they cut off the phone because management realized that was the essential focus...but it was already too late."

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 420

23 January 1987

Drugs, Guns and the White House

Contragate Murder Plots

There's enough illegal skullduggery over Iran/Contragate to impeach Reagan several times over and send his entire team of advisers to the federal pen. But it's not about to happen. Congress won't dare do him in. At most they want to make some political hay so they can elect a Democrat in 1988. Removing a second chief of U.S. imperialism in two decades would be too damaging to the American empire. So the bourgeois parliamentary "opposition" is willing to go along with a limited cover-up. And the White House, determined to "stay the course," will try to wait it out in order to carry out their "mandate." But there are factors that are beyond their control.

So far the administration has managed to keep attention largely focused on "Iranscam," the secret delivery of American military hardware to the ayatollahs while Reagan was denouncing Teheran terrorism and the government was arresting arms dealers for doing the same thing as Oliver North & Co. Now they are finally digging into the second level of this affair, the huge drugs-for-guns operation used to finance Reagan's "freedom fighters." But there's a third level they don't want to touch: an assassination program to get rid of political enemies, squealers and anyone else who got in the way. A civil court suit in Miami brings all three levels of the scandal together, including dramatic evidence that North's boys *tried to murder dissident contra leader Edén Pastora and planned to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica.*

UPI

1984 La Penca bombing: dissident contra Pastora accused CIA of assassination attempt.

The *New York Times* (20 January) reports that the Drug Enforcement Administration has compiled "convincing evidence" that the contra arms military supply operation was smuggling narcotics: "After dropping arms in El Salvador, rather than returning to the United States in empty cargo planes, the pilots stopped on occasion in Panama, a major drug transhipment center, to pick up cocaine or marijuana." This is hardly news: we wrote about it last year in "The Contra Connection" (*WV* No. 411, 12 September 1986). Currently they're trying to pass this off as a little extracurricular activity by pilots picking up some bucks on the side. But once they get started on this trail, they'll eventually have to admit that the gunrunning and drug trafficking were one operation, run out of the White House basement.

A court suit against 29 Contragaters has been brought in Miami federal court by two journalists, Tony Avirgan, who was injured during a May 1984 bomb attack on a Pastora press conference in La Penca, Nicaragua, and his wife Martha Honey. There have been scattered press reports of the Avirgan/Honey suit, but it has been spiked by top national media. In mid-December a 44-page affidavit was submitted by Daniel Sheehan, general counsel of the Christic Institute, an ecumenical public interest law firm which filed the suit, detailing their accusations and evidence. In the interests of further exposing imperialist crimes, we are detailing some of their findings. It will quickly be apparent why

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Howard Beach: Black Victims On Trial

Reagan's America, Koch's New York: It wasn't enough that 23-year-old black NYC construction worker Michael Griffith was murdered by a lynch mob in Howard Beach, Queens last December 20. Now the black survivors and the murdered man himself are being lynched again in the racist courts and capitalist press. The cops are out to get Timothy Grimes and Cedric Sandiford, the two men who survived, while the media obscenely portray the victims as criminals. As for the killers, only three of the bat-wielding punks were ever arrested—and they have been *set free*, charged merely with "reckless endangerment." Then, three weeks after the cops got a *signed confession* from Jon Lester, Queens D.A. John Santucci leaks that it may be inadmissible! As black New York seethed with outrage, Governor Mario Cuomo, his eyes on the '88 elections, bowed to the demands of the victims' lawyers and appointed a special prosecutor to take over the case.

The racist murderers are walking the streets while the cops stalk the black victims. The day Michael Griffith was buried, December 27, Timothy Grimes was arrested for assault following a domestic quarrel, even though his girlfriend refused to press charges. On January 11 they booked Grimes again, on absurd "loitering" charges; the charges were dropped the next day for total lack of evidence, but not before the TV and tabloids had a field day with character assassination. Lawyers for the Howard Beach killers dug up a 1975 arrest for Cedric Sandiford in Virginia, and trumpeted that they'll use it to hound him off the stand if he dares testify about Griffith's murder and his own savage beating. Even the dead aren't spared, as the police reopened a four-year-old unsolved murder case claiming Michael Griffith was a suspect.

They're also dragging the name of Eleanor Bumpurs through the mud, the black grandmother gunned down in 1984 in her Bronx public housing apartment by two shotgun blasts from NYPD Emergency Services Unit cop Stephen Sullivan in the infamous "eviction-by-murder." As the whitewash trial of the racist cop began January 12 in Bronx Supreme Court, police lawyers grotesquely tried to pin Mrs. Bumpurs' death on her daughter Mary! When Sullivan's lawyer Smirty claimed the shooting might have been

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Labor Must Fight Racist Terror!

WV Photo

Labor Black League and Spartacist supporters protest January 12 at whitewash "trial" of cop Sullivan, killer of 66-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs.

Koch's Cops Kill! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!

Amtrak Murder

AP

Decaying capitalist-run railroads removed fail-safe braking systems, making fatal crashes inevitable.

It was capitalist murder. On Sunday, January 4, the Amtrak Colonial with over 600 passengers and crew slammed into three Conrail engines at over 100 miles per hour as it approached the Gunpowder River bridge crossing northeast of Baltimore. Sixteen people died and over 170 were injured, many seriously, as the Amtrak coaches, heavily loaded with returning holiday passengers, were thrown off the tracks and split open like tin cans. Only the fact that the first car was held empty by the conductors prevented scores more from dying. In the wake of this horrible "accident," the capitalist press has launched a rabid campaign to blame "hot rod" engineers "high on pot." But safety experts and rail consultants have spilled the beans: Amtrak bosses knew that sooner or later people would die because the money wasn't spent to make the trains safe.

The slower-moving Conrail engines entered the high-speed Amtrak track seconds before the Colonial arrived. Desperately trying to stop, engineer Ricky Gates and brakeman Edward Cromwell jumped clear at the last second, Cromwell breaking his leg. Jerome Evans, the 35-year-old Amtrak engineer, didn't have a chance, barely applying the brakes before being killed in the collision. Now, in an orchestrated campaign to blame anyone but the government-run Conrail and Amtrak, company officials and government investigators are claiming the Conrail crew were using drugs. And Amtrak officials hideously performed an alcohol blood test on the remains of Evans, lamenting the fact that "Tissue samples were insufficient to test for the presence of drugs"! Four hundred mourners, mostly rail workers from up and down the East Coast, attended Evans' wake in Baltimore.

The notoriously inaccurate tests done on the Conrail crew showed meaningless marijuana traces from 13 to 87 nanograms (*billionths* of a gram)! Even the labor-hating *New York Times* was forced to admit at most this shows nothing more than use or exposure to marijuana *weeks ago!* Begun as a campaign to justify racist cop terror in the ghetto and to regiment a working class in no mood for U.S. imperialism's war plans, Reagan and the Democrats' anti-drug hysteria is being used to scapegoat these workers for capitalist murder.

The criminals responsible for the Amtrak collision were exposed in a revealing *New York Times* interview (12 January) with L. Fletcher Prouty, a government rail consultant whose seven-year-old grandnephew was on the Colonial. "Since the late 1970's, when the Department of Transportation decreed that Northeast Corridor tracks must in perpetuity carry freight as well as passenger trains, the corridor has been a Russian roulette game. Fatal crashes are inevitable." Prouty pointed to Japan's Shinkansen ("bullet train") and France's high-speed TGV, which have safely carried billions of passengers at much higher speeds than Amtrak. Both operate on separate high-speed tracks, with fail-safe braking systems. U.S. freight railroads *removed* automatic braking devices from their engines when Amtrak was created in 1971 and they no longer had to carry passengers. If the Conrail engines had been equipped with such fail-safe systems, Brother Evans and 15 others would be alive today.

When the Northeast Corridor was planned and built 20 years ago, American imperialism was spending billions of dollars on its bloody, losing slaughter in Vietnam, and a safe rail system was "deemed prohibitively expensive." In 1987 both capitalist parties are hell-bent on war against the Soviet Union, from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, with billions for Tridents and Star Wars. Decaying capitalism, from the rust bowl of the Midwest to the decrepit and dangerous railroads responsible for the Amtrak murder, is incapable of rebuilding American industry. Reagan's current budget includes the sale of the Washington-Boston route, Amtrak's only "profitable" line, to private industry in order to artificially lower the mammoth budget deficits produced by the anti-Soviet war drive. The rest of the passenger railroads in this country will go on the junk heap. In Japan, rail unions have been battling a similar "privatization" plan slashing thousands of jobs and destroying the unions.

Amtrak and Conrail are run like other capitalist corporations, and under the guise of "profitability" safety is sacrificed down the line. Instead of the present chaos, there should be a single nationalized rail system (without a penny of compensation to the former owners), with union control of hiring and safety, and the unlimited right to strike. Capitalism has left the railroads to rot, destroying what is a necessary part of any industrial society. Rebuilding the railroads will be the task of the victorious workers revolution, which will also bring to trial those who have butchered and maimed countless thousands in industrial "accidents" in their drive for profit. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Lenin on the Eve of the Russian Revolution

On the 12th anniversary of "Bloody Sunday" which marked the beginning of the Russian 1905 Revolution, and on the eve of the February 1917 Revolution which opened the road to the proletarian conquest of power, Lenin told a meeting of young workers in Zurich:

We must not be deceived by the present grave-like stillness in Europe. Europe is pregnant with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living everywhere engender a revolutionary mood; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from which they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals.

Just as in Russia in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government began under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic, so, in Europe, the coming years, precisely because of this predatory war, will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat against the power of finance capital, against the big banks, against the capitalists; and these upheavals cannot end otherwise than with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, with the victory of socialism.

We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland, and of the whole world, will be fortunate enough not only to fight, but also to win, in the coming proletarian revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution" (22 January 1917)

FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense have called a demonstration on behalf of former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt, for February 21 at the Oakland City Hall Plaza Park. The demonstration's two demands are "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" and "Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!"

Pratt has been in prison for over 16 years, eight in solitary confinement, a victim of the vicious FBI/COINTELPRO vendetta that physically exterminated the Black Panther Party. When hundreds of cops, guns blazing, failed to kill Pratt in a siege of Los Angeles Panther headquarters, the forces of state repression framed him for murder—a crime he did not and could not have committed. An appeal for a new trial is slated for the Federal 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The PDC supports pursuing every legal channel to secure Pratt's freedom, but puts no faith in the "justice" of the capitalist courts.

Pratt's fight for freedom must be labor's cause—backed up by mass protest and drawing in all who oppose this racist frame-up! Get your union or community group to endorse and mobilize for February 21! Financial contributions are needed; checks earmarked Geronimo Pratt demonstration should be sent along with endorsements to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. Call the PDC at (415) 839-0852 to get leaflets to distribute. Send telegrams and letters demanding Geronimo Pratt's freedom *now* to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals at the U.S. Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94102.

ALL OUT FEBRUARY 21!
12 noon, Oakland City Hall Plaza Park

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, March 1985.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 420 **23 January 1987**

Afghanistan:

Sobolev/TASS

Novosti

Soviet troops defend basic social gains in Afghanistan. Young girls on their way to school (left), freed from slavery under the veil.

Extend Gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples!

When Soviet troops went into Afghanistan seven years ago to defend the beleaguered nationalist-reformist regime in Kabul against CIA-backed Islamic guerrillas, Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II. America's rulers pumped in massive military support to the reactionary "holy warriors." Iran/Contragate revelations show the Afghan *mujahedin* at the top of the list of recipients ($400-500 million a year) from a "Reagan Doctrine Superfund" set up to finance "covert" anti-Soviet wars around the globe. Up to *one billion dollars a year* in arms and other aid is being funneled by the U.S. and its allies to these barbaric champions of feudalism, mass illiteracy and the enslavement of women. But contrary to the pronouncements from their patrons in Washington, arming these 7th century cutthroats with 20th century weapons has failed to turn the tide in the civil war.

Far from being bogged down in the Hindu Kush mountains, the Soviet-backed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) are winning hands down. The *mujahedin*, lacking support in the cities, are increasingly relying on long-range firepower supplied by the U.S., launching indiscriminate rocket attacks on Kabul. They scored three direct hits...on the U.S. embassy. Even the Americans' shoulder-fired "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles have proved ineffective against Soviet armored helicopter gunships. But the mullah-led "freedom fighters" did score one "victory": last month they shot down a civilian plane with 30 people on board. Likewise, in a hideous May 1984 bombing at Kabul airport, a "moderate" guerrilla group murdered a dozen children on their way to school in the USSR. The policy of Reagan's Afghan terrorists toward the urban population seems to be: "kill 'em all and let Allah sort 'em out."

Der Spiegel

Afghan feudalist cutthroats gloat over body of downed Soviet pilot.

Following the December 1979 Soviet intervention, gutless "leftists" throughout the West joined the imperialist hue and cry over "fiercely independent Afghanistan." Social democrats, liberals, conservatives and fascists united in Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, forthrightly proclaimed: "Hail Red Army!" Sixty years earlier the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky liberated the peoples of Soviet Central Asia from the chains of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism and fundamentalist Islamic reaction. The Soviet Army intervention in Afghanistan, undertaken for defensive reasons, raised the possibility of revolutionary social transformation in this hideously backward and enslaved country. We called at the time, and repeat that call today, to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples."

Recently there have been reports of a possible Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. Returning from Kabul, where a high-level Kremlin delegation met with Afghan leaders, Moscow foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze called for a "political settlement" and declared that "the time for a withdrawal of Soviet troops is not far off." (Already last fall, six Soviet regiments—roughly 8,000 soldiers—left amid great fanfare.) And speaking to a meeting of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDPA) last month, Afghan leader Najib (who just returned from a visit to Moscow) ordered a cease-fire, beginning January 15, calling for "national reconciliation." Najib added: "We don't want to exclude different political groups, moderates, monarchists and heads of armed anti-Government bands active abroad, from national reconciliation" (*New York Times*, 2 January).

This "peace initiative" from Moscow and Kahul is misguided and dangerous. The modest social gains achieved by the Soviet-backed regime are directly threatened by any kind of deal with the CIA-backed rebels. And a coalition government ranging from Islamic guerrillas to Communists is simply impossible. In the Pakistani refugee center in Peshawar, a rally was called by the guerrilla leaders to reject the cease-fire. While tens of thousands chanted "Death to Russians! Death to Communists!" one *mujahedin* chief demanded the overthrow of the Kabul government, establishment of an Islamic state, and the surrender of Soviet Central Asia (*New York Times*, 18 January). There is a civil war in Afghanistan, and one side or the other must win. Offers of "compromise" will only embolden the imperialists. The sooner the feudalists are smashed, the sooner the bloodshed will end and the road to social progress will be secured.

Imperialist Godfathers of Islamic Jihad

The imperialists profess a touching concern for the "national sovereignty" of Afghanistan against "Russian expansionism." But the Afghan guerrillas aren't on the receiving end of the biggest "covert" aid operation since the Vietnam War just so they can preserve such quaint national traditions as skinning "infidels" alive or trading women like sheep. The imperialists have their sights trained on a much bigger target: the Soviet workers state. Everyone in Washington knows the *mujahedin* can't win. But unlike the contra losers in Nicaragua, there's no danger of them precipitating direct U.S. intervention and the American bourgeoisie's dreaded spectre of "another Vietnam." So for Democrats and Republicans alike, Afghanistan is the "good war." As one Reagan aide put it, the U.S.' immediate aim is "to keep the Russian blood and money flowing until they find settlement a better alternative."

Nowhere has the bipartisan anti-Soviet consensus been clearer than over Afghanistan. Indeed, the Democratic Party has been way out in front of the Reaganites in pushing aid for the Afghan "rebels." Two years ago the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives *tripled* Reagan's request for aid to the Afghan contras. "There were 58,000 [American] dead in Vietnam," said Texas Democratic Congressman Charles Wilson, "and we owe the Russians one" (*Washington Post*, 13 January 1985). But for all the claptrap over Afghanistan being "Russia's Vietnam," the *New York Times* (19 June 1986) reported that "a Government study in April 1985 found that the Soviet forces were gradually wearing down the rebels." That led Reagan to issue National Security Decision Directive 166, calling for driving Soviet forces from Afghanistan "by all means available." But the Red Army is still mopping up the Afghan contras.

During 1986 DRA forces all but wiped out rebel forces in Herat and Kandahar, and mounted a spring offensive that smashed an important guerrilla stronghold at Zhawar, a mile from the Pakistani border. According to *Jane's Defence Weekly* (2 August 1986):

> "The forces were comprised primarily of DRA armed forces and militia, *many of the latter former resistance men*.... Resistance sources admit that the Afghan troops fight effectively, and there are no reports of desertion or collapse of units." [emphasis added]

Like any military clash between two social systems, the civil war in Afghanistan is a political struggle. The Soviet Army intervention has brought doctors and hospitals, schools and literacy to Afghanistan. Formerly veiled and invisible, Afghan women have been brought

continued on page 14

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists in 11 January 1980 WV hailed Soviet intervention against the theocratic counterrevolutionaries.

Klan Riot in Georgia

ATLANTA—A January 17 march in Forsyth County, Georgia commemorating Martin Luther King's birthday narrowly escaped a bloodbath when it was attacked by hundreds of racists led by the Ku Klux Klan. Brandishing Confederate flags, chanting "White Power!" and giving the Nazi "Sieg Heil" salute, they rained rocks and bottles down on the 100 peaceful, largely black demonstrators. After the police ordered the marchers back into their buses, the KKK staged a race-hate rally of 1,000 at the county courthouse.

The man who organized the Forsyth Klan attack was none other than the South's most notorious racist killer: J.B. Stoner. Klansman Stoner was identified as the mastermind behind the Birmingham, Alabama church bombings during the civil rights movement—including the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, which killed four little black girls. Convicted of an earlier bombing of another black Birmingham church, this murderer was released last November and is free to kill again. The King Day marchers almost became his latest victims.

And what were the cops doing while Stoner's KKKers were rioting? "We lost control of the crowd," said Bonnie Pike, an inspector for the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. Lost control of the crowd?! Nationwide TV coverage showed the police allowing Klansmen to take the high ground where they lay in wait for the King Day marchers to arrive. And then the cops did nothing to stop the attacks on the black demonstrators. The whole thing smacks of

Downs/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Klan terrorizes King Day march in Forsyth County, Georgia.

collusion between the cops and Klan, only nine of whom were arrested, some charged with carrying concealed weapons.

The King Day marchers were *set up* for Stoner. Their main organizer, Hosea Williams, an Atlanta city councilman and former top aide to King, knew perfectly well what would happen if a handful of blacks tried to march in Forsyth County. This is an *all-white* area from which the entire black population was driven out around 1910 through a series of savage lynchings. The 1980 census showed *one* black resident in the county, and now according to Forsyth sheriff Wesley Walraven there are none.

But black "leader" Williams, working closely with the sheriff, screened participants to make sure that no one "that has any violence in them takes part" in the march (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 17 January). As if the threat of violence came from the blacks! Now Williams, along with Jesse Jackson, has announced they will lead another march into Forsyth County next weekend. And outrageously, Williams stated he would be willing to march *with the Klan* in support of the "right" of these racist terrorists to rally in the College Park suburb of Atlanta.

It will take a latter-day version of General William Tecumseh Sherman's Union Army—this time, a red army—for blacks to march safely in Forsyth County. Sherman's march through Georgia broke the back of the Confederacy, liberating black people from chattel slavery. But the Radical Reconstruction of the South was betrayed in a deal between Northern capitalists and Southern Bourbons. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s was an attempt to complete the unfinished tasks of the Civil War: black equality and racial integration. Today, the limited and even the token gains won by the civil rights movement through mass struggle are being reversed and eroded.

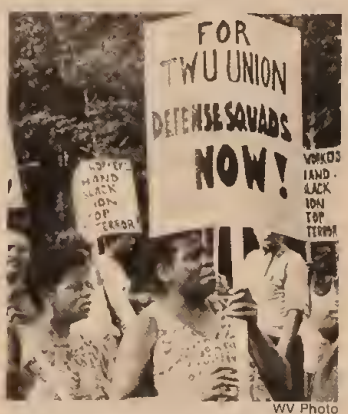
Moreover, these gains rarely extended beyond some of the larger Southern cities. The "New South" extends about as far as the Atlanta city limits. Racist enclaves like Forsyth County will not be eliminated with pacifist illusions or reliance on the "good will" of racist capitalism. J.B. Stoner and his racist terrorists will be smashed by the united power of the black masses and racially integrated labor movement. A taste of that power was demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982 when a 5,000-strong Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization stopped the Klan from marching through the nation's capital. That day the working people and black masses won and the racist scum were on the run. ■

Union Power Must Crush the Racists!

Remember Willie Turks!

It took the racist murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens to put the name of another New York City lynch mob victim back into the news: black transit worker Willie Turks. A little after midnight on 22 June 1982, Turks and two fellow subway car maintainers, Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper, finished their shifts at the Coney Island transit shop in the Gravesend section of south Brooklyn. They stopped off at a nearby bagel shop on Avenue X. As they got back into their car, the three black workers were surrounded by 15-20 white hoodlums brandishing sticks, baseball bats and bottles. Dixon, hit in the face and on the head by beer bottles, was felled but was able to scramble away. Bleeding profusely from a gash in his head he sought assistance from the cops, who of course did nothing. Cooper, a 200-pound ex-Marine, also managed to get away. But Turks, his arm in a cast, was dragged from the car, clubbed and left on a sewer to die, his skull crushed and his face beaten in.

Gravesend like Howard Beach is a notorious racist enclave. One year earlier in front of the very same Avenue X bagel shop a racist gang had attacked Roscoe Fountain, a black Housing Authority cop who saved his life only because he was armed. On 17 April 1982, a racist mob set upon Frank Tyrrell when he left the bagel shop shortly after midnight. Tyrrell spent several days in the hospital in a coma (*Newsday*, 23 June 1986). But Gravesend also contains the large transit repair shop and adjacent Marlboro black housing project. In response to the lynch mob murder of their union brother Willie Turks, militant transit workers of the Committee for a Fighting TWU called on their Transport Workers Union Local 100 to mobilize its 37,000-strong membership in a determined show of integrated labor power. They called for dispatching squads of flatbed trucks filled with TWU brothers and sisters to ensure the safety of *all* working people in the streets of Gravesend.



WV Photo

TWU militants demand union action to smash lynch mob terror, denounce acquittal of gang leader in killing of Willie Turks, July 1983.

But then-president of Local 100, John Lawe, his flunkeys and his loyal "opposition" around Arnold Cherry, worked overtime to sabotage the call for a TWU mobilization in Gravesend. Lawe even got on black radio station WBLS to complain that such anti-racist labor action would "disturb our good relations with management." Cherry issued a dirty red-baiting leaflet entitled "Turks' Killing Not Just a Racial Issue" which not only denounced a union mobilization but also attacked the Committee's support for the right of armed self-defense.

The black Democrats together with black demagogue Herbert Daughtry and that recruiter for the CIA/South African mercenaries in Angola, CORE head Roy Innis, staged small impotent marches in Gravesend along streets lined with larger numbers of white racists screaming racist epithets. Lawe even hailed the Innis-led march for "stabilizing" the community. In fact, these stunts were displays of weakness which only provoked more racist violence, leaving the black residents and workers in Gravesend to face the inflamed racist thugs and cops.

As with Howard Beach, over the Gravesend murder of Willie Turks the pro-Democratic TWU bureaucrats relied on the bosses' courts for "justice." Most of the lynch mob murderers of Willie Turks never stood trial; the others were given a slap on the wrists. None were charged with murder, including Gino Bova, the club-wielding scum who bashed in Turks' skull. Paul Mormando, who dragged Turks out of the car and held him while Bova committed racist murder, was convicted of *misdemeanor* charges. A militant integrated demonstration called by Local 100 members to protest the racist acquittal of Mormando in July 1983 at the Brooklyn Supreme Court drew one hundred transit workers and supporters.

It was the Brooklyn D.A.'s office of liberal Democrat Liz Holtzman that gave the racist killers of Willie Turks the kid glove treatment and turned them loose to kill again. Last year Holtzman dragged black transit clerk James Grimes through the courts for four months, seriously aggravating his already ill health, for defending his life with a gun against a murderous attack by three muggers while he was on the job. Backed up by the persistent mobilization of fellow transit workers in spite of the sabotage of the TWU bureaucracy, Grimes was able to defeat every charge including a gun rap.

This victory assisted black transit worker Austin Weekes, who was arrested at Transit Authority headquarters last September for an act of armed self-defense six years ago against two racist punks on the run from beating to death a Hispanic man in Brooklyn. Though all charges were dismissed against Weekes the TA fired him while the TWU bureaucracy did nothing. Austin Weekes and James Grimes are alive today because they exercised their right to armed self-defense. Gun control kills blacks!

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy is selling out our livelihoods and our very lives to the profit-hungry bosses and the murderous racist mobs. If the TWU had defended its own and all working people with a demonstration of integrated labor power after the murder of Brother Turks, his racist killers would not be back on the streets to kill again. That kind of demonstration would have been felt throughout the city and country, and 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith would be with us today. ■

Spartacist Forum

Racist Lynching in Howard Beach

For Labor/Black Defense To Stop Racist Attacks!

Speakers:

Ed Kartsen
Spartacist League Central Committee
NY Labor Black League for Social Defense
1985 Spartacist candidate for Manhattan Borough President

Marjorie Stamberg
Spartacist League Central Committee
1985 Spartacist candidate for Mayor

Richard Dundy
Partisan Defense Committee,
New York representative

Friday, January 23, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41 Auditorium, 116 W. 11th St. (at 6th Ave.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

NYC Transit Militants Demand:

Labor Must Mobilize to Stop Lynch Mob Terrorists!

In response to the Howard Beach lynch mob murder of Michael Griffith, militants in New York City's 37,000-member Transport Workers Union Local 100, the Committee for a Fighting TWU, issued the following leaflet on December 24:

Last Saturday a racist rampage took place in Howard Beach. Blacks, Hispanics and a white fireman were attacked. Michael Griffith was brutally killed as a result of the attack on three black men. This was an act of racist terror and it demands a response of militant protest from all the working people of this city. Racist murder must be stopped! And the cops from the "Stun Gun" Precinct won't stop it! Koch's cops carry out their own brand of terror from the Bronx to the 106th Precinct.

Remember Eleanor Bumpurs? Remember Michael Stewart? These were victims of Koch's racist cops. If Michael Griffith had a gun at least he might be alive today. But he might also be in jail. The anti-gun laws are killing black people! The victims of racist terror are made out to be criminals if they take any measures of self-defense. The liberal anti-gun laws are used to keep decent citizens helpless in the face of racist mob terror.

The Democratic Party and the liberal left are exploiting the Goetz case in order to strengthen the anti-gun laws. By doing this they ensure that racist killer cops like Sullivan are the only ones who are armed. The racist right-wingers also used the Goetz case for their own ends to inflame vigilantism. But the James Grimes case was a clear cut case of armed self-defense. This case was backed up by a mobilization of transit workers which resulted in his acquittal of all charges including the one of gun possession. If James Grimes didn't have a gun he wouldn't be alive today.

Transit workers, remember the brutal racist murder of brother Willie Turks in Coney Island! We also must remember the burning deaths of token booth clerks at the Broad Channel station. Hundreds of flat-bed trucks filled with black, white, and Hispanic union members in an organized caravan is what is needed to get the point across to the punks who killed Michael Griffith and who terrorize innocent people every day. These punks should remember who Benito Mussolini was and what happened to him.

The following motion should be passed by every division in this union committed to halting the race-hating killers:

> THE TWU MUST take the lead in mobilizing NYC labor in staging a powerful demonstration of opposition to and hatred of the racist killers throughout this city, taking the form of a caravan of flat-bed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads, to patrol Howard Beach to ensure that this neighborhood is safe for *all* working people.

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU

Howard Beach...

(continued from page 1)

prevented "if members of the deceased's family had complied with their family obligations," angry black protesters in the gallery erupted with booing, hissing and shouts of "liar!" and "cover-up!" In fact, the family tried to pay $180, half the back rent, but the city *refused to take it!* A former housing authority employee testified that "partial payment" was unacceptable and so the killer SWAT team was dispatched.

In this farce of a trial, Sullivan is charged only with second-degree manslaughter. In the first moments on the opening day, Judge Fred Eggert granted the motion of Sullivan's lawyer, Bruce Smirty, for a non-jury trial for his client. The cop lawyer explained, "The average lay person might find it difficult to understand why the police were there in the first place, and why a shotgun was employed" (*New York Times*, 12 January). You bet—they'd be hard put to find 12 honest people in this city who believe that the cops had to shoot the infirm black grandmother because she was a "threat" to the professional killers in blue who stormed into her home. Now the defense and "prosecutor" debate whether, after cop Sullivan's first blast blew off her hand, the "second shot" to her chest was "necessary." *What about the first shot?!* Both sides in this "trial" represent the capitalist state,

Bronx State Supreme Court, January 12: Spartacists demand labor/black mobilizations to smash racist terror.

dered, NYC's Number One racist pig, Ed Koch, compared the killing to a lynching in the Deep South. But the deadliest gang of racist killers in "Up South" New York is Koch's 30,000-strong NYPD. From Sullivan to the transit cops who killed black artist Michael Stewart, to the Ozone Park 106th Precinct (covering Howard Beach) which uses 5,000-volt "stun guns" on black youth, the police are on a murderous rampage. *Ten thousand* armed cops surrounded the Bronx courthouse when D.A. Mario Merola indicted Sullivan. As for Queens D.A. Santucci, it turns out he and the head of the police intelligence squad Peter Prezioso had a 14-hour lunch with reputed mob death-squad chief Sal Reale, described by the *Daily News* (18 January) as "president of the Roma Detective Agency—a firm depicted in an investigative report as a

Pescatore/NY Daily News

Higgins/NY Times

Democrats' "special prosecutor" scheme announced by Gov. Cuomo (left). Lawyers for Howard Beach victims (right, conferring with Rev. Daughtry) seek to pressure Democrats.

nobody speaks for Eleanor Bumpurs.

Outside the courtroom January 12, supporters of the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense were protesting, with placards demanding "Jail Killer Cop Sullivan! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!" and "Remember Michael Griffith, Willie Turks! Gun Control Kills Blacks!" A transit militant carried the sign "Labor Must Mobilize to Stop Lynch Mob Terrorists!" SL posters also demanded "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" and "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

When Michael Griffith was murhaven for rogue cops who performed contract killings."

On January 13, Mario Cuomo announced the appointment of special prosecutor Charles Hynes to handle the Howard Beach killing. The *New York Times* (15 January) reported that a six-hour session between the governor and the black Democratic pols also produced a vague agreement for "a mechanism for expediting requests for special prosecutors." The price was agreement by lawyers Mason and Maddox to cooperate with Hynes. They asked for it, they got it—but it doesn't spell justice for black people. Cuomo denounced Koch for calling this racist murder a lynching, and his advisers said Santucci should have compelled Grimes and Sandiford to testify "by threatening to jail" the victims. A political alliance was forged over Michael Griffith's dead body. The *Amsterdam News* (17 January) editorial summed it up, saying "Cuomo acted presidentially."

Meanwhile, Koch—who was Jew-baited in predominantly Italian American Howard Beach—is trying to resolidify his white ethnic constituency by branding black youth as dangerous criminals. In an op-ed article in the *New York Times* (19 January), Koch disgustingly empathizes with the racist mob:

> "We cannot avoid the fact that crime in New York City is disproportionately committed by young men who are black.... A black man walking into an all-white neighborhood may be suspected by some white residents of being up to no good."

That's exactly the line of the Howard Beach lynchers.

So the city's black Democratic politicians are debating over which racist politician's pocket they're going to be in. Machine politicos like Congressmen Charles Rangel and Floyd Flake along with demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry troop to City Hall to sing "We Shall Overcome" with Koch. The pro-Cuomo crowd have replaced calls for boycotting pizza shops by the demand, raised by Democratic state assemblyman Roger Green, for a boycott of *all* white-owned businesses on January 21. "Black folks don't buy and die where you can't live and work," is the slogan for the boycott action. This is a call for blacks to *stay in the ghetto*: the KKK would love it! Whether they're pushing anti-Jewish, anti-Arab or anti-Italian boycotts or "buy black" capitalist schemes, it's all bourgeois ethnic politics, which *diverts* into race war the struggle against the racist capitalist *system*.

Since he's in Cuomo's camp, Jesse Jackson first came out against the boycott, then endorsed the January 21 march after grumbling from local black Democrats. The "point of tension" he said, should "be the White House." He doesn't mean mobilizing blacks and labor to bring down Reagan, but "vote Democratic in '88." Channeling black outrage back into the kept confines of bourgeois politics is Jesse's specialty. In 1983 he told 10,000 black workers and youth who were marching in Norfolk to defend school busing that "I am not marching for desegregation, I am marching for the voter registration booth." Black protest was defused, school integration in Norfolk was killed, and Jackson hustled votes for Fritz Mondale and Geraldine ("No to forced busing") Ferraro.

What's needed is a fight to break with the racist Democratic Party, the main vehicle tying the black masses to their capitalist oppressors, and to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party! The key to smashing lynch mob terror is mobilizing the powerful, integrated city *unions* to drive the racist killers back into their holes. That also requires a political struggle in the unions to oust the labor fakers.

NYC's labor tops, needless to say, have done nothing to answer the Howard Beach murder. A "trade union press conference" January 9, brokered by Workers World/All People's Congress, was nothing but hot air. A *Workers Vanguard* reporter pointed to the call by transit militants for integrated union defense squads to go out to areas like Howard Beach. She asked what concrete actions the January 9 meeting was planning. "It is not for us to lead the struggle against racism," responded Greyhound ATU Local president Harold Mendlowitz. Certainly there won't be any leadership from these bureaucrats and their reformist hangers-on. In transit, at a section meeting of the 207th Street repair yard January 15 when supporters of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, in Local 100, put up their proposals for integrated union defense guards, a supporter of the dubious Workers League, G. Nebbia, echoing the racists, called the proposal a "provocation." This was the same slander they raised in November 1982 when a Spartacist-initiated 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK cold in Washington, D.C.

In the wake of Howard Beach, the ominous climate of racist terror hangs over the city, as incidents continue to mount. And it's everywhere. As Martin Luther King Day was celebrated, the Urban League 1987 *State of Black America* report concludes that blacks are "besieged by the resurgence of raw racism, persistent economic depression, and the continued erosion of past gains." A vicious attack on Klan marchers in Forsyth, Georgia dramatically underlined this point. The only force which can turn back this rising tide of racist terror is the racially integrated labor movement. The ghetto must be linked to the labor movement. No reliance on the cops, courts and capitalist parties. For workers revolution to sweep away the lynch mobs once and for all! ■

Shuttlegate: More Grisly Revelations

Blood of Challenger Crew on Reagan's Hands

With Reagan in trouble, the plan of both major parties is to "save" the holy office of the imperial presidency with a limited investigation into the blown Iran/Contra operation, in which only expendable subordinates will be sacrificed. But the demise of the president's "credibility" sets off a process which is not that easy to control. Light has inadvertently been cast on other White House skeletons, such as last January's explosion of the space shuttle Challenger. After the explosion, the administration knew it had to face a certain amount of heat over NASA's bureaucratic unconcern for safety. Yet with the cooperation of the most "responsible" and "sober" of the bourgeois press it hoped to keep the lid on the key question of the role of the White House in the fatal rush to launch. And it worked...for a while.

Last June, the presidentially appointed Rogers Commission, charged with investigating the Challenger disaster, issued a whitewash report whose main function was to absolve top-level officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and, most importantly, the White House itself. The higher-ups were supposedly "unaware" of the swirling controversy over the faulty O-ring booster rocket seals which were ultimately blamed for the disaster. In recent months NASA has been given a cosmetic management "reform." But "Shuttlegate" doggedly haunts the Reaganauts,

Markel/Gamma-Liaison

White House chief of staff Donald Regan.

for whom the tragedy of Challenger was not that seven human beings were killed, but that the "Star Wars" nuclear first-strike schemes were checked.

A recent *New York Times* (21 December 1986) exposé revealed that "Top NASA Aides Knew of Shuttle Flaw in '84," including then-associate director Lt. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, who now heads Reagan's "Star Wars" project. NASA had even developed a fix for the O-rings, and components were actually in production at the time of the disaster. But the bureaucrats did not want to delay launches for mere safety. The 7 December *Times* revealed that the fatal flaw in the rocket built by the Utah-based Thiokol company was recognized as far back as 1973, when a competing bidder wrote that the reliability of the O-ring was "largely a matter of faith." "The only reason we selected that terrible design to begin with was that [then-NASA chief James] Fletcher was a Mormon and from Utah," insisted retired NASA engineer William C. Bush. Fletcher was recently reappointed by Reagan as head of the space agency.

Halstead/Time

AP

28 January 1986: Seven astronauts blown to bits in the reckless rush to get them aloft for Reagan's State of the Union address.

Additional evidence of a massive cover-up has been brought by former NASA budget analyst Richard Cook, who after talking with rocket engineers had prophetically warned back in 1985 that "failure [of the seal] during launch would certainly be catastrophic." In an article in the November 1986 issue of *Washington Monthly*, Cook revealed how NASA broke previously iron-clad precedents on January 28. "For the first time in the history of the shuttle, Thiokol had to prove why NASA should *not* launch, rather than why it should." The night before launching, Thiokol engineers on the spot bravely refused to authorize an unprecedented launch in the dangerous sub-freezing temperatures, but they were overruled. When the ice team went out to inspect the launch pad that fateful Tuesday morning, they found enough dangerous icicles hanging on the service tower that the team leader radioed back to the firing room: "I'd say the only choice you've got today is not to go" (*New York Times*, 5 November). But they went.

On October 30 Cook submitted a letter to Attorney General Meese, demanding a special prosecutor on the shuttle affair and charging that "crimes may have been committed by high government officials in covering up the reasons" for the reckless launch. Needless to say, Meese sat on it, and the media ignored it.

"Get That Thing Up!"

Cook points to accumulating evidence of direct White House pressure to launch the Challenger in time for Reagan's scheduled State of the Union address on Tuesday, January 28. He noted there was a "peculiar cancelation of the scheduled Challenger launch the preceding Sunday" when a bad weather forecast came in. "Here again NASA followed a procedure unprecedented in its history" by scrubbing the mission before the spacecraft had even been fueled up. Loading and unloading the fuel takes time and, for safety reasons, can be done no more than twice in a 48-hour period. "So, by canceling the launch on Saturday before they had fueled up, they increased the chances that the shuttle would be in the air by Tuesday night, when Reagan delivered the state of the union address."

Who could miss the timing of the Challenger launch—only hours before Reagan was scheduled to give his State of the Union address on nationwide TV? As we wrote shortly after the disaster:

> "Unable to talk directly with god in real-time, the Great Communicator would do the next best thing, speaking to the heavens by sending greetings to Christa McAuliffe aboard the space shuttle Challenger. So the shuttle *had to be* launched by the 28th—the weather be damned...."
>
> —"Challenger Blows Up in Reagan's Face," *WV* No. 397, 14 February 1986

Rumors were rampant in Washington afterward of a White House connection. Word was that Reagan's chief of staff Donald Regan had ordered the space agency to "get that thing up" (*Cable News Network*, 26 February 1986). Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings and others began pushing for a Congressional investigation, and prepared to subpoena NASA telephone logs from the night before the launch to trace White House pressure. "There is a rumor circulating," said commentator Tom Braden on CNN's *Crossfire*, "that the president had arranged to put those people in space on the telephone in the middle of his State of the Union address which was planned...for that evening. Is that the reason why it was a hurry-up?"

But the story was spiked on orders from the Oval Office. White House press spokesman Larry Speakes berated reporters outside the hearing room of the Rogers Commission. "I'm tired of that story," he whined, "you've gotten it from your press colleagues, that's the most vicious and distorted rumor I have ever heard." Six months later, a *Los Angeles Times* (2 September) roundup on "Rumors as News" reported, "Most editors decided to continue investigating the story but not to print anything unless they either found confirmation or someone in a responsible position was willing to raise the issue on the record." In other words, the media would shut up unless they found some bigwig who would push the question...fat chance!

Take the White House phone logs: Congress had politely dropped the matter after the White House supposedly "investigated" its own phone logs and issued a terse statement concluding, according to the *New York Times* (4 April 1986), that "there was no evidence the communications [with NASA] entailed pressure on the launching schedule." In this farcical "investigation" by the culprits, Speakes was compelled to admit that "nine White House staff members had telephoned NASA in the eight days before the launching." Furthermore, only calls *from* the White House were scrutinized, omitting calls from NASA. Cook also noted that in response to a Congressional review the acting administrator of NASA, William Graham, "excluded any calls he had made during that weekend" before the launch! In a damning conclusion, Cook notes that the Rogers Commission "never interviewed anyone from the White House."

The "smoking gun" might be in the original text of Reagan's State of the Union address which was scrapped after the Challenger disaster (if it hasn't been shredded along with the Irangate documents, a copy might be found in Pat Buchanan's office). Robert Bowman, the retired colonel who ran the Air Force's space command under Jimmy Carter, noted:

> "We know that Graham submitted a portion of the State of the Union message to White House speechwriters, we even know that Richard Cavoli, the student who had an experiment aboard the Challenger, was in the White House when the shuttle exploded. He was going to be paraded before the country that night as part of the State of the Union address, so the shuttle must have been a major part of the speech."
>
> —*Guardian* [New York], 12 November 1986

Cook and Bowman are counting on the backing of Senator Ernest Hollings, soon-to-be chairman of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation

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Aviation Week

Drawing of plan for "Star Wars" laser system mounted on shuttle.

Young Spartacus

With the Students in France

Special Eyewitness Report

Philippot/Sygma

Paris, November 23: French students protest elitist "reform" of education system. Victory was wrested when labor flexed its muscles in strike action, forcing the government to back down.

Last month a young comrade asked for advice on what she should do with three weeks' unanticipated vacation. Senior comrades suggested: France. Massive student demonstrations were taking place, sparked by the French government's proposal for an elitist educational "reform." The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the international Spartacist tendency, was intervening actively. And so our American comrade went to France. She kept a journal, and upon returning wrote this eyewitness report.

by Carla Darcy

Riding the train in from Brussels, I got my first taste of France in a state of crisis. I was just about to doze off when a team of three frontier police began making the rounds, demanding passports and visas. With hundreds of thousands of students in the streets protesting the elitist educational "reform" of President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac, all but a few of the CRS cops, paramilitary riot police, were in Paris. The remainder were prowling the borders of France.

A few days earlier, Chirac and Pasqua (minister of justice) had denounced the student revolt in an anti-communist, racist attack against "foreign agitators." It was pretty scary for me, as a black woman Spartacist from the U.S., when the police seized my passport and told me I would have to leave the train to get a visa in Mons, Belgium. It was all part of the "war against terrorism" initiated since the senseless Paris bombings last fall—"anti-terrorism" being the code word for an accelerated program of racist attacks to reinforce the segregation of the immigrant population of France.

"You are lucky to be an American," an Arab passenger told me. "Usually they just take you and put you back on the plane." It was the first time I ever thought myself "lucky" to be an American. I got a visa in Mons, got back on the train and watched as the police came through again, guns in hand, pulling several others off the train, as we crossed the border into France.

That night I met my comrades in the Paris local of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF). I was not the only "foreigner" there. We were all there to witness and participate in the social struggles that were rocking France, particularly the student strikes. Would events follow the pattern from 1968, when student strikes spurred a workers' general strike and a prerevolutionary situation in France?

We were all waiting for the special supplement we were putting out on the planned strike called by the CGT and the CFDT (the Communist and social-democratic trade-union federations) union bureaucracy for the next day. In the meantime, comrades wanted to know about the Spartacist League/U.S. protests against the British Labour Party's (BLP) leading scab, Neil Kinnock, which I had been part of in Boston and Washington, D.C. With Kinnock's social democracy having shown its true colors by betraying the miners strike in Britain last year, we wanted to use this to illuminate the role of French social democracy and Socialist Party (PS) president Mitterrand, the Greenpeace bomber. One of the comrades of the Spartacist League of Britain told me that since we had held up our side of the work in the U.S., it was important that his section maintain a sustained fight against the labor traitors of the BLP in Britain.

In preparation for the mass protest the next day, we reviewed the events of the past week to get some idea of what to expect. In the last few days, the government had withdrawn the Devaquet (minister of higher education) education bill; the regime was forced to back down in the face of the CGT/CFDT union mobilization. The Stalinists in the

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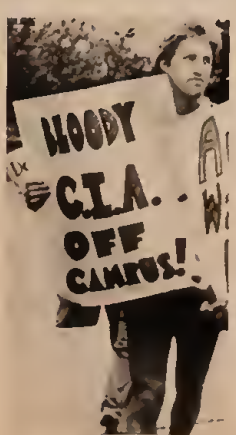

Young Spartacus

Protests Hit Spy Recruitment

Hate the CIA, Hate Imperialism!

In a wave of demonstrations across the country, students have taken up struggle against the CIA, U.S. imperialism's "Murder, Inc." From Brown University to the University of Colorado, student protests have forced the CIA to cancel scheduled interviews, relocate, or keep their cloak-and-dagger recruitment top secret. Every blow against the CIA's ability to recruit for its terrorist adventures

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Young Spartacus

Madison Spartacus Youth Club leads protest against CIA (above and left), September 22.

France...

(continued from page 7)

union bureaucracy had called for a day-long strike for Wednesday, after a student of Algerian descent, Malik Oussekine, was beaten to death by the racist *flics* (cops) of Mitterrand/Chirac. The bureaucrats would not have called a strike unless they had to, meaning that the struggles gripping France were spilling out of their control. On the campuses, the social-democratic student bureaucrats who were running the strike could no longer claim sole direction. The protests spread throughout France, with students painting graffiti, constructing barricades to defend themselves against the cops and the cops' fascist allies, holding general assemblies to debate which way forward, both in high schools and at the *facs* (universities).

Early on, some of the students' frustration had been diverted into anti-Americanism, expressed in the slogan "No to the Coca-Cola Universities." The murder of Malik was the symbol of the kind of education students were getting on the streets of France, at the hands of Mitterrand/Chirac's vicious, racist cops. "*Malik est mort par coeur attaque. La cause: la matraque*" ("Malik is dead by a heart attack. The cause: a police club") read one spray-painted sign. And working-class parents were beginning to see the attack on the education of their children as an issue for the working class as a whole.

The LTF printed 20,000 supplements for distribution around the country. The front-page headline called for a general strike against the anti-worker, anti-immigrant and anti-youth attacks of the Mitterrand/Chirac government. "Forge a Bolshevik party! For a workers government!" We noted that the repeal of the Devaquet reform had been wrested from the government by the threat of workers' strikes. In stark contrast, the reformist tailers of the popular front in the union bureaucracy coined the slogan "*Plus jamais ça*" ("Never again") for the march. It was purposely ambiguous and counterposed to the order of the day. As we told people that day, "*La lutte continue!*" ("The struggle continues"), recalling the famous slogan of '68.

We were the only organization that sought to expose the role of Mitterrand in the politics of "cohabitation." The rest of the French left were tripping over each other, calling for "unity" against Chirac/Pasqua—all in an effort to build a new PS/PCF (Socialist Party/Communist Party) popular front. The popular front is an electoral alliance between the reformist workers parties and the parties of the bourgeois exploiters where the labor bureaucracy seeks to show its usefulness by betraying and constraining social struggles, suppressing any traces of an independent proletarian program. It was our staunch defense of the gains of the Russian October, our opposition to the popular front and its student bureaucrat clones, and our call for labor/minority mobilizations to defend immigrant areas against the fascists, that made us stand out as the bright red pole.

The morning of the daylong strike, I was at Nanterre, where the LTF has a student fraction that intervened actively during the strike. The university is known as Nanterre La Rouge (Red Nanterre) for the leading role it played in the student strikes of 1968. Our comrades there were fighting hard against the social-democratic leadership of the strike committees, against the narrow perspective of the student bureaucrats who wanted to contain student outrage and direct it solely to opposing Devaquet's bill. Also, in spite of the vicious police assaults, students were still making a distinction between "good" police—the campus forces (who used tear gas on students at the Sorbonne)—and "bad" cops, the CRS riot police squads. And particularly early on during the strike, there was the students' suicidal notion that had to be combatted: the idea that the fascist thugs who attack immigrant areas and student demonstrations should be allowed to "debate." We maintained a hard line—no platform for fascists!—and fought to mobilize students against the fascist goon squads. We made a point of linking the firebombings of immigrant homes in Paris to the attacks by fascist gangs on student demonstrations.

In the general assemblies at Nanterre, where thousands met to debate the course of the strike, the student bureaucrats wanted to keep the discussions "apolitical"—a cover for the very real politics (pacifism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism) of both the UNEF-ID (a student "union" tied to the PS) and the so-called "far left" of the fake-Trotskyist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The same forums that would allow the fascists to "debate" would try to exclude our comrades from speaking—all in the service of the anti-Soviet war drive. We sought to expand political debate to discuss the need to mobilize students and workers against the fascists, to fight the anti-immigrant policies of the government, to build our Bolshevik party that would link the struggles of students to the power of the working class in a fight for state power.

At the march we distributed 1,270 supplements. I met several groups of students from French-speaking Africa and other former French colonies, and many of them stopped and bought the supplement after seeing my "Stop Nazi/Klan Terror" button. A group of three Guadeloupians stopped and asked where I came from. I told them I was from the U.S. Spartacist League. They said, "We are from Guadeloupe, but we are French. But it is very difficult for us to get a job." I said yes, I know. You are French like I am American.

The main difference between the U.S. and France is the strength of social democracy and Stalinism, the presence of mass "workers" parties, the PS and PCF. Both parties despicably capitulate to French chauvinism and patriotism, embracing the anti-immigrant hysteria. Racism in France is anti-Arab, anti-black, targeting much of the immigrant working class. It was not unusual for me to be waiting on the platform for the train from the immigrant area outside Paris where I stayed, and see a group of CRS cops harassing and brutalizing a black or Arab—demanding his papers, passport, employer's name, then throwing him on the train.

Our comrades in the LTF are known for staunch opposition to the popular front. An older black African Stalinist approached me at the march, denouncing *Le Bolchévik* as "anti-working-class": "You didn't support Mitterrand in 1980. You don't support the popular front and neither do the capitalists." I said that while the capitalists may oppose the pop front from the right, and use it to mobilize right-wing reaction, we oppose it from the left, and fight for the independent power of labor. I wasn't really sure I understood everything he shouted back at me, but when I left him, an onlooker came after me and bought the supplement.

The march on Wednesday effectively signaled the final act of the student mobilization, but already it was clear that France was shaken. More than 600,000 people took to the streets of Paris that day, and it was a real high, a small glimpse of what Paris would look like in the midst of a political general strike, one that poses the question of working-class state power. One comrade remarked that three weeks earlier, the only Métro graffiti was the work of fascists. Now it was not unusual to find signs denouncing various government officials: "Pasqua's a fascist," etc.

In the aftermath of the student protests, we found students a bit disoriented and shaken—mainly because of the deaths and beatings suffered at the hands of the cops—following their first political experience. At a class given by the LTF on the strike in '68, one student had to ask whether or not a victory had really been achieved, although the government had withdrawn the bill; another said that the events had left her "confused." At the campuses I went to, many of the students had clearly been politicized, but didn't know what to do next, and had no idea where they would go to stop a government they had begun to realize was not their own. It reminded me of the anti-apartheid protests in the U.S. in the spring of 1985.

At the Sorbonne, two cops were posted at every entrance, a menacing reminder of the cop attacks two weeks earlier that had students constructing burning barricades in the nearby Quartier Latin. One student came up to me and asked if we really thought the student strike could lead to something more, like in '68. When he realized I was from the U.S. he asked, "Are you from the Black Panther Party?" I told him how the state had carried out an extermination campaign against the Panthers. It struck me how few student activists in the U.S. would know who Cohn-Bendit (a leader of the May '68 student strike) is, and how much more politically advanced students in France are. When another student said that the strike at the Sorbonne had been started by a German friend of his, another student came up and said in English, "We are all German Jews," a rallying cry from '68 after the French state had German-baited and Jew-baited Cohn-Bendit. We ran into a few Lambertists who didn't know anything about their organization except that they supported Mitterrand and the pop front and we didn't, and a few students from LO who weren't buying their role in the "apolitical" strike leadership.

As with all situations, the Russian question was usually the immediate point of debate. Cohn-Bendit, known in '68 as "Danny the Red," now notoriously anti-communist and better known as "Danny the Yellow" (scab), showed up at Nanterre and wanted to debate the fascists. He then made a sinister equation between fascism and the far left, and attacked our comrades for defending Soviet troops in Afghanistan. As the audience tried to shout us down, we chanted "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We defend the Soviet troops who are fighting CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries that skin schoolteachers alive for the "crime" of teaching girls to read.

Everywhere people were talking politics, even when they claimed to be "apolitical." At Tolbiac, a university inside the city, the protofascists of UNI were leafleting when we showed up, as though they were any other political group. They were born in opposition to the May '68 events, and are affiliated with the World Anti-Communist League. In the 1983-84 demonstrations over government support for private schools, they marched to the obscene racist chant "Throw Arabs into the Seine!" That day, they counseled students to return to "more serious matters." With vermin like these scampering about, the LTF spent much of the early part of the strike intervening against them, calling for mass mobilizations against the fascists.

Yet when we mentioned this to some of the students at Tolbiac, there was the response of "we can just ignore them," not realizing that the fascists don't go away if you ignore them. It was in part a function of the strong pull of social democracy in France. One student came up to me and wanted to know why we called ourselves Spartacist, if we were Trotskyists. "Luxemburg wasn't a Leninist," he said. He was interested in the Luxemburg who fought Lenin, and not the Luxemburg who was betrayed by the social dems. Here was yet another reflection of the pervasive anti-Sovietism linking the PS and its left tailers.

Every so-called "left" outfit in France is trying to win a new generation of radicalized students to the old rot that is

Paris, December 10: Student demonstrators protest racist cop murder of Malik Oussekine and Abdel Benyahia.

Helena Hermes

May '68: High school students take over school building in support of workers' general strike.

Spartacist Forums

Special Eyewitness Report:

France in Revolt

Speaker: Carla Darcy

Wednesday, January 28, 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(For room see "Today in the Union")
University of Wisconsin
For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Friday, January 30, 7:30 p.m.
West Lounge, Ida Noyes Hall
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

CIA...

(continued from page 7)

around the world is a *victory* for the workers and peasants of all countries.

Local Spartacus Youth Clubs have won new members and supporters by initiating and participating in actions against the CIA at Oberlin, Madison and the University of Chicago. In a leaflet issued for a united-front protest last November at the University of Chicago, the Spartacus Youth Club called on students to drive "Murder, Inc." off campus:

"Whether they don pinstripes or battle fatigues, the CIA is the deadly enemy of every struggle for social progress anywhere in the world. In South Africa, while millions of black workers and students are battling apartheid slavery, the CIA helps the Botha government track down and murder ANC militants and other anti-racist fighters. In Nicaragua, where the worker and peasant masses have liberated themselves from the tyranny of the Somoza dictatorship, the CIA is training the contras to gun them down, while in Afghanistan they school the reactionary mullahs in opium agronomy and murder to protect their 'right' to keep 'their' women in veils. All those who are outraged by the CIA's crimes—students, faculty and campus workers—must unite to drive these killer spies off campus!...

"It was the CIA that fingered then-fugitive ANC leader Nelson Mandela in 1962, making possible his arrest and imprisonment by the apartheid police. A CIA agent lured Mandela to a meeting in the South African city of Durban: 'Instead of attending the meeting, the CIA man told the police exactly where and when the most hunted man in South Africa could be found' (Alexander Cockburn, *New York Times*, 13 October [1986])."

After a hot spring of anti-apartheid protests, many student radicals were questioning what to do next. Their central demand for divestment was co-opted by the bourgeoisie which sees South Africa as a risky investment. To maximize profits, universities and multinational corporations have been dropping South African holdings like hot potatoes—with no positive impact on the struggle for black freedom in South Africa. In contrast to the divestment "movement" which preached reliance on bloody U.S. imperialism to take action against its junior partner, South Africa, the anti-CIA protests are directly aimed against a terrorist arm of the U.S. government itself.

Warren/Guardian

Boulder, Colorado, November 17: Cops in riot gear attack anti-CIA protesters.

But single-issue protest campaigns, however militant, have historically ended up in the reformist dead end of pressuring the Democratic Party. What is urgently necessary is a *class understanding* of U.S. imperialism and its counterrevolutionary war aims. What links together the CIA's crimes, U.S. support to apartheid South Africa, racist terror and union-busting at home, and the "contra international" which the CIA finances and operates, is the *bipartisan* drive for war against the Soviet Union. Decaying U.S. imperialism sees the hand of the Soviet Union, homeland of the first successful proletarian revolution in history, behind every struggle of the oppressed, and sends its CIA dogs of war to crush it. An international party of the working class must be built to deal the deathblow to imperialism and finish the work the Bolshevik Revolution began by abolishing capitalist exploitation and establishing a planned economy and collectivized property.

The War At Home

As campus administrators seek to make every college and university a loyal command post for the anti-Soviet war drive, they turn the cops and kangaroo "disciplinary courts" loose on student protest. Across the country, students are being "educated" by the business end of cops' nightsticks:

• At the University of Colorado at Boulder, site of two days of mass demonstrations and hundreds of arrests in the spring of 1985, the administration built a fence topped with barbed wire to keep protesters from disrupting the CIA's appearance this past November 17. Over a hundred riot gear clad state troopers, local and campus cops escorted potential imperialist spies into the recruitment center in vans, then turned on the anti-CIA demonstrators, spraying them with mace and arresting 15.

• Several days later at UMass Amherst, over 100 protesters occupied the university's public relations building to protest CIA recruitment. The sit-in included a delegation from Brown University and New Leftover Abbie Hoffman, who gave advice on how to wear handcuffs and raise bail as the cops closed in. Brown student Amy Carter, daughter of Jimmy Carter, joined the protest which was met with a heavy police presence, attack dogs and mace. Carter and others lay in front of a bus which was to haul other arrested demonstrators to jail and were themselves arrested. University officials "banned" Carter, Hoffman and 20 others from the campus.

• Most recently, at Rutgers, the cops arrested 19 of about 200 demonstrators, six of them brutally, "literally throwing people to the ground, pushing faces into the ground, twisting their arms behind their backs, kicking them in their legs, stepping on them and grabbing them by their hair and their ears" (*Daily Targum*, 5 December 1986). Drop the charges and rescind the bans against all anti-CIA protesters! CIA off campus!

Build a Workers Party!

For years during and after the anti-Vietnam War movement, the CIA and government agencies in general were *persona non grata* on campus, having been driven off by militant student protest. Now the CIA has embarked on a concerted effort to reconquer the campuses. But the memory of Vietnam still lives, and a lot of students are rejecting a "future" as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism's bloody adventures. Even before the orders to invade Nicaragua are written out, the U.S. government faces an upsurge of student protest, so that today architects of mass murder like Jeane Kirkpatrick can't set foot on a college campus without stirring up a hornet's nest of protest.

On some campuses, anti-CIA protests have been met by College Republican and Moonie counterdemonstrators who perversely raise the banner of "free speech" on behalf of their CIA mentors. "Free speech"?! That's pretty bizarre coming from the College Republicans, who mimic charity appeals with their "Save a Contra" campaign. "For only 52 cents a day..." you too can help buy bayonets to remove a fetus from the womb of a pregnant Nicaraguan mother. What the CIA is up to in Nicaragua is *murder*, not "speech"—and outraged students across the country understand this.

At Brown University, a referendum calling for Reagan's impeachment was defeated by only 19 votes last November. Students for Ethical Government, who sponsored the referendum, cited as main crimes of the Reagan administration the war in Nicaragua, the KAL 007 spy mission, and the terror bombing of Libya. The referendum concluded, "...we renounce Ronald Reagan's presidency. We no longer consider his power to be legitimate. We demand his impeachment."

Impeachment is not enough! The problem is not one dim bad actor but the whole capitalist system! The Democrats are no alternative—they line up behind Reagan and shovel his bullshit as fast as they can—from funding the mercenary contra scum to dishing out racist terror and union-busting at home. In order to change society, student struggles must be linked to the factory and the ghetto. We need a class-struggle workers party in this country and internationally, one that can lead the growing discontent of the working class into a struggle for *proletarian power*. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are fighting to win students to partisanship with the struggles of the working class and the oppressed to build this revolutionary workers party. Join us! ■

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social democracy. Often this was attempted by liquidating into front groups—an LO student was postering for LO and Tolbiac's Marxist Movement group at the same time, as though they were the same. Strikingly, in most cases only the Ligue Trotskyste de France distributed its newspaper and fought politically in its own name.

With the student strike over, everyone was immediately asking—would the workers now strike? One morning, as I was getting ready to go out the first answers came. The lights went out. I recall the headline of *Libération*, something like "*Tout à coup la lumière coupée par sauvages.*" I thought it meant "Suddenly, the light cut off by savages." I learned later that *sauvage* is (very indicative) French for wildcat strike—the utility workers were using their power with a flick of a switch. The dock workers had already been out for a week, in a strike that was getting little attention. The next day, several Métro lines were shut down, and even the bourgeois journalists of Agence France-Presse weren't moving any copy. On Friday, it was announced that no trains would be running on Monday. With rail and dock workers on strike, the possibility for shutting down commerce for all of France was posed.

Meanwhile, students in Spain, Italy and Belgium were reportedly following the lead of students in France, protesting proposed educational "reforms" by "socialist" governments which apply restrictive entrance requirements. The demands for high quality education had inspired struggles throughout Europe, and there was an understanding that what was needed was working-class power. but as in '68, people were wondering under whose direction. The PS and PCF claimed to be socialist and communist. If that's socialism, many were saying, I'm not buying.

Sygma

January 1984: Against popular-front illusions, French Trotskyists fight for working-class action to crush the fascist vermin.

So the crisis of revolutionary leadership that Trotsky wrote about is posed all the more starkly now in France. While the bourgeoisie and its agents in the workers movement—social democrats and Stalinists—are trying to keep the lid on, rank-and-file workers are fed up, and there's a real chance to split the base from the top. Rail strikers were denounced by Mitterrand, who made it clear that he was no longer playing soft cop to Chirac's hard cop routine. The next day, two days before Christmas, the postal union went out, in solidarity with the rail strike. Mitterrand and the union bureaucracy ranted about the cruelty of such actions around Christmas time. But the French workers weren't flinching.

At the Gare du Nord, where many of the trains going to other parts of Europe are stationed, the rail workers were going out on the track by hundreds, putting themselves there to stop oncoming trains. When a train stopped a few feet away from one group, they decided that they would simply cut all electricity going to the tracks. No trains moving there!

It seemed that these strikes would last only until Christmas, but instead they gained momentum. The bourgeoisie is worried and it's showing. Mitterrand is busy trying to prove to the French bourgeoisie that he can play hardball against the strikers, while Le Pen, of the fascist National Front, denounces Chirac for his "capitulation" to the students. It is becoming more clear for rank-and-file workers that social democracy has nothing to offer the working class. When the next "reform," the racist Nationality Act, is addressed in April, the immigrant working population, perhaps some of the most combative in France, will likely become galvanized. And many are pro-Soviet, in spite of Stalinist betrayals, and are open to a Trotskyist defense of the USSR.

It was exciting to be in France with talk of '68 turning to action. The Spartacist tendency was only a small group in 1968, recently expelled from the bureaucratic, revisionist American SWP. Then, French workers smashed the New Left conception that the working class was "bought off," and a generation of American student youth, radicalized hy the civil rights and antiwar movements, were made to recognize the power of the working class as *the* force for social change. Today, events in France gave me the opportunity to see not only a country gripped by social struggle, but also the importance of furthering revolutionary struggle here in the U.S. Both here and in France, it is the international Spartacist tendency, fighting to reforge the Fourth International, which can take the lessons of the past, apply them to the present crisis of decaying capitalist rule, and build a party which can take state power. ■

Young Spartacus

Red Sox "Fans" Riot Against Black Students

Smash Racist Attacks At UMass Amherst!

Chants of "Red Sox, Red Sox!" became the battle cry of a racist mob of several hundred whites who savagely attacked black students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on October 27. It was the last night of the World Series, and a group expecting a Red Sox victory in the seventh game had bought firecrackers and cherry bombs to celebrate. When the Sox lost, up to *one thousand* whites poured into the school's southwest residential area known as the "Pyramids," and set upon a group of *twenty* black students.

According to witnesses, white NY Mets fans were also out at the Pyramids, many of them chanting "Red Sox suck." But as one black student interviewed by *Young Spartacus* said, "Many of the people with me who were chanting Mets were white, but it was only the blacks who they went after." Steven Jones, a UMass junior, told our reporter that white students were chanting as they approached the black students. "One of the persons I was with said he liked the Mets and they pushed him to the ground. At that point they started to fight and other people joined in. One of them said, 'We're going to beat up all you n-----s'."

Screaming racial insults, the white mob attempted to surround the black students and then chased them into the nearby Crampton dormitory. Yancey

Carpenter/Boston Globe

NY Mets star Mookie Wilson (right) and Marty Barrett of Boston Red Sox speak at Amherst in wake of racist rampage.

Robinson, a black sophomore who had been studying, walked into the area, unaware of the racist rampage. Police grabbed Robinson for questioning. A group of white thugs then also grabbed Robinson, beating him to the ground. *The cops stood by and watched until Robinson was beaten unconscious.* Robinson suffered injuries to his neck, legs and abdomen requiring that he use crutches and wear a neck brace. The next day, Robinson phoned the police to identify his assailants and also reported threatening phone calls he had received. The cops made no arrests of the racist thugs but outrageously "followed through" on the phone threats by moving Robinson out of his own dorm room!

Though located in the green pastures of western Massachusetts, Amherst is not that far from Boston, where racist mobs mobilized to destroy busing for school integration over a decade ago, and where cross-burnings, racist attacks and murders of blacks and Asians are

Usin/Springfield Newspapers

Jennifer Dempsey

Amherst, October 28: UMass students protest racist mob attack which left Yancey Robinson (right) in neck brace and crutches.

escalating today. The connection between Boston and the racist riot at Amherst was not lost on Lester Williams, a black UMass junior from Boston's heavily black and Hispanic Field's Corner neighborhood, and a Red Sox fan until the seventh game of the World Series. On that night, black Red Sox pitcher Dennis "Oil Can" Boyd was scheduled to start—after a season of outrageous harassment, from repeated drug testing to frame-ups by the Chelsea cops. "Oil Can" never got to the mound even after Bruce Hurst, who started, was knocked out and a series of Sox pitchers went packing to the dugout. As Williams told *Young Spartacus*, "I know Boston is a racist city, but it compounded everything I had seen and experienced that night they decided not to let 'Oil Can' Boyd pitch. So for that game I became a Mets fan." Williams was also injured in the racist rampage at Amherst, but the real pain, he said, "was the mental and psychological damage, more than anything else."

Boston teams have long been seen as the "great white hope" of sports, but the background of escalating racial violence on the campus indicates that almost *anything* could have ignited this fight. Black students at UMass Amherst are a besieged minority of 500 out of a student population of nearly 20,000. Several black students received phone calls threatening rapes and beatings on that upcoming Halloween eve, known as "Devil's Night." Taking their cue from hooded KKK marauders, white bandits hoped that Halloween masks would prevent their crimes from being traced. UMass chancellor Joseph Duffey responded to these threats by outlawing masks on Halloween. Yet racist fraternity jocks awarded first prize in a costume contest to a white male wearing a Ku Klux Klan outfit and carrying a hangman's noose. Taking no chances, many black students left campus for that weekend.

The surge in racial harassment of black students is an ominous nationwide trend. Just next door to UMass at Smith College, a black woman senior from Memphis wrote a letter to the campus newspaper recounting a series of racial insults uttered by the genteel white ladies of this elite women's college. Two days later, someone spray-painted the message, "Quit complaining and get out," on the steps of the Mwangi Cultural Center, along with derogatory names for blacks, Hispanics and Asians.

Racist incidents at other campuses include a cross-burning in front of a building designated for a black sorority in Alabama, and murderous attacks on anti-apartheid activists in symbolic shanties carried out by arsonists calling themselves the "Aryan Collegiates" in Texas, frat rats at Johns Hopkins, and sledgehammer-wielding right-wing scum from the *Dartmouth Review* crowd. A black cadet at South Carolina's military institution, The Citadel, awoke in the middle of the night to find five white cadets in Klan hoods burning a cross right in his room.

Then there's the more subtle racism which grinds down every minority person in this country but rarely makes the news because it's so "routine." The everyday "routine" for the few black students who get into the posher universities is unremitting cop harassment, demands that they produce identification because they "don't *look* like a Harvard student" or a "Yalie," while the inner-city schools are patrolled by more security guards than Macy's. And everywhere there's the demeaning "advice" from professors that minority students switch to "less demanding" majors.

All of this occurs in the context of a dramatic decline in black enrollment at the nation's universities as Reagan and the Democrats roll back busing, slash financial aid and throw black youth on the scrap heap. From the increased Klan activity in Northern cities like Chicago and throughout the South, to the racist massacre of Philly MOVE by black Democrat Wilson Goode, to the lynch mob murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Reagan and the Democrats have given a green light to race-hate terrorists. University administrators in the Amherst area soul-searched and argued that the "problem" was "generational," that these racists were in diapers at the time of the civil rights movement. Indeed those scum who severely injured Yancey Robinson and nine other black students took their cues from today—and right from the top—from Reagan and Meese who are rolling back every hard-won gain of the civil rights movement and union struggles.

The day after the rampage at UMass, black students in the United Greek Forum, a group of fraternities, held an integrated rally and march of 300 to protest this vile racist attack. However, the central demand was for "increased awareness" sessions on racism and *more* campus cops. The administration arranged for Marty Barrett of the Red Sox and Mookie Wilson of the Mets to come to campus and discuss what happened. Even this liberal palliative backfired—the white Boston infielder was given a standing ovation while the black New York outfielder was booed. Psychological analysis of racist scum in close-contact "bull" sessions won't put an end to racism, any more than the cops who stood by as Yancey Robinson was beaten unconscious are going to defend the right of black students to get an education at UMass.

What's needed at UMass is united action to stop racist attacks. In 1981, the Spartacus Youth League initiated an emergency demonstration of 400 anti-racist militants at Amherst to mobilize against the anti-black and anti-gay attacks by a fascist group called UTOPIA. Militant students won to the Marxist program of revolutionary integrationism, and strategically allied with the social power of the working class, must take their place in smashing racist terror at its root—the capitalist system—in the fight for socialist revolution. ■

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MADISON

Iran-Iraq...

(continued from page 16)

> but the key to the liberation of the Iranian and Iraqi masses."
> —"Iranian Left and the Test of War," *WV* No. 271, 2 January 1981

At the same time, it is the elementary duty of the international proletariat and defenders of democratic rights to come to the defense of oppressed national minorities, in particular the Kurdish people, who are up against an all-sided genocide in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria. A 9 January press release of the Kurdish Democratic Party speaks of a "wide-scale barbaric attack" by Iraq on the Aqra and Shekhan districts, and appeals for medical care, food and clothing for the population of 40 villages forced to flee. For the right of the Kurds to self-determination! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

Reagan and Khomeini: Brothers Under the Skin

Asked how the Reagan administration's chaotic actions—of supplying weapons to Khomeini, providing covert assistance to émigré groups trying to overthrow Khomeini, slipping the ayatollahs' secret police names of Iranian Communists to be arrested and executed as Soviet agents, and feeding both sides in the Iran-Iraq war false intelligence—could add up to a policy, one former U.S. official ruefully remarked: "You had to have been there." Coherent or not, the Reaganites' covert arming of Iran has had an effect not only in Tcheran and Baghdad, but also in Moscow where the Kremlin is now understandably tilting toward Iraq in response.

A recent Moscow statement on the war sharply denounced the provocative U.S. actions:

> "Publicly stating its desire to see the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the United States in reality is fanning the flames of the war, provoking further bloodshed between the two neighboring countries.... Washington is trying to justify its political machinations and behind-the-scenes arms deals by references to the so-called 'Soviet threat' to the Persian Gulf countries."
> —*New York Times*, 12 January

So far, the ayatollahs' anti-American stance has prevented an open U.S.-Iran alliance, and Washington has maintained an ostensibly neutral posture in the war. But the character of the war may be shifting.

Behind Reagan's overtures to Khomeini is the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, and the desire to recruit the Islamic fanatics for an apocalyptic onslaught against what both the president and the ayatollah consider the Soviet "evil empire." This scheme wasn't simply the brainchild of Lt. Col. Oliver North and the Israelis. Two years ago *WV* quoted right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan, now Reagan's official speechwriter, arguing for an alliance with Iran:

> "Taking the long view, the U.S. has no strategic quarrel with Iran, and many concurrent interests.... Tehran's long-term interests lie in association with the U.S. ...
> "Second, if there are any pro-American elements silent now inside revolutionary Iran, they are likely in the officers corps, particularly the air force. How do we maintain these assets by shooting the tiny Iranian air force out of the sky?"
> —*New York Post*, 31 May 1984

Buchanan fretted that "a military debacle could bring about the dismemberment of Iran, with the Soviets moving in to pick up the pieces."

Wright/Miami News

Iran-Iraq war in oil-rich Persian Gulf region, which U.S. threatens to hold by "any means necessary."

Furthermore, Washington's main ally in the Near East, Israel, has always supported Iran against Iraq, both under the Shah and Khomeini, on the principle that an enemy of an Arab country is a friend of the Zionist state. Doubtless the Persian mullahs cheered when the Israelis in a provocative act of international terrorism bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981.

In his 1980 State of the Union address to Congress, President Jimmy Carter declared that "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America." He vowed to hold onto the oil-rich region by "any means necessary," including military force. It was made clear by "leaks" that this included the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons, and Carter created a 300,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force to back up his imperialist threat. Since then the U.S. has sent "pre-positioned" military supplies into the Middle East for such an intervention. Exactly what event would trigger U.S. alarm bells has varied according to whoever was running the trigger-happy National Security Council. This week a report from the German magazine *Der Spiegel* claims that the U.S. is planning to intervene militarily if Basra is in danger of falling to the Iranians.

The Near East is a seething cauldron of nationalist conflicts and ever-shifting alliances which are inflamed by U.S. imperialism's drive to destroy the Soviet Union. In this sense the region resembles the Balkans before World War I, where a senseless act of nationalist terrorism set off four years of imperialist bloodletting. From the raging Iran-Iraq war to the Arab-Israel conflict, there is always the danger of escalation into a direct U.S.-Soviet military confrontation. The threat of nuclear holocaust, which could be triggered by some insane Near Eastern conflict, can be ended only when the imperialist warmongers are disarmed through international proletarian revolution. ■

Challenger...

(continued from page 6)

Committee, to conduct a thorough investigation. This is pie in the sky.

"Uh-oh!"

As late as mid-July NASA had been insisting that the shuttle crew had died instantly and had no awareness of the disaster. But a couple of weeks later they were forced to release tapes of the crew's final words, where pilot Michael J. Smith remarks "Uh-oh" 73 seconds into the fatal flight. It took almost *three minutes* for the crew module to crash to earth after the explosion. Finally NASA admitted that at least three of the crew emergency air packs had been activated and two of them were almost used up during that time.

Columnist William V. Shannon pointedly asked in New York's *Daily News* (8 August), "Did NASA also launch a coverup?" He wrote: "The timetable is instructive. By late March, the emergency air-packs had been recovered. NASA says it did not look at them until May 20 and it was not certain they had been used until June 27, three weeks after the Rogers report was released. Is this pace plausible?... I believe it [NASA] deliberately prolonged the search in the hope that the warm waters would decompose the bodies, making autopsies more difficult." Shannon concludes NASA was determined that the "truth would never become known."

New York Times
Richard C. Cook, former NASA employee, who warned of fatal flaw in rocket design.

The original space shuttle Columbia had ejection seats, but these were removed to save weight—NASA was trying to cram in a few more pounds of spy satellite for the Pentagon. Now they are belatedly designing a "shuttle crew escape system," but it will probably not be ready in time for the scheduled resumption of shuttle flights in 1988. Even when installed, this jerry-built "escape" system works only when the shuttle is stable, puts explosives in the crew cabin to blow out the entry hatch, requires climbing down a ladder and attaching a rocket to each astronaut, takes forever ...and will not work during the first two minutes of flight, as in the Challenger disaster. Designing an escape system for the crucial first two minutes "would require enormous restructuring of the shuttle," said NASA engineer Arnold Aldrich (*New York Times*, 28 December), and that would mean another delay in deploying "Star Wars" in space.

From the very beginning, the design of the shuttle was "dictated by military missions of the future" (*New York Times*, 21 December 1984), and in 1980 NASA and the "Defense" Department signed a deal giving priority to military cargo. Reagan's trillion-dollar scheme for a space weapons "shield" accelerated the military takeover of the shuttle, which is the prime U.S. space delivery vehicle. Now commercial payloads, once touted by Reagan as an example of successful privatization of government, have been dumped from the shuttle. According to *Aviation Week* (13 October 1986), "By 1993, according to the manifest, the space shuttle program will become almost entirely devoted to space station assembly and Defense Dept. space missions." And the $13 billion space station has now been openly declared a military project by the Pentagon.

Christa McAuliffe and the rest of the Challenger crew were the first victims of Reagan's "Star Wars." In a grotesque symbolic reminder of this, NASA has buried the remains of the shuttle in an abandoned missile silo! The hectic schedule to "get that thing up" again is driven by the Pentagon's demand for C³I (command, control, communications and intelligence) satellites crucial to U.S. plans for "prevailing" in a nuclear first strike against the Soviets. Yet the spineless liberals in Congress, who support the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, will do nothing to stop Reagan's dangerous crackpot schemes. The fate of mankind depends on the timely intervention of the world proletariat, particularly American workers, to drive the war-crazy capitalist rulers from power before they send us all up in a giant Challenger fireball. ■

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Contragate Murder Plots...

(continued from page 1)

the government wants to keep the lid on this one, and how the antics of North, Poindexter & Co. link the Reagan administration to earlier CIA "dirty tricks" going back to Vietnam and before.

Guns, Drugs and Murder

American mercenaries and the 'contras: Sheehan's affidavit reports that in January 1984 a network reporter who had earlier visited contra training camps in Florida went to Tegucigalpa, Honduras to observe a meeting of American mercenaries that would "finalize specific plans for obtaining U.S. military equipment" for the contras. There he met Thomas Posey, head of "Civilian Material Assistance," a pro-contra mercenary outfit including members of various Southern National Guard units. One of the reporter's sources provided detailed information about the CMA obtaining allegedly "surplus" military equipment from the U.S. Army's 20th Special Forces Unit in Alabama and access to a "surplus" armed forces airplane in New Jersey to transport this materiel from the U.S. via El Salvador's Ilopango Air Base to the ranch of an American named John Hull in northern Costa Rica.

In 1982-83 millionaire rancher Hull had given over his land to the CIA to be used as staging areas for landing and off-loading weapons and ammunition to contra forces just over the border in Nicaragua. In June 1984 the reporter was introduced by Posey to Robert Owen, who declared he was "the personal representative to the Contras of Marine Corps Lt. Colonel Oliver North" of the National Security Council, and was acting as a go-between because the Congressional ban on aid to the contras (Boland Amendment) made it impossible for him to meet them directly. Owen said he was "taking orders" from the contra commanders for weapons and military equipment, and seeing to it that their orders were filled.

Drugs and terror—the attempted murder of Pastora: In San José, Costa Rica, journalists Avirgan and Honey, attempting to track down the authors of the Pastora assassination attempt, came across a Nicaraguan contra, "David," who was part of an "international brigade" of contras based on the Hull ranch. David told a mutual contact, Carlos Rojas, that the brigade "was directly involved in the trans-shipment of large quantities of Colombian cocaine from the airstrips on John Hull's farm." In May-June 1983, two Cuban Americans set up the drug operation, receiving cocaine from two of the biggest narcotics traffickers in Colombia, Jorge Ochoa and Pablo Escobar, and reshipping it to Miami, New Orleans and Memphis. Part of the income from this drug smuggling operation went to finance military equipment, ammunition and explosives for the contras.

David informed Avirgan/Honey via Rojas that in 1983, contra leader Edén Pastora began to have difficulty with Hull and the CIA's man on the scene, Duane "Dewey" Clarridge, because of Pastora's refusal to merge with the Honduran FDN contras, led by former officers of Somoza's National Guard. According to the affidavit, the preliminary decision to assassinate Pastora was made in a series of meetings at the Hull ranch around January 1984. The hit man selected was Amac Galil, an anti-Qaddafi Libyan terrorist working at the time for the secret police of Chilean dictator Pinochet. Galil was paid $50,000 for the job. In the bombing three journalists and five of Pastora's contras were killed and a dozen others wounded. The fact that the CIA will kill its "own" people if they get out of line—and Pastora was on the Company's payroll—shows the totally degenerate, gangster mentality of the men running this country.

The press accounts of the bombing were confused. According to Avirgan and Honey, several Washington reporters received tips from U.S. government sources pinning the blame on the Basque separatist group ETA, acting on behalf of the Sandinistas. ABC-TV, CNN and PBS reported that account. The *New York Times* (1 June 1984) printed a story by Stephen Kinzer quoting Pastora as fingering the Nicaraguan government. However, according to the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* (3 December), "Pastora later told Avirgan and Honey that he had said no such thing. Instead... Pastora claimed he had blamed the CIA."

David was reportedly kidnapped, beaten and tortured to death and buried on Hull's ranch in 1985. Avirgan and Honey began receiving death threats to "stop your investigation or be killed," and were provided armed guards by the Costa Rican government. Instead they published an 80-page document, "La Penca: Pastora, the Press and the CIA." Hull sued the journalists for libel in a Costa Rican court last year *and lost.* Pastora himself testified, and in a dramatic courtroom scene identified Hull as a CIA operative. After two days, the judge threw out Hull's suit and ruled that Avirgan and Honey were "totally absolved" of charges of defamation, slander and injury.

Drugs and terror—the plan to murder Ambassador Tambs: The most spectacular charge in the Avirgan/Honey suit was of a plot by the CIA-supervised contra brigade on Hull's ranch to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica.

> "David told Carlos that [Colombian cocaine kingpin] Pablo Escobar had put a $1,000,000 'bounty' on the head of U.S. Costa Rican Ambassador Lewis Tambs because Escobar was infuriated at the efforts made by Tambs, when Tambs was U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, to obtain an extradition treaty between Colombia and the U.S. which would allow the extradition of Escobar and other cocaine traffickers to the U.S. for prosecution for drug smuggling. David told Carlos that the bombing and the assassination of Tambs would be made to look like the work of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua—in an effort to instigate direct military action by the United States against Nicaragua—while the International Brigade collected the $1 million bounty to aid them in their purchase of military equipment for use in their military effort against Nicaragua."

David was worried that he had gotten in over his head, and wanted out.

For many months, the Avirgan/Honey suit was the only account of the Tambs assassination plot: "it seemed more like the far-fetched plot outline to a thriller set in Central America," wrote the *Los Angeles Times* (16 December), and the bourgeois media wouldn't touch it. But in the wake of the Iran/Contragate revelations, new evidence has surfaced. John Mattes, an assistant public defender in Florida, made public a sworn affidavit from Jesús Garcia, a former Dade County deputy sheriff, who said he had been working with Tom Posey's Civilian Material Assistance when, in February 1985 at a Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge in Miami, "They asked me to help bomb the U.S. Embassy to kill [U.S. ambassador] Tambs."

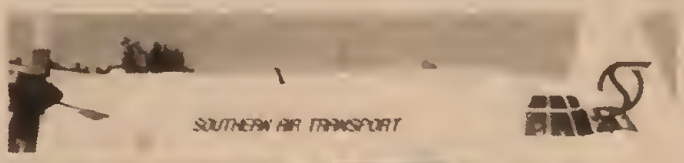
"At this meeting, Mr. [Sam] Hall presented a blueprint of the United States embassy and a schedule of the ambassador's daily activities," said Garcia. But "I told Posey, no... I wasn't willing to hit an American. It was too dangerous." According to Garcia, another participant in the meeting, Steven Carr, wrote to him a few months later in a letter that ended bitterly: "I'm an American all the way, but I stop at killing other Americans for the sake of CIA war games...." Carr, who had been speaking with Congressional investigators and feared he would be killed if forced to testify, died suddenly on December 13 violently convulsing on a driveway in Los Angeles. The police said it appeared to be a drug overdose. Sam Hall was captured that same weekend in Nicaragua at the Punta Huete military air base, carrying hand-sketched drawings of military installations in his socks.

All of these charges have been known to U.S. authorities for months, but according to the Sheehan affidavit, at least six different investigations have been aborted by the Reagan administration's Justice Department. An FBI investigation of Lt. Col. Oliver North and Robert Owen for violations of the Neutrality Act and the Boland Amendment was halted by Attorney General Edwin Meese in the fall of 1985. A DEA investigation of John Hull for narcotics trafficking was halted in the summer of 1985 after North learned of it. In March 1985 the U.S. attorney's staff in Miami was ordered by Meese to move "very, very, very slowly in the investigation" of arms smuggling to the contras from the

Washington Post

Leonardo Barreto

Contra leaders (left) meet at White House with godfather Reagan and his henchman Oliver North, 1985. Victims (right) of contra terrorists.



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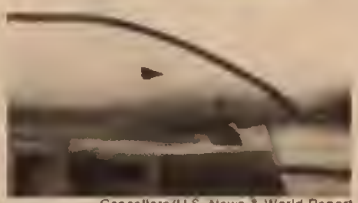
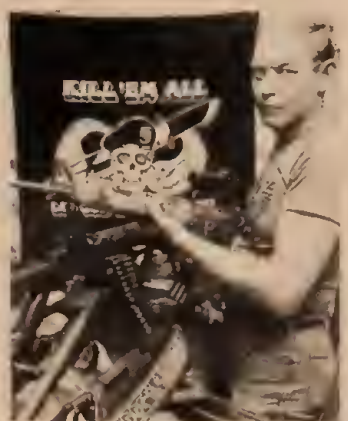


Cancellare/U.S. News & World Report

CIA-connected Southern Air Transport carries guns to contras, carries back drugs.

McNamee/Newsweek



Bell/Gamma-Liaison

CIA chief William Casey and merc Thomas Posey.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Free Speech on Trial at S.F. State

Guillermo Bermúdez, Spartacist activist, goes on trial January 21 in San Francisco municipal court for the "crime" of passing out a Marxist leaflet on the SF State campus. Bermúdez, a student at UC Berkeley and a former student at SF State, is charged with violating a South Africa-style ban slapped on him by the SFSU administration after he and other young Spartacist "Red Avengers" held a rally on campus two years ago to raise money for Nicaragua's defense against U.S. imperialism. On 16 November 1984, campus cops arrested Guillermo for breaking this ban by coming to campus and distributing leaflets. The police report described his "motive" as: "to pass-out 'Spartacus' Nicaraguan support flyers."

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fought for dismissal of the charges all the way to the California Supreme Court, which refused to review the case. The vendetta against Guillermo is aimed at intimidating and silencing all those who would protest the criminal policies of the U.S. government and its campus henchmen. It is part of a policy of pre-emptive strikes against campus protest that goes all the way to the Reagan/Meese White House. If this South Africa-style banning order is not beaten back, many more will follow. Several professors, such as R.W. Major, lecturer for Black Studies, and Sam Wellbaum, lecturer for the Speech Department, along with Lamont A. Coleman, president of the Pan-African Student Union*, Melchor Ferrer, president of the Associated Students*, and Bill Insley of the California State Employees Association*, have endorsed Guillermo's case.

Funds are urgently needed for Guillermo's defense. Checks should be made payable/mailed to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, earmarked for Bermúdez defense. Defeat the South Africa-style ban! Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Young Spartacus

Spartacist Guillermo Bermúdez defies ban at San Francisco State.

Fort Lauderdale airport.

In addition, an FBI investigation into the conspiracy to assassinate Ambassador Tambs was stopped by U.S. attorney Leon Kellner in Miami. A DEA investigation of contra cocaine smuggling by Francisco Chanes during 1984-85 was called off by the Justice Department's Drug Task Force. And last October, following the capture of American mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, shot down over southern Nicaragua while delivering arms to the contras, the Justice Department called off a Miami probe of the "private" contra aid network.

From Nicaragua to Vietnam

By courageously pursuing their investigations, Avirgan and Honey are helping to lift the curtain of secrecy over the government's deadly covert operations, in Central America and around the globe. Now others are coming forward with information. Sheehan has said he has the names of six civilian pilots who in exchange for immunity from prosecution will testify that they flew guns, ammo and C-4 explosives to Hull's ranch and then ferried cocaine back to the U.S. (*Daily News*, 31 December 1986).

The Avirgan/Honey suit traces the ties of many of those who are prominent today in the Iran/Contragate scandal back to the U.S.'dirty war in Indochina, where many of them first met. To a man, they or their close associates were active in various CIA and Pentagon "unconventional warfare" (terrorist) operations, including smuggling opium for the Vang Pao secret army in Laos and the Phoenix Project which assassinated some 60,000 Vietnamese. During 1966-68 a Special Operations Group was established in Vientiane, Laos headed by General John K. Singlaub. Air Wing Commander for the SOG was General "Heine" Aderholt. His deputy was Air Force General Richard Secord. One of the members of an Army Special Forces unit in the Group was Dwight Owen, older brother of Robert Owen. And "serving under Singlaub in Laos for a period at the end of 1968 was a young 2nd Lt. by the name of Oliver North."

Their CIA bosses during the Vietnam War are also involved in the current affair. The CIA chief of station in Laos during 1967-71 was Theodore Shackley; his deputy was Thomas Clines. From 1971 through 1973, Shackley and Clines were chief and deputy chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere division in Washington, where they directed the "Track II" operations in Chile which resulted in the bloody Pinochet coup and the assassination of Salvador Allende. In 1974 and 1975, Shackley/Clines were in Saigon directing the Phoenix Project. Following the historic victory of the Vietnamese peasants and workers over American imperialism and its Saigon puppet regime, the defeated U.S. spies and assassins were dispersed. Several thousand members of the CIA's Operations Division were fired during a mass purge in 1977-78.

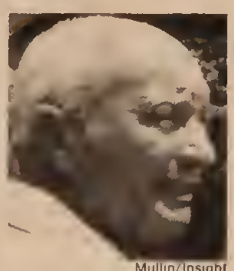
Shackley rose to become the Assistant Deputy Director of Operations, No. 2 in the CIA "dirty tricks" department. But he and his sidekick Clines were shunted out of The Company in 1979 as Carter's man Stansfield Turner tried to clean up the Edwin Wilson Libya mess. The Sheehan affidavit refers to a "'Secret Team' of former high-ranking American CIA officials, former high-ranking U.S. military officials and Middle Eastern arms merchants—who also specialized in the performance of covert political assassinations of communists and 'enemies'...." When Congress formally prohibited direct or indirect U.S. military aid to the contras, this "Secret Team" was activated to fill the gap.

Reuters

Sam Hall

New York Post

Lewis Tambs



Mullin/Insight

John Hull

Crisis of the American Empire

There is a curious aspect to the Iran/Contragate affair: why did it surface? Just because some Lebanese weekly paper broke the Iranian arms deal? Certainly the spectacle of McFarlane & Co. sneaking into Teheran with Irish passports, bearing gifts of pearl-handled revolvers, a key-shaped cake and a Reagan bible, is mind-blowing. But pieces of this puzzle have been revealed before and they were always squelched. The affair went critical when the contra funds diversion was revealed: a blatant slap in the face of Congress. Yet it wasn't an enterprising investigative reporter that did it. To this day, in the heat of the biggest crisis of the Reagan administration, with Congress blowing hot and heavy and legions of journalists digging away, they still haven't tracked the Iran money to Central America.

So why did Fd Meese lift the lid, turning an awkward Iranscam into the Iran/Contragate crisis? Some very highly placed people are the only ones who had enough information to blow the cover. The Joint Chiefs of Staff are likely candidates: a Congressional source was quoted saying "the chiefs are getting ready to unload" with gripes over not being consulted on Iran arms shipments and Reagan's Reykjavik "disarmament" proposals (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1986). Another powerful disgruntled sector is...the CIA. *Business Week* (29 December 1986) writes that if there's blood in the water over this affair, "much of it appears to have been shed in a frenzy of back-stabbing in the U.S. intelligence community":

> "Many intelligence veterans have long been upset about the White House's reliance on a highly covert, private-sector, paramilitary organization to carry out the secret arms deals with Iran and to supply and direct *contra* operations against Nicaragua. And they have been angered that CIA Director William J. Casey allowed the National Security Council to usurp the Central Intelligence Agency's role in secret operations. Intelligence pros...have responded by anonymously leaking—to the press and to private groups investigating *contra* aid—intricate details of three decades of the private operators' activities."

The American ruling class is seriously worried that their president has drifted off into never-never land. "Reagan's mental outlook and grasp of issues are of increasing concern on Capitol Hill," reports the *New York Times* (14 January). And conservative *Time* magazine (26 January) worried in print: "Has the President wandered so far out of touch that he is losing his ability to govern the country?" He's taken to sending notes to the NSC, adorned with Alfred F. Newman "what me worry?" self-portraits, thanking this den of run-amok plotters "for all you do day in and day out for me and most importantly for our country." The neo-liberal neo-conservative *New Republic* declared the administration "Brain Dead."

The crisis of the imperial presidency is a crisis of the American empire. And from Franklin D. Roosevelt, who declared the first Somoza "our son of a bitch," to John F. Kennedy, who staged the Bay of Pigs fiasco and committed U.S. imperialism to the Vietnam War, Democratic presidents are right up there with Reagan when it comes to war crimes. And the Democratic Congress has voted funds for Reagan's contras, from Afghanistan and Cambodia to Angola and now (once again) Nicaragua. But the American people have no stomach for "another Vietnam" in Central America.

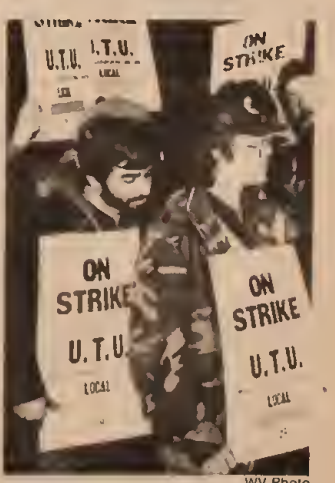
The Reagan administration resorts to a shadow CIA of privateers and mercenaries because of their difficulties in selling their war plans. This is a continuing legacy of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in the rice paddies of Indochina, a defeat which continues to stay their bloody hand in Central America. But while the Vietnamese did their job in driving out the colonialists and imperialists, the nefarious activities of the Contragaters today are an expression of the fact that the American working people have not yet done their job in settling accounts with the imperialist war criminals once and for all. ■

Victory to the LIRR Strike!

JANUARY 20—Chanting "No contract, no train," angry Long Island Railroad workers demonstrated outside negotiations in NYC, before they hit the bricks on Sunday. Hog-tied by their union leaders' acceptance of two federal "cooling off" periods and without a contract for over two years, LIRR workers finally struck against the MTA's attempt to slash medical benefits and gut seniority. On Tuesday the MTA ran scab buses and extra subway trains for over 100,000 Long Island commuters.

The Transport Workers Union must shut down the MTA's scab operation in solidarity with the LIRR strike! The many LIRR unions must present a solid front—one out, all out! But included in the bargaining coalition is the cops' so-called union, the PBA. These sworn enemies of labor and minorities have no place on a picket line—cops out of the labor movement!

The MTA wants to place the LIRR unions under the no-strike Taylor Law, which the Democratic Party



WV Photo

strikebreakers used against transit workers in 1980. As an LIRR worker told *WV*: "I want to win this one.... It's for all of us." Smash government union-busting! No arbitration trap! Victory to the LIRR strike!

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 3)

into public life. Over 300,000 peasant families have received land. This social progress is helping win the war against Islamic counterrevolution. James Steele, writing in the London *Guardian* (25 February 1986), quoted a Kabul River valley peasant who joined his village militia after being freed from debt and receiving his own plot of land: "We will not allow anyone to be against the revolution in this country."

The Cold War liberals, of course, have joined Reagan in praising the Afghan "democratic resistance." Writing in the *New York Review of Books* (18 December 1986) Jeri Laber of the Helsinki Watch Committee rails against "Soviet expansionism" and in defense of feudalist reaction: "The Soviets are pursuing expansionist policies in Afghanistan, under the guise of bringing progress. But the progress they offer the Afghans—literacy, industrial development, a centralized economy, and equality of the sexes—is not what most Afghans want [!].... Most Afghans are set in their tribal ways, and want only to be left alone." Laber depicts the Islamic guerrillas as intrepid defenders of small children against the evils of Soviet education ("long-term indoctrination"), and speaks glowingly of Afghan contra kidnappings and "rehabilitation" of children to be spies and assassins for the *mujahedin*.

For seven years the liberals and the media have portrayed the Afghan contras as nature's noblemen being trampled on by Soviet totalitarianism. But even the imperialist media have had difficulty disappearing the Afghan drug connection. Last summer the *New York Times* (18 June 1986) quoted a *mujahedin* leader explaining, "We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war against the Russian nonbelievers." When the Pakistan army tried to pull a crackdown against Afghan drug traffickers in Karachi, a rather clear picture emerged of these "freedom fighters." To defend their lucrative trade, gangs of Afghan and Pakistani Pathans went on a terrorist rampage against neighborhoods inhabited by Muhajirs, Muslim refugees from India. Armed with automatic rifles supplied by the *mujahedin* rebel leaders, axes and daggers, they dragged Muhajir women and children into the streets where they were beaten and hacked to death. After five days of this communalist pogrom over 160 people were reported dead and hundreds wounded.

From the "April Revolution" to "National Reconciliation"

The Islamic *mujahedin* are fighting the "godless Communist infidel" in order to preserve a society based on the cruelest, bloodsucking social parasitism, criminality and slavery. Pre-1979 Afghanistan was a squalid hellhole where emigration was virtually a national aspiration. Per capita income was $200 a year. Women were kept smothered under yards of heavy cloth covering them from head to toe. Illiterate and ignorant, they were sold like chattels under the bride-price system. The landlords and tribal khans literally held power of life and death over the mass of peasants, controlling 42 percent of the cultivable land and the irrigation systems. Half the children died by age five and life expectancy was 40.

Jann/AFP

New Afghan leader Najib (center) calls for "reconciliation" with murderous mullah reactionaries.

The 1978 "April Revolution" was essentially a left-wing military coup which brought the People's Democratic Party to power. A petty-bourgeois nationalist front, of schoolteachers, university students, government officials and army officers, the PDPA had no base among the peasant masses nor the tiny urban working class. Coming to power in one of the most primitive and tradition-bound countries on the face of the earth, they had little support for even the limited democratic reforms they introduced—i.e., land redistribution, compulsory education for both sexes, separation of church and state. In particular it was the regime's steps toward the equality of women which fueled reactionary resistance.

Faced with the certain defeat of its Kabul allies by an Islamic *jihad*, the USSR intervened in late December 1979. The protective wall of Soviet tanks and helicopters made possible a real social transformation in Afghanistan. Some of the changes reflect most of all the abject backwardness of the country. For example, since 1979 the number of doctors has been raised by some 50 percent—to around 1,500—while hospital beds have doubled, to 4,800! At the same time more than 1.5 million people have passed the state-run literacy course in a country where previously 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The Soviet Union has poured millions of rubles in consumer goods and industrial projects into Afghanistan, developing mines, petroleum wells and hydroelectric plants.

The most striking changes have occurred in the position of women in Afghan society. Liberated from the *chador*, 5,000 Afghan women have taken up arms as members of the Soviet-backed DRA militia. Formerly enslaved and secluded, now many women work in Afghan industry. Women workers at the Guzargah textile factory in Kabul, for example, are unionized and have access to free child care and health care at the plant. Previously it was forbidden for a doctor to touch a woman, and when West German feminists tried to start a health clinic in an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan they were all but lynched by the mullahs and tribal chieftains (see "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!", *Women and Revolution* No. 31, Spring 1986). The *mujahedin* have shot more than 2,000 teachers for teaching young girls and women to read and write.

Ominously, however, these steps toward a social transformation in Afghanistan are now being held back by the DRA government in the interests of conciliating the forces of Islamic reaction. Education for girls is no longer compulsory but "voluntary"—which for the masses will mean its elimination—and the land reform has been cut back. Over the last couple of years the *ulema* (Islamic clergy) has been increasingly coddled by the government. Their lands and tithes are exempt from taxation or redistribution, and many of the mullahs and khans are on state salary. The new constitution pledges to "respect, observe and protect holy Islam." Last year Najib was brought to power, replacing Babrak Karmal (who was installed at the time of the 1979 Soviet intervention) as the leader of the PDPA, in order to "broaden the base" of the regime. Najib makes a point of being seen praying in mosques around Kabul.

Now, ominously, Najib is calling for "reconciliation" with the chiefs of the CIA's murderous bands. According to the Afghan news agency Bakhtar, at a special plenum of the PDPA on December 30, he called for "making compromise with the political forces who are in opposition" and for "active contacts... with the leading personalities of the past regime as well as the Islamic parties." Najib added that "creation of a coalition government with the participation of the above mentioned groups is possible." The PDPA leadership is not proposing to commit suicide: Najib points to the 809,000-strong army, more than 170,000 party members and the "strong, loyal and trusted friends, that is, the Soviet Union." But the social reforms are up for negotiation: he doesn't mention the "April Revolution."

Mop Up the Afghan Counterrevolutionaries!

The Afghan news agency report made it clear that the "national reconciliation" came from Moscow. Following a reciprocal visit to Kabul, Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze talked of a "sovereign independent" Afghanistan "pursuing a policy of neutrality and nonalignment." He added, however, that a Soviet withdrawal "would require an end to the support of the rebel forces by the freedom-loving cowboys of the U.S." What is the Kremlin proposing here? As one American professor put it, the Soviets "might in fact be acceding to what they describe in private as a 'Finlandization' of Afghanistan—the emergence of a largely non-Communist coalition government that would nevertheless not be hostile to Soviet security interests" (*New York Times*, 6 May 1986).

Try as they will, Mikhail Gorbachev et al. aren't going to get a Finland on the Soviet Union's crucial southern flank. Backward Afghanistan could never sustain anything remotely resembling a stable bourgeois democracy: even the most minimal bourgeois-democratic reforms provoked a violent feudalist reaction. It took the intervention of the Red Army to carry them out. The Kremlin Stalinists keep dreaming of "détente," of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. But the U.S. imperialists are committed to keeping Afghanistan unstable through funneling millions in arms and aid to the Islamic reactionaries. As CIA director William Casey put it (*Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986), the U.S.' goal is to "bleed the Russians"—as part of their war drive to "prevail" over the Soviet Union.

The only "political solution" is to complete and extend the social transformation begun with the Red Army intervention in 1979, through finishing the job of mopping up the reactionary cabal of landlords, tribal chieftains and mullahs. This would have a revolutionary impact throughout the region. General Zia's Pakistan is highly unstable: Baluchi and Pashtoon peoples separated by an imperialist border from their tribal brothers to the north already are attracted by overtures from Kabul, and there are reportedly thousands of Pakistani oppositionists in exile in the Afghan capital. And smashing the Afghan Islamic fanatics could revive revolutionary agitation among the working class in neighboring Iran, now suffering under the theocratic, clerical-feudalist regime of Khomeini's ayatollahs no less than it did under the hated Shah.

Novosti

Afghan peasants. Limited land reform is threatened by attempts to conciliate Islamic reaction.

Writing in 1919, as the revolutionary wave was receding in Central Europe, Trotsky noted that the Red Army could pave the way for extending the October Revolution to the East, beyond the border of the former tsarist empire:

> "We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. How-

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ever, the international situation is evidently shaping up in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal.... Naturally, we had had in mind even earlier on the need to assist the revolution in Asia and had never abandoned the idea of revolutionary offensive wars."

—*The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. I (1917-1919)

Within the framework of Afghanistan alone there is no solution to national and social oppression. These questions are linked, historically as well as socially, to the fate of the Russian Revolution. One need only look next door to Soviet Central Asia to see the gains won by the proletarian liberation of these pre-capitalist areas by courageous Bolshevik agitators and the Red Army. Compared to Afghanistan today, the social progress in these areas can be measured not in decades but in centuries, despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state.

Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the CPSU congress last February, called the Afghan war a "bleeding wound." The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (14 August 1986) noted:

"Gorbachov denounced the theory of 'revolutionary war' before the 27th party congress as a Trotskyite heresy, 'completely at variance with Marxism.' 'Today, too, we are more firmly convinced that promoting revolutions from outside, and even more so by military means, is futile and inadmissible'."

In a speech at the Soviet Far Eastern port of Vladivostok in September, he announced the withdrawal of Soviet regiments from Afghanistan, as part of a broader initiative aimed at improving relations with China. In addition, the Kremlin has "sought in recent months to give the impression of prodding Vietnam to be more forthcoming in seeking a negotiated settlement in Cambodia as well" (*Washington Post*, 7 January). Certainly an end to the hostile confrontation between the Soviet Union and China is to be desired. But *not* at the expense of Afghanistan and Indochina!

A few years ago we suggested a rather different response to the imperialists, for revolutionary proletarian internationalism rather than a bureaucratic nationalist accommodation:

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess'....

"Next, clean up Afghanistan...instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller *and* cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudalist backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union."

—"Reagan, Begin & Hitler," *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982

Afghanistan should become an independent workers republic with an open border with the USSR and a ruble-convertible currency. Look at Mongolia for a model. An Afghan workers' assembly might have an exchange of observers with the USSR soviet. But it will take proletarian political revolution in the USSR to restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their internationalist and revolutionary mission, through defending and extending the gains of the great October Revolution. Only the defeat of imperialism internationally, through workers revolutions under the leadership of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, can lay the basis for the genuine social equality of all peoples. ■

China...

(continued from page 16)

deeply frustrated by their country's economic and social backwardness compared to the imperialist West and Japan. In their frustrated nationalist aspirations, they grasp at one solution and, when that doesn't work, at another one.

The extreme volatility of the Chinese student milieu reflects the *instability* of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy with its constant, sharp zigzags. In the 1950s and '60s students were drawn to the utopian voluntarism of Mao with his promises of Great Leaps Forward and instantaneous Cultural Revolutions. Used by Mao to terrorize intellectuals and intimidate his factional opponents in the bureaucracy, the Red Guards were then suppressed by the army when they got out of hand. The more troublesome ones were sent to the countryside "to learn from the peasantry."

Der Spiegel

Deng's China seals reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism in blood: Chinese troops invade Vietnam, February 1979.

A decade later a new generation of students was drawn to Deng's "Four Modernizations" with its promise of quadrupling China's national output by the year 2000 so that "our country's power will become truly strong." But the "Four Modernizations" ended up benefiting Western and Japanese multinationals while spawning a new class of rich peasants in the countryside and petty entrepreneurs in the cities.

"Disparities in income are now greater than at any time since 1949," that is, since the overthrow of capitalism in China, "a prime example of the new economic imbalances that have aroused envy among the many who have not profited from the reforms" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 7 September 1986). Unemployment has risen as factory managers have been given greater rein in hiring and firing workers. State subsidies which kept food prices low have been cut, resulting in a sharp inflation that is a deep-felt source of popular discontent.

During the current wave of student protests, one poster at Peking University admitted: "A recent opinion poll indicates that the public feeling of resentment of reform, including price increases and other aspects, is increasing by the day." But this same poster goes on to declare: "At this key moment, to support the reform faction and create public support for the reforms is the urgent task" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 15 January).

Workers in Shanghai, the *Washington Post* (8 January) reported, said "that while they sympathized with the students, their main concern was not to promote democracy but to counter anticipated price increases." What is involved here is not simply narrow economism. These price increases are the direct and inevitable result of Deng's market-oriented "reforms" which the student protesters support. To that extent this privileged petty-bourgeois layer stands opposed to the felt needs and demands of the toiling masses.

Dangerous Illusion of "Pure Democracy"

What is new about the current wave of Chinese student protests is the emphasis on "democracy"—as if there were such a thing as pure, classless democracy. The student protesters have not spelled out, or probably even thought out, how to organize "democracy" in the concrete conditions of China today. Suppose a parliamentary government based on universal suffrage could be realized in the bureaucratically deformed Chinese workers state. What would be the effect?

A majority of the population consists not of workers but peasants. Furthermore, Deng's "reforms" have practically eliminated collective farming. A parliamentary majority would thus represent the peasant smallholders, some of them relatively wealthy. Under the relentless pressure of the world capitalist market, these petty proprietors would become dependent on Western and Japanese industrialists and financiers...and on the Chinese bourgeoisie, which remains alive and thriving on the offshore islands of Hong Kong and Taiwan. "Pure democracy" could only be a bridge—a very short bridge—to bloody capitalist counterrevolution and the renewed domination of China by imperialism.

Not that the students chanting "Long live democracy" desire this outcome. The Western bourgeois media found little in the way of overt counterrevolutionary agitation to report, presumably not for lack of trying. Fairly typical was the admission by the *Washington Post*'s Peking correspondent: "The students favor holding members of the huge Chinese bureaucracy more accountable.... But few students talk about overthrowing the Communist Party. Most seem to want to reform the system from within."

It is illuminating to compare the current Chinese student protests with the movement around Polish Solidarność. Solidarność activists openly identified with Ronald Reagan's "free world" and longed to restore the old pre-Communist Poland. They openly glorified Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland. The strength of Pilsudskiite nationalism in present-day Poland has its roots in the fact that the overthrow of capitalism was not the result of a massive rebellion against the old order, but was carried out from above and under the shield of the Soviet army. Pilsudski's counterpart in China was Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. There are no reports that the Chinese student protesters glorify Chiang Kai-shek and long to reverse the historic victory of 1949.

Chiang was defeated in the civil war by Mao's peasant-based Red Army. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been exploited from time immemorial. The rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie, was destroyed. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were abolished. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by imperialist powers for over a century was unified and freed from foreign subjugation.

Defeated in the civil war, Chiang and much of the Chinese bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan, where they butchered thousands of indigenous people to impose their rule. This bloody military dictatorship became the "free world's" China, protected by the U.S. Seventh Fleet, its people ruthlessly exploited by the Fortune 500 corporations. Taiwan also became a main training ground for the Central American death squads.

What obscene hypocrisy for American imperialist spokesmen to lecture Chinese students on the supposedly inseparable virtues of capitalism and freedom! A *Wall Street Journal* editorial (23 December 1986), entitled "Marching in Shanghai," claims: "Political liberty and economic liberty go together; they are warp and woof in the fabric of freedom." Tell that to the Taiwanese!

Down with U.S./China Anti-Soviet Axis!

Washington did not diplomatically recognize the People's Republic of China until Mao & Co. entered a strategic alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union in the early 1970s. The Washington/Peking axis was sealed by acts of war, from Angola (where China armed CIA-backed black mercenaries during the 1975 South African invasion) to Deng's unsuccessful attacks on Soviet-allied Vietnam in 1979 and since.

Justifying China's alliance with imperialism, Deng has declared that an "open door" to the West is necessary to overcome the legacy of "poverty, backwardness and ignorance." Foreign capitalists are not interested in modernizing Chinese industry but in sweatshop operations to exploit cheap labor or in opening the domestic market, creating a direct link between the world capitalist market and the new layer of well-off peasants.

In reality, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy's alliance with Wall Street and Washington is not an open door to prosperity and modernization but to war and counterrevolution. The heavily armed Sino-Soviet border is one of the trip wires on this planet for World War III. And if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate goal of destroying the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China will not long survive.

Given China's extreme economic backwardness, the Stalinist program of building "socialism in one country" is more obviously utopian than in the Soviet Union. The efforts of the Peking bureaucracy, from Mao to Deng, to rapidly transform China into a great world power have led to one dead end after another. Today Deng's "Four Modernizations" program is foundering. It is increasingly unpopular and resisted by the toiling masses. And the recent student protests both expose and will surely deepen the alienation of educated youth from the regime.

In short, Stalinist rule in China remains highly unstable internally. If a severe crisis were to bring about the paralysis and disintegration of the regime, the program of "Western-style democracy" could possibly be an avenue for mobilizing capitalist counterrevolution, which would not be at all "democratic" but a bloody civil war. What is needed in China is a *workers and peasants government based on soviet democracy*—a proletarian political revolution to oust the Peking bureaucrats.

Socialist construction in China, even more obviously than in Russia, is integrally linked to extending the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, especially Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. The "open door" to the modernization of China can only be based on international socialist planning. No step can be taken on this road without breaking China from the imperialist warmongers in Washington and lifting the siege of embattled and heroic Vietnam. A Trotskyist party of the proletariat in China is essential to these tasks, as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Reagan and the Ayatollahs

Iran-Iraq War: Rivers of Blood

The marshes of Basra, Iraq, strewn with bodies, 1985.

Sipa

For all his Rambo posturing against "Iranian terrorists," it turns out Ronald Reagan is one of the biggest backers of Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic theocracy. The Iran/Contragate scandal has revealed that, with the help of his Israeli pals, Reagan sent more than 2,000 anti-tank missiles to Iran along with Hawk antiaircraft missile equipment and who knows what else. Now, Iranian reports on their latest offensive in the war with Iraq brag about "anti-tank units" which reportedly destroyed a hundred Iraqi armored vehicles, and boast of shooting down 25 Iraqi planes. Amid new reports that *the U.S. fed doctored intelligence data to both sides* in the war, Washington's credibility as imperialist master is in pieces.

Now the Iranians have launched a major offensive across the Shatt al Arab waterway at the head of the Persian Gulf. The Iraqis have good reason to worry. While it was apparently not the much-touted "final offensive," the Iranian push did manage, at the expense of perhaps 10,000 dead, to buy about four square miles of Iraqi territory within a few miles of Basra, Iraq's second largest city. Together with Iran's seizure of the Iraqi Fao peninsula in early 1986, this raises the possibility of a pincer movement on Basra that might succeed in splitting off Shi'ite-dominated southern Iraq, thereby threatening the Baghdad regime itself.

When it launched the war in 1980, the Iraqi dictatorship of Ba'athist colonel Saddam Hussein had hoped for a quick grab of the oil-rich regions of Iran, while Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran used the opportunity to launch a fanatical "holy war" for control of the Muslim world. The result was a stalemate as both sides repeatedly spilled rivers of blood in a slaughter reminiscent of World War I. By 1985 the casualty estimates in NATO capitals ranged "from 420,000 to 580,000 Iranian dead, with the number of Iraqi dead put at 300,000" (*New York Times*, 23 September 1985). That's nearly a million killed in five years. And since then tens of thousands more have died.

The Iraqis' technically superior army, well supplied with Soviet weaponry and enjoying a 5-to-1 advantage in aircraft, soon lost its conquered territory and has barely held off the "human wave" assaults of the Iranian forces, which enjoy a 3-to-1 advantage in population resources. In desperation, Hussein not only revived the use of mustard gas in warfare (last used in the '30s by Mussolini in Ethiopia) but has been the first to use the nerve gas Tabun, invented by the Nazis. The Iranians have used their surface-to-surface missiles to wreak mass terror on the civilian population of Iraqi cities including Baghdad and especially Basra, where Iranian shells were reported landing at a rate of one a minute.

Most of the left had cheered on Khomeini against the hated Shah, and initially supported the Iranian mullahs against the Iraqi colonels. (By this time, thousands of leftists in Teheran had been executed by the new clerical-reactionary regime.) The Spartacist tendency, however, had proclaimed "Down with the Shah, down with the mullahs!", and we stated from the beginning that the proletariat has no side in this squalid war:

> "A defeat for either side could open revolutionary possibilities for the Iranian and Iraqi proletariat not seen in years. Given the Communists' historic strength among the strategic Iraq oil workers, a humiliating outcome for Hussein's great military gamble could well produce a proletarian-centered popular explosion. As for Iran, a military defeat would give a revolutionary proletarian vanguard an exceptional opportunity to break the laboring masses from the chauvinism and obscurantism of the Shi'ite clergy. This is why revolutionary defeatism is not simply an internationalist obligation

continued on page 11

Student Protests in China

JANUARY 18—Once again the world's attention is gripped by turmoil in China. Once again tens of thousands of students are marching through Shanghai and Peking, this time under the slogans of "democracy and freedom." Once again a top Chinese leader and heir apparent to supreme leader Deng Xiaoping has been ousted, presumably for allowing the student protests to get out of hand.

The Western bourgeois press claims the students are marching for "Western-style democracy." The Peking bureaucrats, after first taking a soft line toward the protests, hardened up and denounced the students for "bourgeois liberalism." At the same time, some Chinese officials and Western journalists have compared these protests to the Red Guards rampaging during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. The reality is more complex, contradictory and fluid.

Certainly, many of the students have illusions in "Western-style democracy." In one protest they carried a poster of the Statue of Liberty with a quote from Abraham Lincoln—"government of the people, by the people, for the people." More importantly, Chinese students have tuned in to the Voice of America to find out about protests in other cities, and an American VOA reporter was cheered when he turned up in Shanghai's People's Square. "We can trust the VOA," one student stated.

A Friend

Reuters

Students burn Peking Daily (top); march in Shanghai. Large-scale protests expose instability of Stalinist rule.

On the other hand, students in Shanghai carried red banners proclaiming, "Down with the new bureaucrats." At the same time, there is evident sympathy for the "reform faction" of the ruling bureaucracy headed by Deng. Thus students marched through Peking singing the *Internationale* and carrying banners reading "Support Deng Xiaoping and the Four Modernizations" and "Oppose conservatives and reactionaries."

The target of the last major Chinese student protest, in September 1985, was a state visit by the principal figure of the "free world" in the Far East: Japan's right-wing prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Nakasone enraged Chinese students by honoring the Japanese war dead killed during Japan's rape of China in the 1930s and '40s. Under the slogan "Down with the second occupation," they were also protesting the increased presence of Japanese capitalists in China, a direct outcome of Deng's "open door" economic policy.

From the Cultural Revolution to the "Four Modernizations"

Is there a common thread running from the Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution to the anti-Nakasone protest to the current marches for "democracy and freedom"? Chinese students—the young intellectual elite, seeing themselves heirs to the future China—are

continued on page 15

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 421 | 6 February 1987

Reagan Off the Deep End?

There he goes again—as soon as Reagan gets into a political jam at home he reaches for the red phone and U.S. naval task forces are sent prowling for a military "crisis." For weeks, the Reaganauts have been looking to divert attention from the Iran/Contra scandal with some "bang bang" for the TV evening news. So you could almost hear the shouts of joy from the White House basement when news came from Lebanon that three more Americans had been kidnapped in Beirut. The London *Guardian* (29 December) perceptively noted that this "intensified the political pressure on President Reagan just as the lacklustre State of the Union address to Congress and the nation on Tuesday night conspicuously failed to achieve its goal of re-establishing the prestige of the presidency after Irangate." Since it didn't play in Peoria, they bring up the Sixth Fleet.

The very next day the Pentagon canceled port leaves for the *Nimitz*, sending the nuclear aircraft carrier into the eastern Mediterranean; the *Kennedy*'s battle group was ordered to remain in the region "indefinitely"; a 1,600-man Marine amphibious unit is on station while another is due there shortly; six U.S. warships are heading north in the Persian Gulf, and a third carrier, the *Kitty Hawk*, is racing from the Philippines to the Arabian Sea. In addition, the State Department banned all travel to Lebanon and gave American passport holders 30 days to get out of the country. And while they're rattling sabers in the Med, an FBI dragnet arbitrarily seized Palestinian Arabs in Los Angeles (see page 2) in a transparent effort to whip up war hysteria at home.

The "State of the Union" speech, supposed to be the rallying cry for the

continued on page 11

AP

UPI

Reagan's "diplomacy": Bibles and guns for Iranian mullahs. U.S. battleship Iowa off Honduras coast.

Anger Over Racist Attacks Derailed in Georgia

ATLANTA—They came from around the country to participate in what was dubbed the biggest civil rights march since the '60s. But the "Brotherhood II" march in Georgia's all-white Forsyth County January 24 was more like a walking prison than a freedom march. It was designed and tightly controlled by its Democratic Party organizers as a show of faith in racist American "democracy," rather than a militant protest against Ku Klux Klan terror. Many of the more than 20,000 undoubtedly came out of a felt desire to oppose KKK lynch mob attacks of the sort met by a few score Martin Luther King Day marchers the previous Saturday. Protesters eagerly bought *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist literature calling for a perspective of labor/black mobilization to smash racist terror. But when they arrived in the Forsyth county seat of Cumming, they found themselves hemmed in on all sides by an army of National Guardsmen and local and state cops, and were ordered to refrain even from singing old civil rights songs.

While Georgia politicians bemoaned the bad press being given Forsyth County, more than 1,000 rabid racists turned out. The night before, every gun shop in Cumming sold out of ammunition and weapons. A black TV reporter who got too close to the racist mob was attacked even as she was televising a report. One marcher hit by a brick had to have brain surgery. And after the march, several hundred demonstrators were forced to cower in a shopping center after sundown, fearful of a Klan attack, while waiting for buses to pick them up. Yet the more than 50 racist terrorists arrested are being slapped on the wrist with nothing more than misdemeanors. After being subjected to racist invective and intimidation throughout the day the marchers gave a final display of suicidal pacifism, chanting at their would-be murderers: "We love you, we love you, we love you." The white lynchers retorted: "We hate you, we hate you, we hate you."

Dennis Brack

National Guard, cops, Democratic Party bigwigs corral anti-Klan protesters, Forsyth County, Georgia, January 24.

This march against "intimidation" did nothing to intimidate the KKK killers. In its wake, one Klan group announced plans to march through Forsyth County on February 7, another to hold a cross-burning in Barrow County two weeks later. Yet a third Klan provocation is scheduled to go ahead in suburban College Park near Atlanta. And in the aftermath, Forsyth County passed an ordinance to stymie any future anti-racist march, demanding that march organizers pay all "security" costs. Yet the black Democratic politicians and preachers like Atlanta city councilman Hosea Williams who organized "Brotherhood II" join in hosannas for the "New South." They agree with the *Atlanta Constitution* (26 January) editorial claim that "the events of the last two weekends dramatized just how much it *has* changed." Does someone have to remind them that they are all sworn into office under the Confederate slaveholders' banner, which happens to be the Georgia state flag and the banner waved by the Klan lynchers!

continued on page 13

Unleash Labor/Black Power! Finish the Civil War!

ALDEN BURR CAVANAGH

1 AUGUST 1957 – 20 JANUARY 1987

WV Photo

Tragically dead at 29 years of age hy his own hand. A member of our organization for more than eight years.

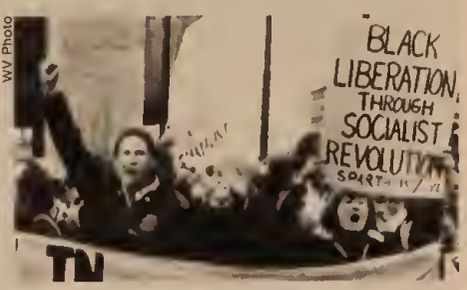
The shock of his death is compounded by the evident fact that none of his friends, roommates, comrades, lovers or others who were close to him at the time had any inkling of such an impending act. Thus he was deprived of any support in what must have been his agony.

To the extent that others knew him, and especially his comrades, they felt affection and personal respect for him, which feelings only grew with time, thus making his death all the more bitter.

In a note which he intended as his will, written a few months before and found by his side at the time of his death, he wrote among other things of his regard for the Spartacist League as mankind's last best hope. But he noted that, like his grandfather, he was taking the reasons for this will to the grave with him.

Alden is free now from his torments and our world is a poorer place for it.

—Bay Area District of the SL/U.S.
—Central Committee of the SL/U.S.
25 January 1987



Alden with Spartacist contingent at anti-Klan rally in Boston, 1982.

MEMORIAL MEETING

Sunday, February 15
5:00 p.m.

For more information.
(415) 839-0851

Hyatt Regency Oakland,
California Room, 1001 Broadway
OAKLAND

TROTSKY

Karl Liebknecht: "The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

The great German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht issued the following internationalist manifesto calling for an internationalist demonstration against the imperialists and their world war on May Day 1916. Addressing 10,000 working people in Berlin, Liebknecht was arrested by the Kaiser's troops whose uniform he wore.

LENIN

Poverty and misery, need and starvation, are ruling in Germany, Belgium, Poland and Serbia, whose blood the vampire of imperialism is sucking and which resemble vast cemeteries. The entire world, the much-praised European civilization, is falling into ruins through the anarchy which has been let loose by the world war.

Those who profit from the war want war with the United States. To-morrow, perhaps, they may order us to aim lethal weapons against new groups of brethren, against our fellow-workers in the United States, and fight America, too. Consider well this fact: As long as the German people does not arise and use force directed by its own will, the assassination of the people will continue. Let thousands of voices shout "Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes!" Our enemy is not the English, French, nor Russian people, but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.

Forward, let us fight the government; let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the future triumph of the working-classes, the future of humanity and civilization.

Workers, comrades, and you, women of the people, let not this festival of May, the second during the war, pass without protest against the Imperialist Slaughter. On the first of May let millions of voices cry, "Down with the shameful crime of the extermination of peoples! Down with those responsible for the War!"

—Karl Liebknecht, "May Day Manifesto" (1916)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 421 **6 February 1987**

Down with the McCarran-Walter Act!

Stop the FBI/INS Witchhunt of Palestinians!

To boost his plummeting polls and whip up Americans for new war moves in the Near East, Reagan and his top cop Meese are rounding up Palestinians in Los Angeles, treating them as though they lived under the Zionist jackboot in the West Bank. On January 26, in a Gestapo-like dragnet federal agents burst into the homes of eight Palestinians and a Kenyan, arrested them and are holding them for deportation.

Six of the Palestinians were charged under the 1952 McCarthyite "thought crimes" McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating communism," i.e., the views of the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. They and the Kenyan wife of one of the six were shackled hand-to-foot and dragged before U.S. immigration judge Ingrid Hryscnko. Declaring them a "national security risk," she denied them bail and confined them to solitary where they are being held without access to sanitary or medical facilities. Deportation hearings are scheduled for later this month. Two other Palestinians also arrested were expected to be released on bail.

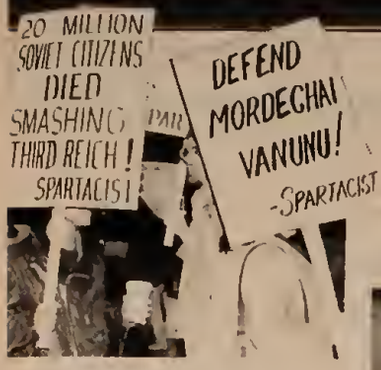
This case is a racist and politically motivated frame-up from start to finish. All of the accused deny membership in the PFLP or participation in any of its activities here or abroad. The "Justice" Department spokesmen admitted they were compelled to use the witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act because "a lengthy FBI investigation failed to turn up evidence of plans to commit criminal or terrorist acts" (*Washington Post*, 29 January). It is the FBI and INS who are America's *state* terrorists, and the most dangerous terrorist nuts presently lurk in the White House.

Indeed, the nine victims of this vicious witchhunt are well-established businessmen, students and working people. For example, the alleged Southern California "PFLP leader" Khadar Musa Hamide is a 32-year-old businessman who studied marketing in college, has lived in the U.S. since 1971 and was expecting final approval of his U.S. citizenship application January 27. He is active in Democratic Party politics as a Jesse Jackson supporter, and an outspoken opponent of U.S. aid to the contras. Hamide's wife, Kenyan-born Julie Nyangugi, is an accountant.

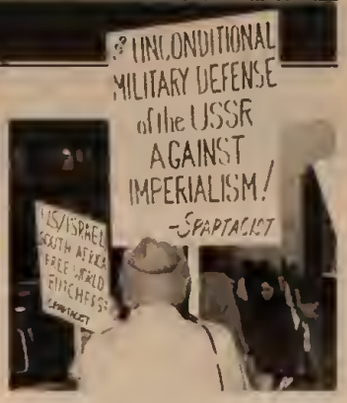
Anti-Arab repression is an aspect of racist American capitalism that is compounded by Washington's support for Israel as its gendarme in the Near East. A wave of FBI persecution and Zionist terror bombing targeting Arabs and Arab Americans has swept this country, including the hideous October 1985 murder in Los Angeles of Alex Odeh, a leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Needless to say, the FBI has made no arrests in this terrorist crime. And the anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act is used not only to ban distinguished scholars, artists and politicians from the "land of the free," but to witchhunt and throw out of the country an American-born author and critic of U.S. imperialism, Margaret Randall.

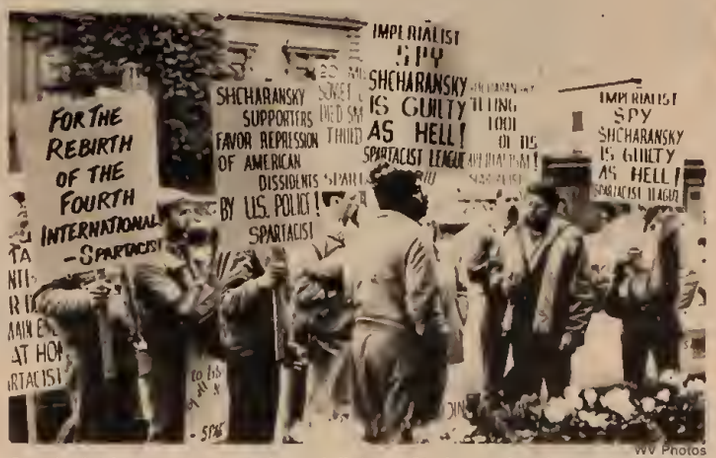
This witchhunt targets all of us and the rights we hold dear. Stop the deportation proceedings and release these nine victims of the FBI/INS terror campaign! Give them financial restitution for this racist persecution. Citizenship for Khadar Musa Hamide! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and students! Down with the McCarran-Walter "thought control" Act! ■

Spartacist Protest in S.F.



"Spy Shcharansky Guilty As Hell!"





WV Photos

Spartacist League protests imperialist spy Shcharansky, demands freedom for Mordechai Vanunu.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 30—Spartacist protesters confronted imperialist spy and Soviet traitor Anatoly Shcharansky today at a breakfast meeting of the bourgeois establishment Commonwealth Club. While Shcharansky addressed the capitalist "opinion makers" at the posh Fairmont Hotel, Spartacist pickets outside carried signs denouncing him: "Imperialist Spy Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" and "Shcharansky Witting Tool of U.S. Imperialism!" Until he was swapped for a group of Soviet bloc intelligence agents a year ago, Shcharansky was imprisoned in the USSR on proven charges of passing military secrets to Western "news sources," a frequent conduit for the imperialist spy agencies.

The Spartacist protesters also carried signs demanding "Defend Mordechai Vanunu!"—the Israeli nuclear technician who faces the death penalty on espionage charges in Israel for revealing that the Zionist madmen have amassed a nuclear arsenal of up to 200 bombs. In contrast to Shcharansky's crime against the defense of the Soviet workers state, Vanunu has done the international working class a service by his spectacular revelations. Such an extensive Israeli nuclear buildup necessarily threatens a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union. And Shcharansky is a mouthpiece for those U.S./Israeli "first strike" advocates who have their fingers very near the nuclear trigger and who pose the real threat of a nuclear Armageddon.

In a speech at the demonstration, Spartacist spokesman Martha Phillips declared, "We stand for the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We Trotskyists say that the land of the October Revolution is in danger." Interviews with Phillips were aired on the two Bay Area radio news stations and an NBC-TV story on the demonstration focused in on the Spartacist placard: "For Unconditional Military Defense of the USSR Against Imperialism!"

Other SL signs declared: "Anti-Soviet War Drive Breeds Fascist/KKK Anti-Semites!" and "Shcharansky Supporters Favor Repression of American Dissidents by U.S. Police!" Martha Phillips explained: "Shcharansky is supported by organizations like B'nai B'rith and supposedly he stands for dissidents. Well, B'nai B'rith has come out against Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez, providing information to the San Francisco cops and the San Francisco State administration to try to prosecute this youth because he courageously stood up for the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. It was B'nai B'rith who offered their services to the San Francisco cops, these same cops who find it amusing to display Nazi posters in their San Francisco van.... We Spartacists are the ones who stopped the Nazis from marching in San Francisco in 1980, when they wanted to obscenely celebrate Hitler's birthday right downtown in front of SF Civic Center, in front of City Hall."

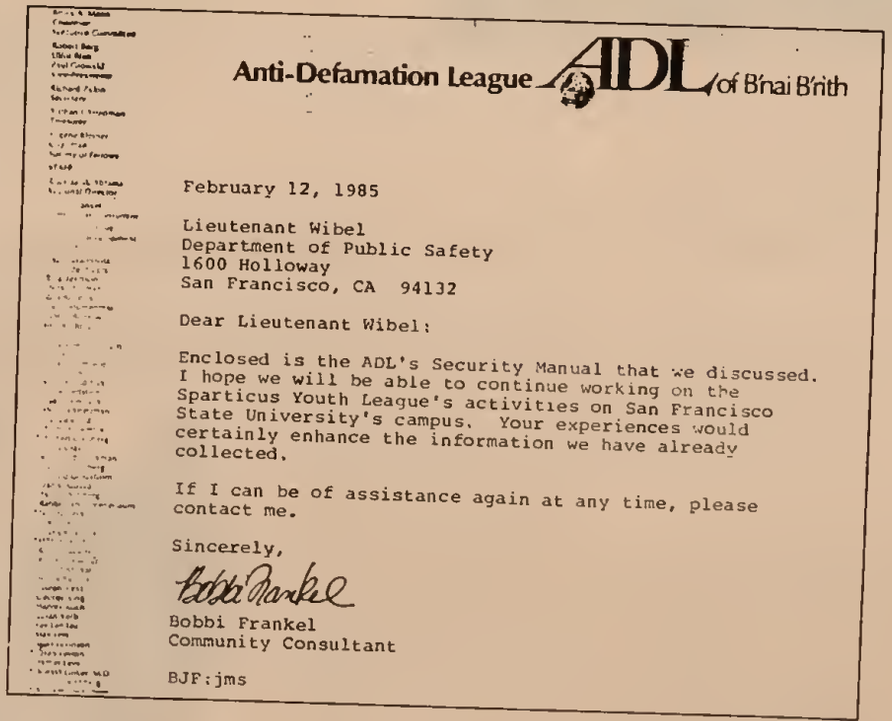
Today, while his wife Avital works with the fascistic anti-Arab *Gush Emunim* movement in Israel, Shcharansky is doing the anti-Soviet banquet circuit, calling for imperialist blackmail of the USSR. But it is a sign of changing times that his major plea in the Bay Area was for American public opinion not to be "taken in" by Soviet leader Gorbachev. Reagan must have been doubly galled when his former "favorite dissident" and father of the Soviet H-bomb Andrei Sakharov was released from internal exile and came out against the U.S. president's "Star Wars" scheme. And the Zionists' Shcharansky charade, portraying a willful and witting anti-Soviet spy as a "human rights" martyr, just doesn't cut it in these days of Reagangate. For our part, we intend to do our best to see that Shcharansky's real crimes against the international working class are not forgotten. ■

ADL Conspires with Cops, Defames Spartacists

Here's proof: the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is working hand in glove with the police in spying on the left. The letter reproduced here, addressed to the San Francisco State University cops, was turned over to us recently during pre-trial discovery proceedings in the case of Spartacist activist Guillermo Bermúdez. (In a gratifying victory, charges against Bermúdez have been dropped—see page 5.) The police "experiences" during the winter of 1984-85, which Frankel finds so "enhancing" to the ADL's work, consisted of a torrent of arrests, South Africa-style campus bannings, seizure of our Marxist literature, handcuffing and generally harassing our members and supporters on campus.

So the ADL joins with the forces of racist repression against those like us who are committed to smashing fascist terror, and not just in the Bay Area. When the Spartacist League was mobilizing to stop a threatened Ku Klux Klan provocation in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, we called the ADL in New York to get their report on fascist groups in the U.S. A spokesman quoted the *Workers Vanguard* headline "Reagan, Begin and Hitler," and hung up. Recently the ADL came to the defense of the "World Anti-Communist League," a sinister collection of leftover Nazis and death squad killers, claiming "substantial progress" in "ridding the organization of the racists and anti-Semites" (*New York Times*, 14 October 1986). The WACL is one of Reagan's conduits for blood money to the contra terrorists.

Following the line of the Israel/U.S. anti-Soviet axis, the ADL whitewashes fascists while framing communists. Yet it was the Spartacist League that exposed the San Francisco cops for displaying the Nazi swastika "*Einsatz*" poster in 1985. We are, moreover, unique on the left for not joining in mindless cheerleading for Arab nationalists; our program is for the right to self-determination of both Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people in a socialist federation of the Near East. Just as Israel's war crazy rulers seem bent on triggering a nuclear holocaust and confirming Trotsky's warning that Palestine would be a deathtrap for Jews, the Zionist Cold Warriors in the U.S. are fueling fascist KKK/Nazi terror, which targets blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, homosexuals...*and Jews*. The ADL fingermen are not only reactionary but downright suicidal.



Anti-Defamation League ADL of B'nai B'rith

February 12, 1985

Lieutenant Wibel
Department of Public Safety
1600 Holloway
San Francisco, CA 94132

Dear Lieutenant Wibel:

Enclosed is the ADL's Security Manual that we discussed. I hope we will be able to continue working on the Sparticus Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus. Your experiences would certainly enhance the information we have already collected.

If I can be of assistance again at any time, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Bobbi Frankel

Bobbi Frankel
Community Consultant

BJF:jms

Aquino Regime Unravels

Massacre in Manila

FEBRUARY 1—Thousands of desperate peasants march on the presidential palace demanding land. Hundreds of riot police and heavily armed troops block their way. As the marchers approach, troops and cops open fire point-blank on the defenseless crowd. Marchers flee in terror, bodies litter the bloody pavement, tear gas fills the air as soldiers pursue fleeing demonstrators through the streets. Pinochet's Chile? El Salvador under the junta?

It could have been the work of the murderous despots backed by Washington from Central America to South Korea. But this time it was the work of the regime headed by Corazon Aquino, president of the Philippines and "democratic" darling of U.S. imperialism. Only three weeks previously *Time* (5 January) named Aquino "Woman of the Year," lauding her in nauseating terms as leader of a "fairy-tale revolution" standing on a "platform of faith, hope and charity," "the happiest symbol in a year of symbols [and] the most human." Cory's massacre on January 22 tore off the mask.

Under the slogan of "people power," Aquino was installed a year ago when Washington told her predecessor, the butcher Ferdinand Marcos, he was finished and put him on a plane to Hawaii. Two of Marcos' chief lieutenants, armed forces chief Fidel Ramos and defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, jumped ship in what amounted to a military coup backed by the U.S. embassy, Roman Catholic Cardinal Sin and hundreds of thousands of people in the streets. But the carnage in Manila on January 22 surpassed that of any similar outrage in the capital in Marcos' bloody 20-year reign. Behind the façade of "democratic" talk and "progressive" ministers, this is a regime that does not shrink from *cold-blooded mass murder*, butchering workers and peasants in defense of the ill-gotten gains of the greedy landlords, capitalists and rapacious Western banks. Above all, they are seeking to protect the Philippines as a strategic anti-Soviet "archipelagic aircraft carrier" for their masters in Washington.

AP

January 22: Peasants demanding land are massacred by Aquino government's troops.

Sygma

Cold-blooded mass murder by Aquino's cops and marines exceeded even Marcos' butchery.

Massacre Planned in Advance

Eighteen people died and almost a hundred were wounded that Thursday in a fusillade of automatic weapon and pistol fire that lasted more than a minute. The march of 10,000, chiefly peasants from north of Manila, was organized by the Communist-led Philippines Peasant Movement. The march organizers had announced in advance that they intended to go all the way to the Malacañang Presidential Palace. Police didn't bother to put up the usual barbed-wire barricades. Videotapes showed that as the marchers approached Mendiola bridge, marines cocked and aimed their M-16s. The supposedly unarmed police produced guns from behind riot shields steneiled with the words "Maximum Tolerance." Most of the dead—landless tenant farmers and migrant agricultural workers—were shot in the head or the back.

Cory's imperialist patrons obscenely *blamed the victims* for provoking the massacre. "On the left, zealots thirst for martyrs and shootings, the stuff of revolution," ran the editorial apologia for Aquino in the 28 January *New York Times*. Aquino professed "shock" and appointed the usual commission to "investigate"—i.e., to whitewash the government and perhaps come up with a scapegoat. (Such a commission on the military death-squad murder of leftist KMU union leader Rolando Olalia last November took months to come up with a single low-ranking fall guy.) Ramos and the current defense minister, Rafael Ileto, cynically said the troops "overreacted." But the depth of popular outrage is such that Aquino ordered troops to stay out of the way on January 26 when a march of 15,000 protesting the massacre went to the palace, and she even sent cabinet ministers out to greet it.

Reacting against Aquino's "soft" line, the same day a small group of officers loyal to Marcos and Enrile moved, unsuccessfully attacking two air bases and occupying a government-run TV station in Manila. When Aquino ordered the military to take the station by force, Ramos ignored her and negotiated a peaceful exit. In Hawaii, Marcos was prevented from flying back to the Philippines by Aquino's main patron, the U.S. government. His wife Imelda had gone shopping for the occasion, buying $2,000 worth of camouflage pants, jackets and combat boots. The store manager remarked laconically that the gear was apparently not for her, since the boots were not her size.

Especially after the January 22 massacre, Aquino's "people power" regime is foundering as Philippine society is increasingly polarized. Aquino is pinning her hopes to restore stability on a new constitution, written by her hand-picked commission, to be voted on in a plebiscite February 2. The idea that a new constitution will restabilize bourgeois rule is, of course, absurd. But Aquino needs to win big to undercut ambitious rightists like Enrile, reassure her imperialist backers in Washington and gain a cloak of "democratic legitimacy" in dealing with the left.

A 60-day cease-fire with the New People's Army, guerrilla arm of the Communist Party, ends on February 7. "Peace talks" in the interim have gone nowhere and were suspended indefinitely the day of the massacre. Meanwhile, it has been revealed how Aquino intervened during her American tour last fall to ensure that the U.S.' giant Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base will remain open as staging points for nuclear war. A "mandate" for the new constitution is part of the preparation for *renewed bloody suppression* of the guerrilla insurgency and for further neocolonial subjugation by the Yankee imperialists.

Stalinists Still Tail Aquino

At first the Philippine left—dominated by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)—denounced Aquino for the January 22 massacre, reflecting the felt outrage of their ranks. The leftist umbrella group Bayan declared: "In less than one year, the Aquino regime has outdone its fascist predecessor in the scale of violence against the people.... The Aquino government cannot wash its hands of its responsibility for this bloody incident" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 23 January). But the Stalinist-nationalist CPP and its allies, in their commitment to "popular-front" class collaboration, soon started apologizing for Aquino. Two days later Bayan leader Leandro Alejandro said the group was *withdrawing* its criticism of the president because "we do not believe she was directly responsible" for the killings (*New York Times*, 26 January). The January 26 protest march to Malacañang demanded the resignations of Ramos and Ileto but not Aquino.

Cambio 16

Cory Aquino, a Reagan lackey in the Philippines.

In fact, Aquino and Ramos differ, if at all, only in *how best to crush the working people*. Since squelching the coup plots of Enrile last November, Ramos has increasingly been calling the shots anyway. Aquino accuses both Enrile and the left of trying to "destabilize" her regime. It couldn't get much more unstable than it is, and it sits atop a mass of social TNT. In the countryside nothing has changed since Marcos, unless for the worse. Rapacious landlords starve peasants and kill their organizers. On the sugar island of Negros plantation workers get 40 cents a day for backbreaking labor when it is available. When there is no work, in the "dead season," the peasants eat roots, or nothing at all.

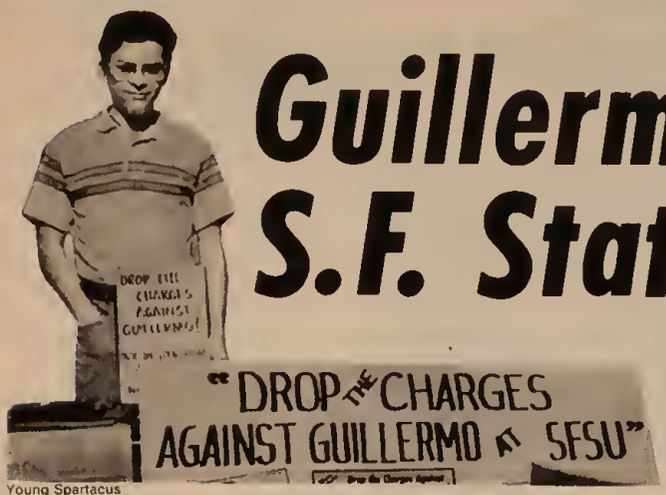
The CPP is committed to a class-collaborationist alliance with the "national" bourgeoisie, a "national-democratic coalition government," which means *betrayal* of the masses for the sake of a "share of the power" within a capitalist framework. The Stalinist-led peasant movement's demand for "genuine land reform" is a will o' the wisp. The bloodsucking landlords, with their private armies, will not be reformed away. Aquino's own family estate, Hacienda Luisita, is one of the country's largest sugar plantations. One of the demands of the marchers on January 22 was that Aquino show her "commitment" to land reform by starting with Hacienda Luisita. The answer was bullets.

The only way to deal with such exploiters is an *agrarian revolution*, in which the poor peasants and agricultural workers seize the land. This can be carried out only by a revolution in which the urban proletariat places itself at the head of the insurgent peasant masses to smash the whole framework of capitalist/landlord rule.

Following Aquino's victory last February, in the wave of enthusiasm for the new regime, the reformist left was scrambling to climb aboard the Cory bandwagon. The CPP, which wields mass influence in the Philippines, called its electoral boycott "a major political blunder" and advocated "critically participating in the snap election." In the U.S., inveterate tailists such as the SWP hailed the Aquino "revolution," while the dubious Workers League published an after-the-fact call for "a critical vote for Aquino." The January 22 massacre has starkly exposed the fraud of "people power," and urgently underlined the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, forged on the program of permanent revolution. As we warned a few months ago ("Philippine Workers Must Fight for Power!", *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986):

> "...the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a 'democratic' figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule." ■

Young Spartacus



Young Spartacus

A hard-fought victory for free speech! Guillermo Bermúdez (left) fights "ban" against Marxists at SFSU.

Guillermo Beats S.F. State Ban

The two-year vendetta by the San Francisco State University administration, campus cops and the SF district attorney's office to enforce a South Africa-style "ban" on Spartacist youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez has been defeated! On January 25, the D.A.'s office moved to dismiss all charges against Guillermo for the "crime" of passing out a Marxist leaflet on campus. The ban was imposed in November 1984 when Bermúdez and other Spartacist "Red Avengers" held a rally to raise money for Nicaragua's defense against U.S. imperialism. The next day, he defied the ban by coming to campus to give out leaflets and was arrested.

Support for Guillermo's case rolled in from professors, student organizations and unionists who endorsed the defense case, wrote letters to publicize this violation of free speech and invited the "banned" Marxist to speak at their classes. As SFSU faculty member Sam Wellbaum wrote in the *Golden Gater*, "If a little group of radical Trotskyists can be squelched today, more 'respectable' protesters will be tomorrow. That's one of those lessons of history we forget at our peril." We extend our thanks and appreciation to everyone who took a stand to defend Guillermo and in so doing helped set an important precedent in defense of the rights of all who would protest the criminal policies of this government.

Young Spartacus

November 1984—Red Avengers mock campus "thought police." Red Avengers returned to SFSU on January 30 to announce victory over witchhunters.

As our Bay Area comrades noted in their victory statement distributed at SF State:

> "At a time when the Reagan administration is reeling from the Iran-Contragate scandal and the always marginal support for Reagan's Central America policies is plummeting, perhaps the D.A. was not so eager to try to convince a jury of the danger of a young Marxist handing out flyers on a university campus defending the Nicaraguan Revolution.... Meese and Co.'s 'thought police' *want* to tell American youth what they can think, read, ingest and do under the covers, but the credibility of this gang is none too high, as they are daily exposed as gross incompetents and fumbling liars."

Two years ago, we enraged the craven campus "left" when we exposed their lie that the way for the workers and oppressed to fight Reagan was by backing loser "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. An unholy alliance spanning the university administration and cops, student government bureaucrats, Democratic Party careerists and their fake-left camp followers launched a frenzied anti-Spartacist witchhunt at SF State. Women's Center director Judy Moore (aka "Baby HUAC") led this cabal in a rapidly escalating series of attacks from the banning of Marxist literature to the banning of Marxist people. The "Red Avengers of the Underground SYL" were born to fight this onslaught. Scorning the would-be campus McCarthyites, Red Avengers donned "Miss Piggy" masks and witches' hats and performed guerrilla theater skits across the campus. A series of "underground communiqués" were distributed, spoofing the redbaiters.

The cops and the courts were determined to prosecute Guillermo, an avowed Marxist, to set an "example" that would intimidate other student protesters. But just as we defeated UC Berkeley's attempt to jail our comrade on false charges that he assaulted the cop who held him in a choke hold and broke his arm for leading a protest against Marine recruiters (see "Guillermo Bermúdez Wins!", *WV* No. 404, 23 May 1986), the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee fought this case with every legal and political means at our disposal. Guillermo's attorneys, noted civil rights lawyer Howard Moore and Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Valerie West, took this case all the way to the California Supreme Court, which refused to review their appeal for a dismissal. In pre-trial discovery, the defense uncovered a lash-up with the Cold War Zionists of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, who provided the campus cops with a "security manual" and cooperation in setting up Spartacists (see page 3).

Finally the D.A.'s office threw in the towel, offering the lame excuse that they couldn't find their witnesses—SFSU administrators and campus cops, every one of whom had been served subpoenas by Guillermo's attorneys! *We won!* But funds are still needed to defray the costs of fighting the two-year prosecution. Send checks payable to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. A victory for one is a victory for all! ■

"Finish the Civil War—Fight for a Socialist Future!"

Growing Up in Howard Beach

The statement printed below, written by a member of the New York Spartacus Youth Club, recounts the author's experiences growing up in Howard Beach, Queens, the neighborhood where Michael Griffith, a 23-year-old black man, was killed by a mob of white racists on the night of December 20.

By Maryann Murphy

I was born in Howard Beach in 1963 and lived there almost 15 years. The cumulative experiences of that racist hellhole, and the (lack of) consciousness of its inhabitants, were incentive enough for me to run away at 14.

Contrary to the protests of the people who live there today, Howard Beach has always been a white, racist mini-apartheid. They have this paranoid, backward, intellectually deficient mindset, wherein their own little world reigns supreme. An invisible line is drawn. If you're not white, and you cross that line, you'd better have a gun. There's a one-sided race war, and blacks are the target.

As I came of age to go to school, there was a national movement of which I was hardly aware. Thousands of people were in the streets—fighting for busing, against racism. We watched the TV news. The sick fight against busing inflamed the minds of Howard Beach residents.

I went to Our Lady of Grace, an all-white Catholic school, for eight years. P.S. 146 was a few blocks away. When busing came to that small town, all the "good Catholics" and "neighborly Christians" put up one hell of a fight to stop black kids and white kids from attending the same school. So much for "God created everybody equal"!

I clearly remember a horrifying incident of racist terror that occurred when I was seven or eight while I was at Charles Park. The Q11 bus route came by there, and the bus would often stop, for a few minutes to get back on schedule. Well, that day there was a black bus driver. That invisible line was crossed. These teenage boys from the park went tearing over to the bus, screaming racist epithets, and dragged the driver out of the bus, kicking and punching him. Then they took the bus and ran it up a hill. I don't know what ever happened to that unfortunate victim.

At the same park four or five years later, a kid we hung out with was proudly breaking the news that his cousin was in jail. He'd participated in the Klan-style murder of a black woman token clerk at the Broad Channel station on the "A" train line. I knew these kids were sick, as were their educators—the parents and teachers who taught them race-hatred. I also thought it was probably the same everywhere.

Escaping from the Howard Beach Torture Chamber changed my entire life. I got a street education in integration and some book knowledge on the Civil War and labor/black defense. I know about the first workers revolution in history—that led by the Bolsheviks in 1917—which put an end to racist pogromist terror and capitalist oppression.

We need flatbed trucks of labor/black defense guards to patrol the streets of places like Howard Beach, Gravesend and Broad Channel. We must build a workers party to finish the Civil War and fight for a socialist future. That is how to avenge the victims of racist terror!

Racist Lynching in Howard Beach

For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks!

Black History Month

The following speech by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist League Central Committee member and 1985 Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor, was given at a January 23 SL forum in New York.

I want to start off with some basics. We're talking about a fundamental right here—the right of a black person in New York City to go into a deli and buy a bagel; the right of a black man to walk down any damn street he wants to in this city and buy a slice of pizza. Or of a black family to buy a house in any neighborhood in this country and live without the threat of the burning cross and the Ku Klux Klan. Or the right to drive a silver Mercedes through the streets of Tampa—that's right, they beat up and busted Dr. K., Dwight Gooden, because the idea of a black man making a million bucks and driving an expensive car just stuck in the cops' craw.

Well, we communists of the Spartacist League call on all working men and women in this city, black and white, Hispanics, Asians; we call on all defenders of democratic rights to mobilize to defend those rights and *crush* the racist scum that are wreaking their murderous terror against minorities. There's been a lynching, right here in New York City. And now the people who run this city are trying to lynch the survivors and dig up the corpse to lynch Michael Griffith all over again. This double lynching has brought this city to the point of explosion, and people are searching for answers, for a program to *stop this racist terror*. And that's what we want to talk about tonight.

The Spartacist League and our supporters in the city labor movement have been calling for a massive show of force—it's the only language these racist vermin understand. We call for the formation of integrated armed workers defense guards drawn from responsible union men and women to patrol the streets where Michael Griffith was attacked and killed. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU in Local 100 put out a call to form a "caravan of flatbed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads to patrol Howard Beach to ensure that this neighborhood is safe for *all* working people." And with 37,000 members in this powerhouse of New York labor—black, Latin, Irish—you better believe, they've got the muscle to get some respect. But you can't bank it, you've got to use it.

Marc Asnin

For integrated trade-union defense squads to clean out these racist scum!

WV Photo

Spartacist League forum: A class-conscious labor movement must champion the cause of black freedom.

We're talking about a red army—that's what workers defense guards are about—it's an embryo of workers power, of a workers state where these race-terrorists would be gone for good. And that's what it's going to take. In the Russian Revolution, workers defense guards went out and smashed the KKKers of the day—the so-called Black Hundreds, who used to terrorize the Jewish ghettos with their pogroms, their lynch mobs.

We've got Black History Month coming up, so let me read from something written by Claude McKay—the black American writer who was one of the first to rally behind the Bolshevik Revolution. He wrote this in a letter to the editor of the magazine called *The Crisis*, which was published by W.E.B. Du Bois:

> "I am surprised and sorry that in your editorial...you sneer at the Russian Revolution, the greatest event in the history of humanity; much greater than the French Revolution, which is held up as a wonderful achievement to Negro children and students in white and black schools. For American Negroes the indisputable and outstanding fact of the Russian Revolution is that a mere handful of Jews, much less in ratio to the number of Negroes in the American population, have attained through the Revolution, all the political and social rights that were denied to them under the regime of the Czar."

Workers defense guards, mass labor/black defense, an integrated fight to smash the racist terrorists—that's what it will take to deal with the lynchers, the cross-burners, the fascists who are acting like they've got a license to kill in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. We of the Spartacist League believe the black question is the key to the American revolution—the fight for revolutionary integration, for black liberation through socialist revolution. We put all faith in the power of the independent mobilization of the working class and minorities under the leadership of the revolutionary party and no reliance on the 106th Precinct—in the cops, the courts, the capitalist state.

This racist atrocity in New York City is part of the overall social climate in this country. It's Racist Terror U.S.A. In Chicago, the Howard Beach types put on Klan hoods and swastikas and spewed their racist filth in Marquette Park last summer. In Amherst, Mass. a mob of a thousand stampeding white racists set upon a dozen black people after the World Series. And just last weekend in lily-white Forsyth County, Georgia, the KKK terrorized black marchers and then had a so-called "white power" rally of 1,000 racists at the county courthouse. These people are *killers*. Where do you think all these guns are going that have been stolen from U.S. army warehouses?

WV Photo

January 12: SL and Labor Black League protest at Bronx courthouse. Racist courts cover up for killer cop Sullivan, put murdered black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and family on trial.

Make no mistake, the Howard Beach mob is not just a bunch of racist yahoos. They and people like them are doing the work of sinister forces that are driving this country to the brink of imperialist war and pushing this city to the brink of race war. Trade war and imperialist war mean racist terror at home. You can hear the beat of war drums—whipping this country into a war frenzy against the Soviet "evil empire" and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya. And how do they mobilize for war? With racism, with Rambomania. They keep pushing this protectionist poison about Japanese workers supposedly taking American jobs, and pretty soon a Vincent Chin is bludgeoned to death by a white Chrysler foreman. They get those white medical students kissing the ground over Reagan's rape of black Grenada. And anybody who steps out of line—they're to be obliterated, like the firebombing of MOVE. That was Reagan's message to black people, just like the destruction of the PATCO air controllers union was his message to labor.

The racist terror comes straight from the top, from Reagan, and from Koch. Lately they got this thing, about how Koch has supposedly changed his stripes. You know, he went out and said the Howard Beach murder was a lynching, akin to something in the Deep South, which it was. But all of a sudden, Koch is not supposed to be a racist pig anymore? This is the man who treats blacks and Latins like he's the Israeli military commander and they're Palestinians on the occupied West Bank; the man who paraded through the streets of Queens with Israeli general Sharon, the butcher of Sabra/Shatila! This is the man whose cops gunned down Michael Stewart, whose cops blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.

The Bumpurs trial is on right now. That's right, supposedly Sullivan the Cop is on trial, but really the murdered victim is on trial, as also in the case of Michael Griffith. Because up in the Bronx they are obscenely trying to pin the blame on the Bumpurs family for the fact that a SWAT team broke down the door and blasted an infirm black grandmother because she was $387.40 behind on her rent. Who here hasn't been $387.40 behind on their rent, right? So now we have eviction-by-murder in this city.

We ran an election campaign here in the fall of 1985, a campaign like the Bolsheviks did—as a platform to rally the working people and oppressed in struggle. We held a forum at a church in Harlem with the slogan "Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" and it was a very moving event when Eleanor Bumpurs' daughter Mary, and Veronica Perry, the mother of Edmund Perry who was killed by the cops in Harlem, came and spoke of their pain and their anger. And we demonstrated against the cops' coroner, Dr. Gross the Ghoul—you remember, he's the one who gouged out Michael Stewart's eyes and hid them, so the evidence that Stewart was choke-holded by the cops wouldn't show. It's really like we said, it's a *system* of racist terror, from the cops to Koch to D.A. Morgenthau to Gross.

Shortly after that was the struggle to defend Brother James Grimes, the black transit worker who did have a gun to defend himself, unlike Brother Michael Griffith or Willie Turks—so James Grimes is alive to talk about it today.

"Gun Control Is Killing Blacks!"

Comrade Ed Kartsen, a Spartacist electoral candidate in 1985, is a member of the SL Central Committee. We print below condensed excerpts from his remarks at the January 23 SL forum in New York.

July 1983: Ed Karlsen at rally of transit workers demanding TWU action to avenge racist murder of union brother Willie Turks.

In Howard Beach what we had was a putrid leftover of something that has to be eradicated from this country, the putrid leftovers of slavery. This time it was the family of Michael Griffith who suffered a deep loss. We share in their grief. And we regard with contempt, disgust and outrage the media campaign to turn the victims into the criminals. The surfacing of mob terror in New York City just adds a note to the fact that the civil rights movement is not only far from complete, but those gains are being driven back at breakneck speed. And these racist murderers know it—that's what has emboldened them. They're in Reagan's America, which is characterized by the massacre of the members of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia, cruelly burned to death, in a city with a black Democratic Party mayor, who worked hand in hand with the federal agents.

In New York City, Koch is Reagan's man. And because the civil rights movement is incomplete, the tasks of the Civil War are incomplete. They have to be finished. The rule of Jim Crow in this city is manifested by *cop terror*, by unemployment, by conditions of the homeless, by massive hunger. It's also manifested by anti-gun laws. Anti-gun laws in this city are analogous to the disarming of black soldiers who occupied the Confederate States of America. It's analogous to the pulling out of the Union Army from the occupied Confederacy. Well, after that pullout the Klan did its work of pushing back many of the gains and many of the potential gains which the Civil War opened up. And in this city, as the cops and mob terror enforce the racist status quo, gun control *is* killing blacks. Gun control has to be abolished.

Labor has to mobilize in a big way to reverse the influence of the racist lynch mobs in this country and this city, but workers are deeply divided along race lines. In order to successfully break through that barrier, conscious workers have to take a granite-hard stand in opposition to the passivity and backwardness which is manifest in the labor movement. That's why TWU militants have demanded, along with the Spartacist League, that flatbed trucks be mobilized by the thousands into areas like Howard Beach. Racist terror must be answered swiftly and decisively; otherwise the lives of black people are cheapened, inequality is reinforced. The crushing of the race-hating killers by the mobilized strength of the working class is the only way that black freedom, and the cause of all working-class people, can be ensured.

One of the most important examples of a movement within the civil rights movement to break out of the pacifism that Martin Luther King preached was Robert Williams, head of the Monroe, North Carolina NAACP. He answered KKK terror by organizing armed defense squads to protect black neighborhoods and protests against Ku Klux Klan terror. Robert Williams' tactics, which the Spartacist League supported, tied to the social power of the working class could reforge a movement that would move beyond the limitations that Martin Luther King ran into. It was Malcolm X as well as the Deacons for Defense who fought for the right of armed self-defense. And in order to continue the fight for that right, anti-gun laws, which are advocated by Democratic Party liberals, have to be abolished.

The "Johnny Reb" types who killed Michael Griffith should share the same fate as the Confederate soldiers who were destroyed in order to overthrow slavery. Our demands are that vengeance be gotten for Michael Stewart, for Willie Turks, for Eleanor Bumpurs, for Dennis Groce, for *all* the victims of racist terror; our strategy is the mobilization of the working class and minorities under revolutionary leadership to finish the Civil War. And we know that this struggle is not exclusively a struggle of the offensive. We know that there is a need to defend many of the class-struggle prisoners who have already become the targets of the racist justice system in order to enforce Jim Crow. I'm speaking in particular of Ramona Africa, the sole survivor of the grisly MOVE bombing, and of Geronimo Pratt, the framed-up ex-Black Panther.

Reagan wants to make the Cold War hot, and the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis and the racist terrorists like the ones out in Howard Beach want to help them by maintaining the racist status quo. The agents of race-hate in the working class want to set black, white, Hispanic and Asian workers at each other's throats. Well, we think that all workers in this country, united with workers worldwide, should defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution of 1917. And the gains of the first and second American Revolutions, which are under attack, must also be defended. What we need is a workers party to do that, and replace that strutting cowboy in the White House *and* the Democrats with a workers government. Our fight is to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution, a workers revolution. ■

The transit brothers and sisters mobilized, repeatedly, at the courthouse, at the T.A. to defend Brother Grimes. And out of that successful struggle to defend the right of armed self-defense, the New York Labor Black League was formed. And earlier, after black transit worker Willie Turks was killed on Avenue X, in Gravesend, by a racist mob, the militant transit workers also fought for union patrols in Gravesend. That struggle that was sabotaged by the so-called union "dissidents" and by Local 100 president at that time, John Lawe, who said such a mobilization would "disturb good relations with management." You bet it would. *And we are bitter* about this because, if labor had mobilized then, as it should have done, Michael Griffith might be alive today.

Defeat of the Civil Rights Movement

So what happened in the Howard Beach case? Well, after the lynching [of Michael Griffith] they tried to lynch the lawyers, because Maddox and Vernon Mason didn't want to go along with the standard cover-up that was being cooked up in the D.A.'s office. Maddox said, look, the Willie Turks case shows that this city is not going to prosecute a white mob that killed a black man. Which is the simple truth. So they threw the book at the lawyers—Koch even said the refusal to go along with Santucci was worse than the lynching itself! But unfortunately, behind the lawyers' whole legal strategy is the politics of pressuring the state or federal government to take over the case.

They went looking for a deal with Governor Cuomo, who wants to run for president. But who is Cuomo? He's a product of the same Democratic Queens machine that brought you Donald Manes, Geraldine Ferraro and John Santucci. Cuomo even dumped on Koch for mentioning the word lynching. Well, as Malcolm X used to say, just remember, if you're voting for the Democrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats. So they just formed a political alliance with Cuomo here over Michael Griffith's dead body. And if they don't get justice from this special prosecutor, don't be surprised. We say break with the racist Democrats—forge a multiracial class-struggle workers party!

Now, along with the deal with Cuomo, they have this "boycott white businesses" and "boycott white media" campaign. Partly, it's absurd—someone actually raised the slogan "Pizza kills." And supposedly not watching the Superbowl is going to strike a blow against racism? But it's much more sinister than that. Look, the racists are mobilizing to keep blacks out of "white neighborhoods," right? That's what they were using those "stun guns" for in the 106th Precinct, to drive black youth out of Ozone Park. Howard Beach even has Pinkertons to keep out black people. So, along come black misleaders like Al Sharpton or Roger Green, and they're saying don't buy white, stay with your own. That plays right into the racists' hands. That's what the racists want. Furthermore, this is poisonous anti-Italian demagogy. Just like Sharpton last summer tried to stage a little pogrom against Arab candy store owners in the supposed "Crack-down" in Harlem.

As always, Jesse Jackson's on hand when somebody's brokering a deal with the Democrats, and Louis Farrakhan is in the wings there as well. Farrakhan's people have been whipping up the worst of the anti-Italian race-baiting that has been going on, and the speeches at the January 21 rally were laced with anti-Semitism. What Jesse had to say about Howard Beach was that the focus ought to be on the White House—by which he means vote Democratic in '88, just like he hustled votes for Fritz ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale and Geraldine ("No to forced busing") Ferraro last time around. And when he glad-handed Mr. Segregation, George Wallace, don't forget that. Because there's a symbiosis between Jackson and Wallace, they go together, just like Louis Farrakhan and the likes of Tom Metzger, the San Diego KKK leader and fellow Democrat. There's a reason why Farrakhan took money from Metzger, why Metzger came out to Farrakhan's speech in the Forum in Los Angeles last year. Metzger and Farrakhan both think "Hitler was a great man," and both of them want to keep black people locked into the ghettos.

Well, here in New York we've seen this kind of dangerous, race-baiting demagoguery before. I'm thinking back to 1978, when Herbert Daughtry diverted protests over the police murder of black businessman Arthur Miller into a march on a Hassidic synagogue in Crown Heights. He had a couple thousand people massed, whipping up the crowd with anti-Semitism, remarks about people in "strange clothing." Today Daughtry is oh-so-respectable, he's in tight with Koch, he gets his picture taken with Cuomo, he wants to be Jesse Jackson's main man in New York. But it's just two sides of the same coin of bourgeois ethnic politics, and it's deadly dangerous. They're toying with race war to get a little "clout" within the Democratic Party, a little influence they can peddle. And race war in this country is necessarily one-sided, against black people.

Now in part, they're trying to do a replay of the '60s. Take the protest march they had into Howard Beach right after the murder of Michael

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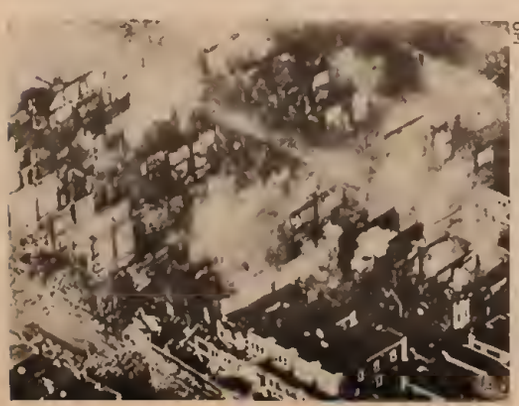


Racist state terror in Reagan's America: black Democratic mayor Goode, Philadelphia cops, FBI incinerated eleven people in hideous firebombing of MOVE.

HONOR BOLSHEVIK LEADERS

Progress Publishers

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Dietz Verlag Berlin

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG

On January 18, the Spartacist League held a public meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area to pay tribute to the "three L's" of Bolshevism: V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, all of whom died in the month of January. Lenin, whose Bolshevik Party led the Russian working class to power in October 1917, died in January 1924; Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the German Communist leaders, were murdered in January 1919.

In the meeting hall were displayed historical photographs and artists' scenes of the German Spartacus uprising, enlarged quotes by Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Leon Trotsky and Lenin, and a literature display. The main speaker, James Robertson of the SL Central Committee, noted that "back when the Communist Party had a memory, some 50-plus years ago," meetings in January in honor of the "three L's" were a regular event. The meeting heard quotes from the writings and speeches of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others. Following the discussion, the *Internationale* was sung and Chopin's funeral march was played.

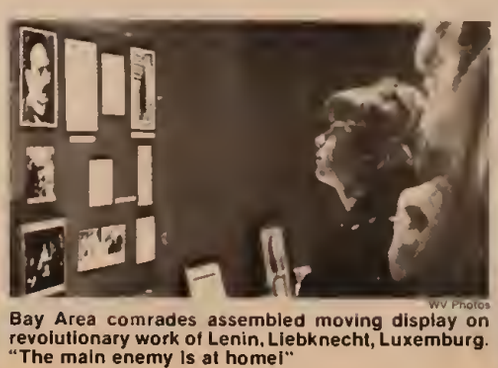
The main presentation emphasized that there are no "great leaders" in isolation; that for success in situations of urgent revolutionary opportunity, there must be a tested leadership that has an evolved authority among the masses of working people. Lenin's struggle for disciplined communist organization, in the 1903 split with the Mensheviks and onward, forged a Bolshevik Party with the will and capacity to take power. In Germany, the revolutionists' hard split from the capitulators came much later, after the November 1918 overthrow of the Hohenzollern monarchy. In the revolutionary confrontations of 1918-19 the crucial left-wing leaders Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered. And with the proletarian leadership beheaded, the 1923 revolutionary confrontation in Germany miscarried, leading directly to the rise of Hitler and the second imperialist world war.

WV Photos

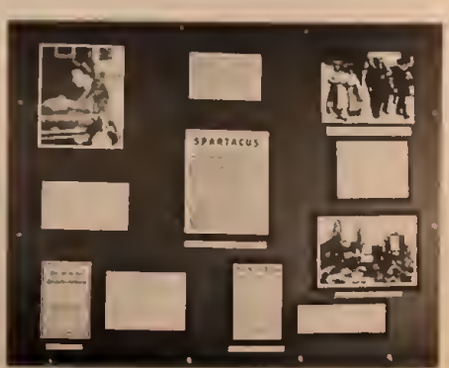
Oakland, January 18: Fighting in the tradition of the "three L's"—Spartacist League pays tribute to historic leaders of the proletarian fight for socialism.

Among the quotations read to the meeting were a passage from Liebknecht's work *Militarism and Anti-Militarism*, the appeal to proletarian youth for which he was convicted of treason, and Luxemburg's last defiant article, "Order Reigns in Berlin." A passage from John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* described Lenin as "a strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect... but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation." Other readings included sections of Leon Trotsky's speech to the Petrograd Soviet three days after the death of Luxemburg and Liebknecht and Lenin's famous telegram of March 1917 demanding a policy of no confidence in the bourgeois regime (see facing page).

The main speaker concluded: "Our task...is to do two things, in intimate conjuncture. One is to struggle to retain the understanding of the practices and traditions of the international communist movement in the spirit and program of the Bolsheviks." In addition, he noted, "we have to live it to the extent that we can.... And part of living as communists is to act like the communists who evolved under the...unusual conditions of the tsarist empire, and managed to crack the power of the rulers and the enslavers." ■



WV Photos



Bay Area comrades assembled moving display on revolutionary work of Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg. "The main enemy is at home!"

Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee; immediate elections to the Petrograd City Council; no rapprochement with other parties. Telegraph this to Petrograd.

Ulyanov

—V. I. Lenin,
"Telegram to the Bolsheviks Leaving for Russia,"
19 March 1917

State Fine Arts Publishers

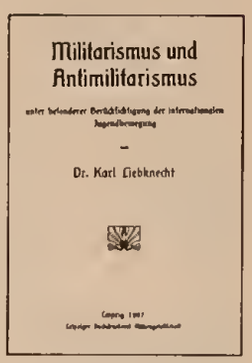
Petrograd, 1917: Lenin defends his April Theses.

Novosti

Red soldiers in 1917 Moscow demonstration. Banner says "Communism."

Dietz Verlag Berlin

5 January 1919: Liebknecht addresses Berlin workers, shortly before he and Luxemburg were murdered at instigation of German Social Democrats.



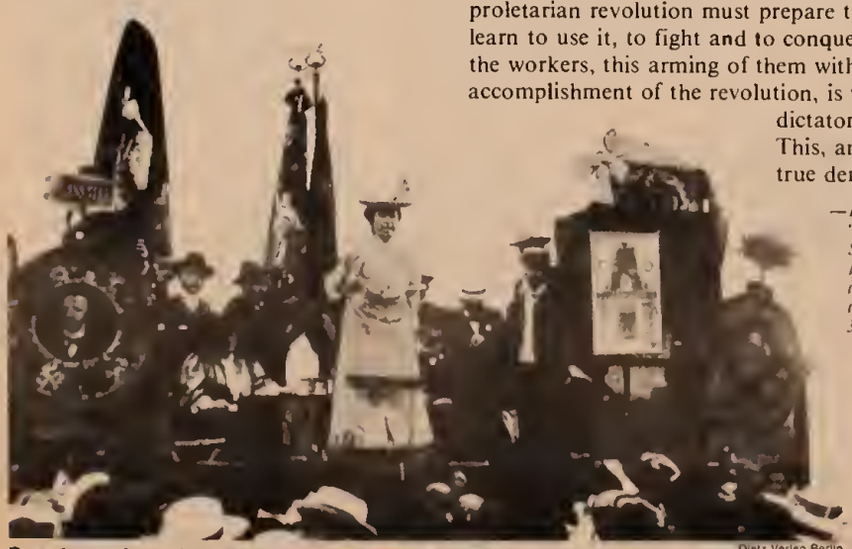
Liebknecht's famous pamphlet directed against capitalist militarism.

The toiling masses are the prime movers of social revolution. Clear class consciousness, clear recognition of their historic tasks, a clear will to achieve them, and unerring effectiveness—these are the attributes without which they will not be able to complete their work. Today more than ever the task is to clear away the unity smokescreen, expose half measures and halfheartedness, and unmask all false friends of the working class. Clarity can arise only out of pitiless criticism, unity only out of clarity, and the strength to create the new socialist world only out of unity in spirit, goals, and purpose.

—Karl Liebknecht,
"The New 'Civil Peace',"
19 November 1918

The fight for socialism is the most gigantic civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary defense for this war. It must learn to use it, to fight and to conquer. This defense of the compact masses of the workers, this arming of them with the full political power for the accomplishment of the revolution, is what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, and only this, is the true democracy.

—Rosa Luxemburg,
"What Does The Spartacus League Want,"
14 December 1918; adopted as the founding program of the Communist Party of Germany, 30 December 1918-1 January 1919.



Dietz Verlag Berlin

Rosa Luxemburg denounces war preparations in 1907.

Proletarian internationalist paper of German Spartakusbund, founded by Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

Labor/Black Defense...

(continued from page 7)

Earl Grant

SNCC leader John Lewis (fourth from left) addresses Harlem rent strike rally, 1964. Posters mock Republicans, Democrats. As Malcolm X said: "Either party that you align yourself with is suicide."

Griffith. It was a very bad scene there, because the black marchers were surrounded by the racists, who weren't just screaming, they had their baseball hats with them. And when what's standing between you and the racists is the 106th Precinct, you are *in trouble*. On WLIB, people called in and commented that it reminded them of Chicago, of Cicero in 1966, when the civil rights marchers were stoned in the streets by the racists. That march was defeated militarily, but it also marked the political defeat of the liberal civil rights movement when it tried to go north.

Because, you see, the pacifism of the preachers and the politicians was not just because they liked Gandhi or something, it was based on a strategy of *relying on the federal government* to overturn Jim Crow segregation: the right to vote, integrate the bus stations and lunch counters and so forth. (These gains are still under attack, and now being reversed, not only under Reagan, but when the Democrats abandoned busing back in the mid-1970s.) When King launched a campaign for "open housing" in Chicago, they were up against the economic realities that are the bedrock of racist American capitalism, where black people are last hired, first fired, ghettoized, terrorized, in inner cities that have been lumpenized, and are today worse than any time since the Depression, where an entire generation of black youth are condemned to a future of despair. And no civil rights bill, no liberal Democrat is going to change this. For that, you need socialist revolution and the expropriation of the capitalist class.

So the ghetto explosions in the late '60s were really due to the failure of the civil rights movement to make a difference in the lives of the mass of black people in the North. And while the left wing of that movement, located in SNCC and later the Panthers, broke with the black ministers and black Democrats, unfortunately the "black power" movement never found the road to *workers* power, never linked the ghettos to the factories, where the social power is. Instead, they got locked into the dead end of nationalism—which is really a pseudo-nationalism, since blacks in America are not a nation, but an oppressed race-color caste. And many of the most courageous fighters for black liberation were gunned down in cold blood by the cops. Others were framed up and jailed, for years, like former Panther leader Geronimo Pratt who is still behind bars in San Quentin.

1964-68: Northern Ghettos Erupt

But before that, as the civil rights movement was first spreading to the North, there were some real opportunities pointing toward a revolutionary, class-struggle road to black freedom. So I want to talk about the Harlem police riot of 1964, where the question of labor/black defense was posed concretely on a mass scale, from 125th and Lenox to the garment district. Because in that period Harlem was seething, and the political ferment was quickly moving beyond the capitalist framework. There were a number of factors: Malcolm X was there; he had split from the Black Muslim organization and was raining ridicule down on the black Democrats; he was calling for armed self-defense. Progressive Labor was up there, in particular Bill Epton. There was a very radical tenants movement organizing black tenants councils. The kind of work the Communist Party did in Harlem in the '30s, like mass defense against evictions: you know, the cops would put somebody's furniture onto the street, except there's 500 people waiting on the street, and they just bring the furniture right back in.

AP

Wide World

Chicago, 1966: Martin Luther King was defeated when he went North. Liberal civil rights movement had no answer to ghetto misery rooted in capitalism.

So the ruling class was getting worried about this situation, because they saw the spectre of *red and black together*. Some people may remember, how after the Cuban Revolution, when Fidel Castro came on his first visit to this country, he stayed at the Hotel Teresa in Harlem. And I remember these scenes from television—people were sitting outside on the stoop and cheering every time Fidel and those guys in guerrilla uniforms came out. They were cheering revolution. And the ruling class just went bananas.

In the summer of 1964, our organization, the Spartacists, had just gone public, having been expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, among other reasons because we were fighting to intervene in the black struggle, North and South, on a communist program, while the SWP just wanted to tail along. And in the very second issue of our paper, we warned that the bourgeois state was preparing to use the cops to crush the black struggle in Harlem. Just a few days later the police killed a 15-year-old black youth, James Powell. Harlem mobilized to protest this outrage, and the cops went in guns blazing, nightsticks swinging. Well, big events are the test for a revolutionary party. And Spartacist came out hard in defense of the people of Harlem, at a time when virtually all the left and the black reformist leaders had abandoned them.

The Harlem Defense Council had been formed by Bill Epton and other militants and they were calling for organizing block-by-block, apartment-by-apartment, house-by-house defense against the cops. They tried to hold a mass demonstration in Harlem, but liberal mayor Wagner banned it and the cops arrested the organizers as soon as they stepped off the curb. The Spartacists took the lead in forming a Harlem Solidarity Committee that attempted to take the pressure off the ghetto by rallying mass working-class support. It held a 1,000-strong rally in the garment center calling for the cops out of Harlem and "Support Right of Citizens to Defend Themselves." *Spartacist* editor James Robertson addressed the rally, denouncing the cops and commenting on the attempts to blame the riots on communists. He said, "Unfortunately there aren't many reds in Harlem now—*but there will be*."

Well, they cut it off with the cop riot and with the witchhunt that would come, and not just in Harlem. They destroyed the ghetto organizations by arresting the leaders; Bill Epton was jailed for "criminal anarchism." And the next year Malcolm was killed. You want to know why we say gun control kills blacks? In New York the city council passed that law about carrying shotguns and carbines in public because Malcolm had one in his car, since there had already been one attempt on his life. They passed that law, and within months Malcolm was shot dead, in the Audubon Ballroom. Who did it? We don't know, but we do know there were two forces who wanted Malcolm dead. One, the government: as later revealed, the COINTEL program called for "neutralization" of black leaders; and another was Louis Farrakhan.

But it was the events of 1968 that really cut off the prospects of united black/labor struggle in this city. The mid-'60s was also a period of rapid growth by the municipal unions in New York. Remember the '66 transit strike, when old Mike Quill said the judge could drop dead in his black robes, and the union tore up the back-to-work injunction? So the city rulers were worried, and together with the Ford Foundation and the federal government, they came up with a scheme to try to break the teachers union, which had also been expanding at that time. They got a new black administrator in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Rhody McCoy. And his first act was to dismiss without due process a number of teachers, including the shop stewards; and when 250 teachers walked out in protest, they were "transferred," and replacements hired.

This was straight out union-busting, but the city created a smokescreen to cover it: "community control." Black leaders, and almost the entire left, lined up against the strike. Now the Shanker leadership of the UFT [United Federation of Teachers]—that sounds like a disease, but it's a person, Al Shanker. Shanker played right into Lindsay's hands, by total indifference to the concerns and needs of the ghetto, and even demanding the famous "rowdy child clause." And the card that was played to split blacks from the unions was anti-Semitism, because the teachers union is heavily Jewish. Really ugly stuff. Just to name one flagrant example, there was the repulsive poem read over WBAI by one Les Campbell, Rhody McCoy's right-hand man, that's the man we know as Jitu Weusi today. He went on the air and he attacked Shanker as a yarmulke-wearing "Jew boy," and saying, "I wish you were dead."

1968 split blacks and labor, and that brought in its wake the Big MAC cutbacks of the '70s, which ripped up union contracts and destroyed social services for the ghettos. It gave us labor-hater race-baiter Ed Koch, who, according to his own autobiography really got off on busting the 1980 transit strike and shutting down Sydenham Hospital. So our job is to reforge a fighting unity in this city between blacks and the labor movement. And that means a fight in the unions to oust the Shankers and their ilk, the pro-capitalist Russia-hating labor bureaucracy that plays ball with the bosses. (I mean that literally. Victor Gotbaum bragged that he and Big MAC banker Felix Rohatyn regularly play tennis together out in the Hamptons.) We say: Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win! And that means a fight to break the unions and the black masses from the Democratic Party.

Imperialist War and Socialist Revolution

So here we are, deep into the Reagan years. Blacks and labor have been taking it on the chin. It's been a lousy period, of rightist reaction. But early on, in our party conference in 1981, we had taken up the question of "Facing the Reagan Years," and steeled our comrades to fight routinism, to be prepared to seize the opportunities which would come. And we've gone out looking for them. Notably, the Labor/Black Mobilization on November 27, 1982, which we built in one week, that brought out 5,000 black youth and unionists who

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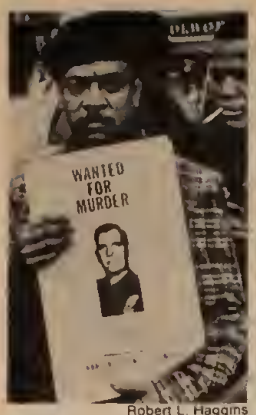

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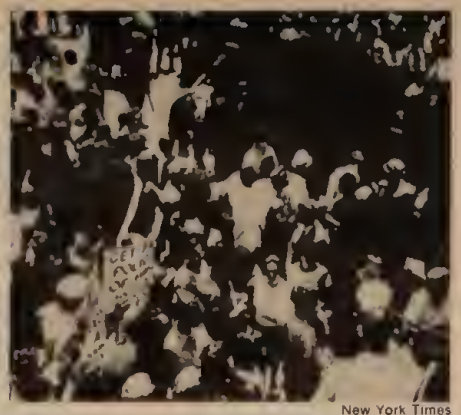

New York Times

1964: Outrage over cop killing of 15-year-old Harlem youth (left). Spartacist-initiated rally in garment district to defend Harlem masses against police riot (right).

stopped the Ku Klux Klan cold when they tried to march in Washington for the first time since 1925. And most recently, the ILA strike this past October, where we rushed into action with our special supplement. Unfortunately the strike only lasted three days, because the raw power of that integrated hardball union, with its heavily black Southern locals, scared the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie.

November 27th by the way, was the culmination of a series of labor/black actions that were instrumental in keeping the Klan off the streets of the Northern cities. It was one of the most important victories in decades in the fight against racist terror in this country. But there are people who can't stomach that—even some on the left, like the so-called Workers League, which called that action a "provocation." That's the same thing they've recently come out and said about our fight in the city labor movement now for massive labor/black patrols in Howard Beach. So they have an article in their paper, the *Bulletin*, one of the most disgusting apologies for the racist killers in Howard Beach I've ever read. They take out the Spartacist League for our statement that this is a "deeply racist country." That is simply true. Why do they want to deny reality? Because they're opposed to mobilizing to stop these racist attacks. As James Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, said of the "colorblind" social democrats of his day, who like the WL were covering for, or were themselves, job-trusting labor fakers, these pseudo-socialists have *nothing at all* to offer black people.

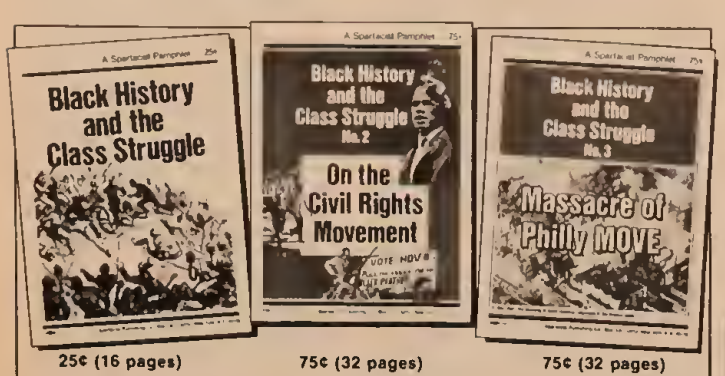
Okay, so it's been six years of Reaganism. But I'm glad to say that recent developments look like the Reaganites are self-destructing pretty fast, and we want to help this along. In our paper, *Workers Vanguard*, we're writing about "Contragate Murder Plots," "Shuttlegate," KAL-007-gate—let's keep those "gates" coming, folks. Reagan also seems to be losing his marbles, or should I say losing his jelly beans. But they're still obsessed with "taking back Nicaragua." And they may just try it. As we've said more than once, this government is crazy, war crazy. But if they do, they'll find out that the Vietnam syndrome is still there. The Vietnamese did their job with their historic victory that sent the U.S. and its puppets packing, but the American workers haven't done their job yet. Yet if the American ruling class tries it again, in Nicaragua, they'll have one hell of a social explosion here at home.

I want to end on this note. In the California Bay Area last weekend, we commemorated three revolutionaries who all died in January—Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, who together with Leon Trotsky led the Russian workers to power in 1917; and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the Spartacists in Germany, who in World War I said "The main enemy is at home!" and refused to support "their" bourgeois government in the imperialist slaughter. At the beginning of World War I, only four leaders of the German social democrats had the courage to take this internationalist stand—they went to jail, and their *Spartacus* letters had to be distributed clandestinely. But two years later, on May Day 1916, Karl Liebknecht was addressing a crowd of 10,000 in Berlin who were chanting "Down with the war!" So things can change very quickly. And if war is the mother of revolution, imperialist war is the mother of socialist revolution.

Now the Bolsheviks went into World War I with a revolutionary vanguard party, with its cadres tested in the 1905 Revolution, in the experience of the underground struggle during the repression, in resisting the wave of social patriotism at the outbreak of the war. That was decisive for the victory of the Russian October Revolution. But in Germany, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were assassinated in January 1919, their movement defeated in part because they had not assimilated the key question of the vanguard party in time. So we must learn from history. And we of the Spartacist tendency seek to forge that party of world socialist revolution. Finally, let me read a quote from Trotsky:

> "Put aside the incidentals which developments have overcome, and we can, with full justification, place our work for the Fourth International under the sign of the 'three L's,' that is, under the sign not only of Lenin, but also of Luxemburg and Liebknecht."

We'd like you to join us. ■



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Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

Operation Turnaround, to show that "Reagan's back" and "in charge," was a miscrable flop. Though he made it through the upbeat script (selected by Nancy), with Republicans jumping up and down for standing ovations while Democrats sat stonily in their seats, the *New York Times* (28 January) reported a "consensus tonight among politicians in both parties...that the President had not regained the initiative," presaging "an even more rapid ebbing of the Administration's power" than customary. In other words, not a "lame duck" but a dead duck administration, blown out of the water by the Iran/Contragate affair. The *Times* put the knife in, ostentatiously giving top billing to Communist Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev's state of the Soviet Union address over Ronald Reagan's sorry state of the presidency.

There is a deep-going crisis of the regime in Washington today. The American ruling class is kind of panicked that their commander-in-chief has lost his grip. When White House aides refused to let investigators question Reagan on the Iran arms affair, on the grounds that "the President might become confused," Maine Republican Senator Cohen remarked, "I have the sensation we've slipped through a rabbit hole into something of a fantasy land." Asked if the president remembered signing the Bible sent to Teheran, departing White House spokesman Larry Speakes replied, "I don't know that he knew that he knew." On Friday, Reagan actually vetoed a "clean water" bill that had passed the House 408-6 and the Senate by 93-6, guaranteeing that it would be overridden. At this point if Congress (which he dubbed "outer space") passed a bill for motherhood, Reagan would no doubt reject it as a "budget-buster"!

The administration is coming apart at the seams. Secretary of State Shultz told a Congressional committee that the CIA continued discussions with the Iranians after a State Department spokesman supposedly terminated talks in mid-December; and that he had to cable the Kuwaiti government to countermand a CIA request that they release Khomeinite airplane bombers. Meanwhile, the CIA's contra mercenaries are the subject of at least seven different criminal investigations for everything from weapons smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering to larceny, burglary and murder. And now there are revelations of Angolagate, with CIA fly-by-night airlines funneling arms to South African puppet Savimbi through Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo) with the cooperation of President Mobutu, installed by the CIA in 1965 after the agency arranged for the 1961 murder of Congolese independence leader Lumumba.

"How many dead Lebanese will it take to run Contragate off the front pages?" asked Pacifica radio commentator Travis T. Hip, adding that for purposes of whipping up anti-Arab hatred in the American public, "those hostages are probably worth a great deal more dead than alive from the White House viewpoint." The pattern is by now all-too-familiar. In January 1986, Reagan started ranting about "flaky" Qaddafi and ordered Americans to leave Libya. When Congress turned down Reagan's contra aid bill in March, he sent the Sixth Fleet to provocatively enter Libyan-claimed waters in order to draw fire and attack Soviet-installed SAM missile sites. Following the convenient bombing of a Berlin disco in early April, the U.S. bombed Tripoli in a raid timed to play live on the evening network news. This was a deliberate attempt to assassinate Qaddafi but they only succeeded in killing his 15-month-old daughter and innocent civilians. Now everybody admits that the U.S. government simply fabricated its story of a supposed Qaddafi "link" to the disco bombing.

Who gets bombed next? Only Reagan and his new National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci know for sure, or maybe only the latter. Perhaps they'll go after the "usual suspects" in the Bekaa region of Lebanon, a favorite Israeli target. The last time Reagan tried anything serious in Lebanon he got 241 Marines blown to bits in October 1983. (That December, the *New Jersey* was ordered to come to the aid of the Marine compound in Beirut, but only managed to shell civilian areas because the 30-year-old powder charges for the 40-year-old battleship's guns caused shells to go astray.) But Reagan was able to cover up this disaster by fabricating another military "crisis"—the U.S. rape of black Grenada. Former Democratic House speaker Tip O'Neill, who went along with Reagan's ploys when the chips were down, admitted the game after he retired:

> "When [KAL Flight] 007 went down, that's the day we met and decided to send our Marines to Beirut. When the 241 Marines were killed, three days later [they] get it off the front page and go into Grenada."
>
> —*CNN News*, 14 November 1986

Whatever the administration decides to do in the Near East, it's likely to be a cheap shot—a quick bombing raid, for instance—which they can sell as "America standing tall again." Where they intend to commit the U.S. militarily is Nicaragua, in the name of a global war on Communism. Reagan vowed in the "State of the Union" address to stand by his contra "freedom fighters," proclaiming "There must be no Soviet beachhead in Central America." And as Congress gears up for another contra aid fight, a series of "exercises" are underway in Honduras involving more than 7,000 U.S. troops. Units of the National Guard are flown in for "road-building," the USS *Iowa* pounds away with its 16-inchers to "soften up" the beaches for amphibious landings by the Marines. Up next are helicopter assaults and a parachute drop by the 82nd Airborne, and a war game on "border restoration."

As for U.S. invasion plans, they have long been drawn up and are now finalized. But there's a major hitch: due to post-Vietnam manpower cuts, fully half the combat and support units will have to come from the National Guard and Reserves. These are not 20-year-old would-be Rambos but the family men of middle America, and once they start coming home in body bags it will create a political explosion at home. Not even LBJ dared try that: according to Col. Herbert Schandler (*The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam* [1977]), Johnson figured that mobilizing the Reserves represented "the elusive point at which the costs of Vietnam would become unacceptable to the American people...." So he rejected General Westmoreland's 1967-68 escalation plans and resigned himself to defeat. But not Reagan—he thinks he has a "mandate" for an anti-Soviet war drive leading to nuclear Armageddon in our time.

Accompanying this imperialist war drive abroad is the war at home, against workers, minorities, immigrants, the poor. And just as the Challenger's rocket launchers kept hurtling skyward following the explosion that disinte-

continued on page 12

CORRECTION

The last paragraph of the article "Howard Beach: Black Victims on Trial," (*WV* No. 420, 23 January) contained a garbled sentence. Referring to the recent escalation of racist terror in the U.S., the sentence should have read: "A vicious attack on anti-Klan marchers in Forsyth, Georgia dramatically underlined this point."

Water Cannon at 40° Below in Minnesota

Battle Over Troops to Central America

AP

On Thursday night, January 22, a demonstration of some 500 people converged on Fort Snelling Air Base outside Minneapolis to protest the sending of Minnesota National Guardsmen to Central America. The troops were scheduled to lift off the next morning for U.S. military "exercises" in Honduras called "Blazing Trails '87." But as ladders went up to scale the chain-link fence topped with barbed wire that surrounds the military section of the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport, Air Force police suddenly turned fire hoses on the demonstrators. But even this drenching in the bitter cold (the wind chill factor stood at 40 degrees below zero) didn't stop the protesters, 22 of whom were seized by police. "I hope that they were amazed the people still kept going over," said a spokesman for the Pledge of Resistance, a liberal civil disobedience group.

It was the second time in a month that hundreds protested at the air base. In the predawn darkness of January 3, activists who climbed the fence and headed for planes warming their engines on the runways were attacked by dozens of MPs and civilian cops using nightsticks. The actions at Fort Snelling reflect a split among U.S. rulers over the Pentagon's deployment of National Guard units in their military buildup against Sandinista Nicaragua. In 1986, state governors of Maine, Vermont, New Mexico, Washington, Ohio and Arizona refused to permit Guard "training" in Honduras. Last November Congress passed the Montgomery Amendment stripping governors of any say in the matter. But in late January, Minnesota governor Rudy Perpich sued the Department of Defense, Air Force, Army and top Pentagon officials to reassert state control over Guard training.

It's one more instance of how the Reagan administration, with the connivance of Congressional Democrats, has squirmed around U.S. laws to run its dirty war in Central America. The president can always federalize Guard units, but has to report this to Congress, which would then have to take a position. So for mutual convenience, use of National Guard soldiers to pave Honduras coast-to-coast with airfields in preparation for a U.S. invasion is called "training." With the same subterfuge, the Pentagon used Guardsmen in the 1983 Grenada invasion, and Air National Guard tankers refueled the F-111s that struck Libya last April. The issue is vital to Washington, because following elimination of the draft after Vietnam, the National Guard now constitutes 44 percent of all Army combat units. Incredibly, while sinking billions into "Star Wars," the Pentagon is trying to run an imperial military machine with "weekend warriors."

Liberal Democratic governors struck a cheap pose against Reagan's unpopular war moves by blocking use of the National Guard in Central America. Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt denounced Reagan's "dangerous and wrong" policy of "direct confrontation with Nicaragua" (*New York Times*, 16 September 1986). Yet this same Governor Babbitt, who is now angling for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, used the Guard to break the bitter Phelps Dodge strike in Morenci in 1983-84. And Minnesota Democratic "Farmer-Labor" governor Perpich, who brags he is an Iron Range miner's son, called out the National Guard against striking Hormel meatpackers in Austin last year. The same military forces to be used against the Sandinistas are used by the U.S. ruling class against American workers. If Midwest labor had beaten back National Guard strikebreaking at Hormel, it would have been a blow against the U.S. war drive in Central America.

Anti-imperialism abroad means hard class struggle at home. ■

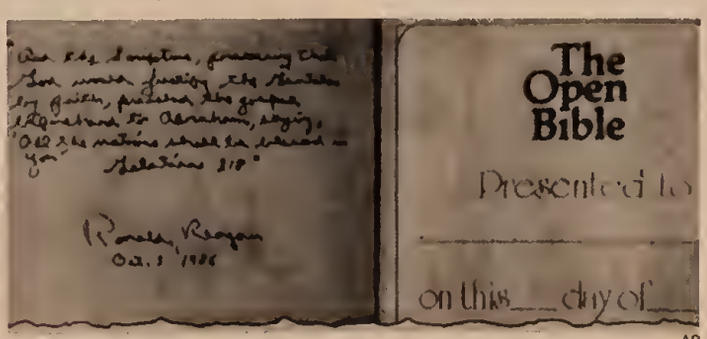
Reagan...

(continued from page 11)

grated the space shuttle a year ago, right-wing reaction is still lurching forward even as the administration plummets out of a six-year orbit under the weight of its own venality, stupidity and lies. Thus in the midst of the Iran/Contragate investigations, Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee elected as their leader Jesse Helms, a raving anti-Communist from North Carolina who revels in the company of strutting Latin American dictators. The steel companies and airlines and packing house bosses are still trying to rip up the unions, demanding whopping givebacks and locking out the workers, running plants with scabs and running down strikers on the picket lines. And the racists are on a rampage of lynch mob violence from Chicago to Georgia to New York City.

The Reagan administration's war against "the enemy within" takes particular aim at the democratic rights of the American people. For starters, Reagan, Meese & Co. have a plan to round up and imprison 400,000 "illegal aliens" in concentration camps upon a U.S. invasion of Central America. This was exposed in a Florida civil suit filed last year by the Christic Institute (see "Contragate Murder Plots," *WV* No. 420, 23 January). A December 15 affidavit by lawyer Daniel Sheehan reveals the existence of National Security Decision Directive 52, signed by Reagan in April 1984, that authorized the Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) to undertake a secret nationwide "readiness exercise" called "REX-84." Deputizing all Department of Defense personnel and the National Guard would bypass the Posse Comitatus Act, which denies the military the power to arrest. And the detainees can be held at ten military bases, including Fort Drum, New York; Fort Benning, Georgia; Camp Krome, Florida; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas and Vandenberg AFB in California.

In addition, special "State Defense Forces" are to be set up, and these civilian "deputies" along with military forces would receive hundreds of tons of small arms and ammunition. After the "exercise," anticipating the NSC's "Iranscam," half the weapons would be siphoned off for shipment to the Nicaraguan contras! The existence of REX-84 has been confirmed by high-level sources inside FEMA. One told Sheehan that only those who "wore a small red Christian cross, or crucifix pin, on the lapel of their suits—were even allowed through the metal security doors on the fifth floor of the FEMA building" where the operation was headquartered. Sheehan also reveals that these "State Defense Forces" are already being secretly constituted in Texas, Louisiana and Alabama, signing up ultra-rightist mercenary and "survivalist" paramilitary forces.



AP

The Reagan Bible: Did he know that he knew that he sent it—and when did he forget?

This is the same gang who 15 years ago were up to their eyeballs in "Operation Garden Plot"—the Nixon Pentagon's equivalent of the FBI's COINTELPRO and the CIA's Operation CHAOS. This scheme, and its California adjunct, "Operation Cahle Splicer," centered on joint training exercises of military, police and spy agencies to put down political demonstrations and, in the event of a declaration of martial law, to round up black nationalists and Vietnam-war protesters into concentration camps. Coordinated "Garden Plot" action was taken after the May 1970 bombing of Cambodia, when National Guard units shot down demonstrators at Kent State (after being sent against striking Ohio Teamsters). A year later, antiwar protesters in Washington, D.C. were illegally arrested en masse and held in underground parking garages. The head of Operation Cable Splicer, appointed by Meese as California governor Reagan's deputy for "law enforcement," was Louis Giuffrida, who at the time NSDD 52 was issued in 1984 was head of FEMA. And the assistant attorney general who ordered the May 1971 roundup in D.C. was William Rehnquist, now Supreme Court chief justice.

The American ruling class cannot bear the truth, that the Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated the U.S. imperialist army on the battlefield. The Reaganites subscribe to the "stab-in-the-back" theory that they "won" the war on the battlefield, but were betrayed by peaceniks and pinko liberals at home. This, of course, was also Hitler's explanation of why Germany lost World War I. And like Hitler, they have declared war on labor, the left, minorities and democratic rights. But the American public has not bought their agenda. Now they are going down, fast, and as as they go down they're getting twitchy as hell. Talk of "nuking Russia" is no longer just barroom bragging, but serious calculation by a war crazy regime. The massive invasion of black Grenada, wanton air raids against Qaddafi's Libya—they'd like to have a military strike against somebody every week, from Nicaragua to the Persian Gulf.

They may be crazy enough to think they can still get away with it, but there's been a big objective change in this country. The polls show the American population is disaffected. Eighty percent think the president's lying on Iran/Contragate, 60 percent oppose contra aid, and now they've even released a Gallup poll showing that last summer 51 percent of the public thought there was too much hype in the "terrorism" scare. And not only is the "Vietnam syndrome" still with us, the American ruling class has acquired one hell of an immune deficiency over military adventures in the Third World. As early as December, they couldn't get any sponsors for Reagan's TV birthday party bonanza, and now even Chrysler has pulled its flag-waving "born in America" ads from ABC's crazed anti-communist *Amerika* mini-series.

Everyone has recognized this regime as a gang of liars and psychopaths, yet for years people just ate it because they were intimidated and saw no way to fight. Now, however, as the Reaganauts are still going hell-for-leather, their incompetence and weird double-dealing becomes increasingly grotesque. No one ever expected to see on a medical readout for this administration big spikes of mental activity, what with Reagan's penchant for sleeping through cabinet meetings and the like; but today it's gone practically linear—brain dead. And as the American bourgeoisie gets the jitters, there could be explosions of struggle challenging these abusive exploiters and oppressors, who stand for unbridled greed like no other government in decades. But for those struggles to emerge victorious there is one central need, for a Bolshevik party like the one Lenin and Trotsky led to victory against a tsarist regime that rivals Reagan's in every index of social depravity. ■

Racist Attacks...

(continued from page 1)

After the march, not even its organizers are trying to claim it achieved any sort of victory against racist terror in Forsyth or anywhere else. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has written federal agencies to determine "whether" lily-white Forsyth County discriminates against blacks in housing and hiring, while others emphasized the need to focus back on such Reaganite concerns as teen pregnancy, "black on black" crime, and drugs. SCLC head Joseph Lowery rammed it home last summer with his obscene statement that "the new KKK is killer krack and koke." And Atlanta mayor Andy Young, just back from preaching the virtues of Coca-Cola capitalism to impoverished black African states, insists that the way to deal with Klan terror is through "job training programs" for the murderous scum (*Atlanta Constitution*, 28 January).

We print below sections of a presentation by a Spartacist spokesman at a January 27 SL public forum in Atlanta, exposing the role of the Democratic Party misleaders in derailing the fight against racist terror.

* * *

What happened in Forsyth County this past weekend was organized on all sides by the Democratic Party. Jesse Jackson didn't show up, but he certainly helped organize the march. You had two people that may well be contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination marching, plus the Senators. The Democratic Party governor of this state organized the troops. And the ex-Democratic Party governor of this state, Lester Maddox, was over talking with the Klan and giving them speeches. I'm sure most of the Klansmen were Democrats, too. The Democratic Party organized all sides of what happened this past Saturday, so it sort of brings to mind Malcolm X's statement. He said a Democrat is really a Dixiecrat.

A lot of people went to Forsyth County this past Saturday because they wanted to be able to make some kind of statement against the Klan. They felt like what had happened was a genuine atrocity that should be addressed at

AP

Coretta Scott King joins hands with Reagan racist George Shultz.

some level. We went down and sold almost 600 pieces of literature to people participating in the demonstration, which is quite high sales for us. And they were interested in what we were saying about the nature and character of that demonstration.

So what did the march leadership want out of this thing? First of all, they wanted to help refurbish the image of Georgia, the South, and in particular the United States. For example, Hosea Williams was quoted as saying, "This is America, this is not South Africa." Well, in reality American life is much closer to South African life than he would like to admit. And then look at the results of the march—nothing's really changed. I don't think anybody in this room would want to go try to have a cup of coffee in a diner in Forsyth County right now. And if you look at all of the calls for this march, it talks about supporting the Constitution, getting our constitutional rights; nobody mentioned racial equality, racial integration. This was not a repeat of the civil rights movement in that sense.

Another point about this march, and this sort of gives you the character of it, is that there was an intention at least—the crowd was much bigger than they expected—of trying to control and police the participants. So Hosea Williams was saying Friday night that he hoped that it wouldn't go over 5,000, because he was afraid of a crowd bigger than 5,000. We happened to overhear part of a marshals' meeting for this march, and the marshals were told that people were to maintain silence. In the paper some of the marshals' leaders were quoted as saying the reason they wanted people to maintain silence was that they did not want any provocation to come from the black side. That meant that people were hushed up from singing civil rights songs. If there were any loud noises, people were supposed to—and I don't believe this happened—drop to their knees. Also, the marshals were told that if there was anybody in the crowd who began to present an alternative agenda, in other words, of maybe trying to do something about the Klan, that there was going to be a van to pick up and deal with these people in no uncertain terms. It's unclear who they were going to be turned over to once they were put in this van.

Coretta King, in commenting on the march a couple of days before it happened, said, "We are going to be nonviolent and do what we are supposed to do.... Then we're going to leave." The march manifesto said, "To reaffirm that this is a nation governed by law. No disregard for the law, of mindless illegal behavior, will be tolerated or condoned anywhere in the United States." This is with William Bradford Reynolds [who is the Number Three man in the Justice Department] marching at the head of the march! These kinds of controls, and what actually ended up happening on Saturday reminded me of this, which sounds like a fairly good description of what happened at this march:

> "They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what songs to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then they told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown."

That's Malcolm X talking about the 1963 March on Washington.

So what was going on? Partly it was to maintain the unity of the Democratic Party—it was the hand across the National Guardsmen to the Dixiecrats. So that Hosea Williams was debating one of the Klansmen on TV on Martin Luther King Day, and he told the Klansman, "I will join you in a lawsuit because if College Park deny you the right to march, they are usurping your constitutional right, and I will stand by your side and march with you." This is not particularly new for Hosea Williams. Remember, he supported Ronald Reagan when he ran for office the first time around. And he also put forward a bill when he was a state legislator to get Lester Maddox a pension. But then you have Jesse Jackson. When he was at the press conference that the march was called at, he said that one of the reasons we want to march is to "love those who hate us, to understand the oppressed and the oppressor."

The whole idea of nonviolence sets people up for attack by the Klan. It's an invitation to Klan attack. So during the first march up into Forsyth County, people were going to be screened before they got on the bus to make sure they had no violent tendencies. I'm sure the Klan read that in the *Atlanta Constitution* and they figured, good, they're putting a bull's eye on themselves.

If people have illusions in the Democratic Party, then they're going to be worrying about what the ruling class wants in this country. What we need is a workers party, and I'm not talking about a party that calls people out to vote like cattle every couple of years. I'm talking about a party that takes up and organizes the defense of working people. It's got to be a party that stands for revolutionary integrationism. It can't be the kind of party that believes that racism will be ended in this country by some kind of deal with capitalism. Capitalism lives on racism. And the only way to end racial oppression in this country is going to be by smashing the capitalist system.

The point about a place like Forsyth County, it's not a situation where you could simply send in hundreds of flatbed trucks. Because after they left, that situation would go back to what it was. What you need is a modern-day version of General Sherman's army. Sherman took his army and cut a 50-mile-wide path between Atlanta and Savannah. That broke the back of slavery and made a major contribution to winning the Civil War. What you need is a workers government, in which the working class rules and intransigently goes after smashing racist reaction. And it's not necessarily going to be pretty. ■

Wilkinson/Sygma

KKK racists riot in Forsyth County.

Hail General William Tecumseh Sherman's Liberation of Georgia!

Library of Congress

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Union General Sherman (left) broke back of Confederacy in his march from Atlanta to Savannah in late 1864.

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Former Panther Leader Fighting for Black Freedom

The time is *now* for labor, minorities, and all enemies of racist injustice to rally to the fight for freedom for America's foremost class-war prisoner—Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. Framed for a murder he did not commit, and *could not* have committed, the former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader has spent more than 16 years behind bars—including *eight years* in solitary confinement—in the racist hellholes of Folsom and San Quentin prisons. America's racist rulers tried to kill Pratt, as they killed so many of the best fighters for black freedom. When they failed, they locked him up, tried to assassinate his character, and used every means in the attempt to break his spirit. But Geronimo Pratt remains unbowed, unbroken, and deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed.

AP

Los Angeles, December 1969: Protesters jam L.A. Hall of Justice demanding freedom for Pratt and other arrested Panther leaders.

From Howard Beach to Forsyth County to Contra Costa County, racists are attacking and killing black people. The murderous lynch mob racist attacks *must* be stopped and they *can* be stopped, by mobilizing the power of labor/black defense. Working people know that the racists take their cue from the White House, which—aided and abetted by the Democratic Party—has trampled underfoot the limited and even the token gains of the civil rights movement. The government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, incinerating eleven black people, five of them children, was the signature of the Reagan years.

Why was Geronimo Pratt singled out for government murder attempts and "legal murder"? Pratt is behind bars because he dedicated his life to the cause of black freedom, which is an inseparable part of the working-class struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capital. Many working people active in the struggle for black freedom in the 1960s remember Panthers like Pratt who were either murdered or dragged in chains through the courts of injustice and gagged behind prison walls for daring to stand up to the racist rulers. The fight against racial oppression and the hard-won gains of the labor movement—these are "crimes" in the eyes of the ruling class.

Who, after all, benefits from the continued imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt? Whose interests are served by massive union-busting, by the picket-line murders of strikers like oil worker Greg Goobic and longshoreman Jackson Taylor? The Reagans, the Edwin Meeses, and the bosses they represent! After so many bitter defeats, labor and minorities need victories—which can only be won through struggle. The fight to free Geronimo Pratt *now* is more urgent than ever, as a vital part of the fight against racist terror, union-busting and the wholesale assaults on the rights of us all that make up the domestic component of the anti-Soviet war drive. A victory in the fight for Pratt's freedom would be a big victory for all the victims of Reagan reaction today.

Courageous Fighter for Black Freedom

Geronimo Pratt comes from southern Louisiana. As he told *WV* in an interview at San Quentin, "I grew up in Klan country, fighting the Klan," which victimized his family and killed a close friend (see "Geronimo Pratt Speaks from San Quentin," *WV* No. 382, 28 June 1985). Like tens of thousands of black youth, he was sent to the front lines to kill and be killed in imperialism's dirty, losing colonial war in Vietnam. As a much-decorated combat veteran, Pratt returned to the States opposed to American imperialism and determined to contribute to the struggle against the racist enemy at home.

After enrolling in college in Los Angeles, he was among those who gravitated to the Black Panther Party, which represented the most militant expression of 1960s black nationalism. It taught, as had Malcolm X, that black people had the right and the duty to defend themselves against racist violence. Befriended by the founder of the L.A. Panthers, Bunchy Carter, Pratt became a leader of the Black Panther Party after Carter was assassinated.

Pratt was immediately targeted by the notorious murder and frame-up "Counterintelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), which FBI director J. Edgar Hoover assigned the mission to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of black activist groups. Of the 293 COINTELPRO operations against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. BPP offices were smashed, hundreds railroaded to prison, and *38* Panthers were killed outright. This government murder machine had Pratt in its cross hairs. In a January 1985 court hearing on Pratt's petition for a new trial, the former head of the L.A. "Anti-Extremist Squad 2" admitted straight out about Pratt: "We wanted to render him ineffective."

On 4 December 1969, a massive cop/FBI raid on Chicago Panther headquarters murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in cold blood as they slept in their beds. Four days later the police death squads came for Pratt in L.A. In a pre-dawn raid hundreds of LAPD Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos, armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers and dynamite, surrounded the Panther headquarters where Pratt was living, as helicopters circled overhead. They subjected the house to a five-hour barrage, and riddled Pratt's bed—pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—with bullets. Pratt survived only because he was sleeping on the floor due to his war wounds. Having failed to kill him, his would-be murderers arrested him for "conspiracy to assault policemen"!

The cop conspiracy was so blatant that even an overwhelmingly white jury threw out the charges. Yet Pratt was jailed on more minor weapons charges. His wife Saundra—eight months pregnant and also a Panther member—was "mysteriously" shot in the head, her body dumped on an L.A. freeway; no arrest was ever made in her murder. While Pratt was in jail on the weapons charges, the government subjected him to a "legal" lynching. Using the "testimony" of one Julio Butler—an LAPD agent and FBI informer who lied on the stand about his relationship to those agencies—a 1971 trial framed Pratt for the 1969 murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher (an antiwar activist).

AP

Geronimo Pratt (1971) was targeted for "neutralization" by cop/FBI conspiracy.

The FBI "lost" its wiretaps proving that Pratt was 500 miles away at the time of the crime, visiting Panthers in an Oakland house heavily bugged and under surveillance by the feds. At the January 1985 hearing, Wesley Swearingen, a retired high-level FBI agent who was active in COINTELPRO-type operations, came forward to testify that he saw wiretap logs of four telephones proving that Pratt *could not have committed* the Santa Monica murder. As Swearingen flatly stated: "Pratt was set up."

From Day One the murderous vendetta against Pratt has been orchestrated by a conspiracy at the top levels of government. The CIA weighed in with a secret report on Pratt, sent by then-CIA director Richard Helms to the Nixon White House in August 1970. The criminals who run this country, having railroaded Pratt to prison, are dead set on keeping him there. And chief among them is Reagan's sinister attorney general and Contragate co-conspirator Edwin Meese.

Meese oversaw the State of California's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers when Reagan was governor. Meese still says of a bystander shot down during a "People's Park" protest in Berkeley: "James Rector deserved to

UPI

AP

Panthers led away in shackles after murderous assault on their headquarters by 300-strong LAPD death squad.

Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!

Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

Partial List of Endorsers

JoNina Abron, Oakland, CA
Afro-American Cultural Society, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
All African People's Revolutionary Party, Washington, D.C
Miguel Angel, Instructor, Mexican-American/Latin American Studies,* Laney College, Oakland, CA
Richard M. Aoki, M.S.W., Counselor and Instructor, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Dr. Cecelia L. Arrington, Ethnic Studies Chair, Merritt College,* Oakland, CA
Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary/Human Rights Chairman, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Michael Berry, President, University of California Student Association,' Berkeley, CA
Al Broussard, Executive Board/Trustee, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
Bob Brown, Organizer, All African People's Revolutionary Party, Washington, D.C
Henry A. Bryant, Chair, Ethnic Studies Department, Laney College,* Oakland, CA
Safiya A. Bukhari, Black Community News Service,' New York, NY
Kathleen Cleaver, New Haven, CT
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David Creque, Vice President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771,* Oakland, CA
Margot Dashiell, Instructor, Laney College,* Oakland, CA, Berkeley Black Caucus*
Ronald V. Dellums, United States Congressman, Berkeley, CA
Erben Dannis, Office Manager, Oakland Progressive Political Alliance,' Oakland, CA
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Kay Eisenhower, Secretary, SEIU 616,* Oakland, CA
Rev. Graylan S. Ellis-Hagler, Co-Pastor, Church of the United Community,* Roxbury, MA
Ethnic Studies Department, Laney College,* Oakland, CA
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Richard S. Fraser, Democratic Socialists of America,* Los Angeles, CA
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Stanley Gow, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 10,* San Francisco, CA
Elizabeth Grimes, Jamaica, NY
James Grimes, Railroad Clerk, TWU Local 100,* Jamaica, NY
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John Holmes, Secretary, *Hayward Daily Review* Chapel, BATU Local 21, CWA,* Oakland, CA
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Conrad Lynn, Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel, NAACP,* Nanuet, NY
R.W. Major, Lecturer, Black Studies Department,* San Francisco State University, San Francisco, CA
John Martin, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 28,' Oakland, CA
Howard Moore, Jr., Attorney, Oakland, CA
Jane Bond Moore, Attorney, Oakland, CA
NALC Branch 2200, Glendale, CA
Glenn R. Nance, Chairman, Afro-American Studies,* City College-San Francisco, San Francisco, CA
Morton Newman, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
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Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
Deborah A. Plater, Vice President, IAM & AW Local 739,* Oakland, CA
Leonard Post, Attorney, Oakland, CA
Abba Ramos, ILWU Local 6,* Oakland, CA
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Al Richmond, San Francisco, CA
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Pete Rockwell, Printer, BATU Local 21, CWA,' Oakland, CA
Al Rossi, President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, AFL-CIO,' Oakland, CA
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Jeff Woo, Treasurer, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
Evelyn M. Wyatt, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
Michael Zinzun, Chairman, Coalition Against Police Abuse,* Los Angeles, CA

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular way with the call by the initiators of this demonstration printed on page 16.

Geronimo Pratt: "Take a Stand Against Injustice"

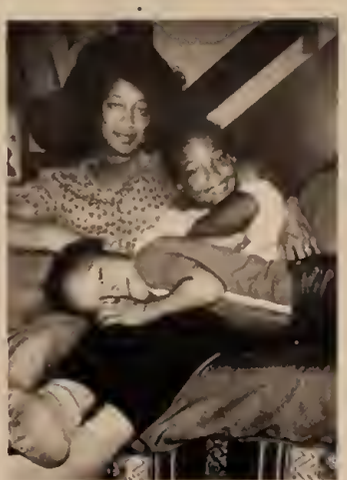
The fact of you coming together in workers demands for Justice shows a degree of recognition that really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the worker. So I want to urge you to continue to educate yourselves to these COINTEL-type schemes and learn of the many victims of that secret war so to better defend yourselves.

For years we were depicted as gangsters and criminals because we were militant fighters in the Black Liberation Movement. My freedom would be a victory and a statement that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal.

I sincerely urge you to come out and take a stand against injustice, against the *real* terrorists—the Reagan Regime. The workers in that fascist land called South Africa are leading in the struggle to overthrow that evil empire. Let their glaring example continue to inspire and encourage us onward...

In the spirit of Tecumseh...

Geronimo
San Quentin Prison
Tamal, CA
28 January 1987



WV Photo

Geronimo's wife Ashaki with their children Shona and Hiroji.

die." The blood of Pratt's comrades like Bunchy Carter and Little Bobby Hutton (gunned down in West Oakland) is on Meese's and Reagan's hands. Precisely because of Meese's bloody "accomplishments" in the war against the Panthers and antiwar protesters, Reagan picked him to be U.S. top cop, so that he could spearhead the all-out assault on the most fundamental democratic, civil and human rights.

Geronimo Pratt has steadfastly refused to "admit his guilt" for a crime he did not commit. His untiring efforts to win freedom are an inspiring model of dignity and determination. As he says, "My mother didn't raise a murderer.... I'm going to survive, and I'm going to expose the truth. I'm going to be completely exonerated." Citing Pratt's courageous refusal to perjure and frame himself, and viciously smearing him as a "danger to the community," the parole board had vindictively kept him in prison far longer than the time a real murderer would have served.

While in prison Pratt has provided himself with a university-level education—with a focus on American history, and particularly the history of blacks and American Indians. He has worked to educate young prisoners, often beginning by teaching victims of ghetto schools how to read and write. He has remarried, and with the benefit of conjugal visits has two children, ages four and seven. The barbarity of imprisonment of an innocent man—whose only "crime" is that he dares to fight for justice—keeps him separated from his wife, children, and aged mother to whom he is deeply devoted.

In a letter to the Association of Soviet Lawyers and TASS, the Soviet press agency, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote:

> "We seek your assistance in bringing the case of this militant fighter against capitalist racism before the world's eyes. Pratt's cause is the cause of workers and oppressed throughout the world and all those concerned for democratic rights. The continued imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt exposes the lie that there are no political prisoners or human rights violations in the U.S. From frame-ups of black activists to sending arms to reactionary Afghan mullahs, bloodthirsty Nicaraguan contras and South Africa's puppet Jonas Savimbi, the U.S. government is an enemy of the world's working people. It is essential to wage an international campaign to expose this violation of human rights now. A successful fight to free this class-war prisoner would be a great blow to Reagan and his reactionary social and political agenda. We look to you to join the fight to free Geronimo Pratt, and to publicize throughout the world this example of racist capitalist injustice."

Having recently won the right to appeal for a new trial, Pratt stands at an extremely important point in the campaign against his frame-up conviction and imprisonment. Mass protest is crucial in this fight. Labor and community support (see endorsement list above) is gathering for the February 21 Oakland, California demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!"

As underscored in Geronimo's January 28 statement from San Quentin, printed here, mobilizing the power of labor and the oppressed is key to the February 21 demonstration. The working class can place no confidence in the bosses' courts. Mass class-struggle defense is needed to free our fighters from the bars of the class enemy's prisons. The case of Geronimo Pratt must be a rallying point for all those who burn with indignation at oppression and injustice. Geronimo is in prison because he fought for us. Now we must fight for him.

ALL OUT ON FEBRUARY 21!

FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Demonstrate: Noon, Saturday, Feb. 21!
Oakland City Hall Plaza Park (across from City Hall, 14th and San Pablo)

Labor, Minorities, Anti-Racist Fighters Demand:

FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense call on the Bay Area labor movement and all enemies of racist injustice to rally in defense of Geronimo Pratt. Pratt is a decorated Vietnam vet and former Black Panther leader who has been rotting in prison for 16 years for a crime he did not and could not have committed. He is the victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign that physically exterminated the Black Panthers. The FBI and other police authorities have suppressed evidence that proves his innocence. The state has treated Pratt like fugitive slave Dred Scott who the court decided in 1856 "had no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

But like African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Pratt remains unbroken, committed to the liberation of all the oppressed and to continuing the fight for his own freedom. Pratt has consistently refused parole based on admission of guilt. He is currently imprisoned in San Quentin where he is pressing his fight for freedom in the federal courts. He recently won the right to appeal to a federal Court of Appeals for a new trial.

Pratt's fight for freedom must be labor's cause—backed by mass protest. Working people and all the oppressed must rally to put an end to this hideous racist frame-up. The gang of warmongering liars and labor-hating racists in the White House, Reagan, Meese & Co., oversaw the murderous war on the Panthers in California. Pratt is behind bars for the same reason Reagan/Meese put PATCO leaders in leg irons and conspired with black Democrat Goode to drop a bomb on black Philadelphia and massacre MOVE. They want to crush any opposition to their racist, union-busting anti-Soviet war drive. Freedom for Pratt would be a blow against Reagan reaction when "Ronbo" is reeling from Iran/Contragate.

Labor has the power. From San Francisco to Washington, D.C. labor together with its allies mobilized to stop Klan/Nazi racist provocations. Bay Area labor and minorities mobilized to keep Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee from going to jail for defending their picket line from a racist scab assault during the 1983 phone strike. Now Bay Area labor, minorities and all enemies of racist injustice must rally to defend this heroic class-war prisoner:

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, March 1985.

DOWN WITH MEESE/FBI COINTELPRO FRAME-UP!
FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101
Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604
For more information: (415) 839-0852

What You Can Do:

1. Endorse the demands and the demonstration!
2. Come to the demonstration with your co-workers and family!
3. Send money now! Make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee earmarked "Geronimo Pratt Demonstration." Send to PDC, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.
4. Take Pratt's case to your union or community organization! For copies of this leaflet call (415) 839-0852.
5. Help us distribute leaflets! Call us at (415) 839-0852.
6. Send telegrams and letters demanding Pratt's freedom! Sample text and addresses below:

   "I/we demand freedom now for Geronimo Pratt. Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO frame-up!"

   Send to:

   9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse
   450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102

   California State Parole Board, District Parole Office
   759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110
   re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt for April 1987

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 422 | 20 February 1987

Amerika: A Reaganite Soap Opera Hitler Would Love

WV Photo

Spartacist League Protests ABC's Anti-Soviet Series

A storm of protest has greeted ABC's grotesquely anti-Soviet, anti-communist, anti-American maxi-series, *Amerika*. This repulsive better-dead-than-red horror show, however absurd and implausible, is aimed at whipping up popular war hysteria for a thermonuclear holocaust against the Soviet workers state. It was supposed to be a more sophisticated version of Russian-bashing films like *Rambo* and *Red Dawn* (where Sandinista paratroops in Soviet uniforms seize a

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WV Photo

Labor: Sock It to Reagan! Avenge PATCO and Philly MOVE!

Reagan Gang Self-Destructs

The Reagan regime is not only losing its grip, it's literally falling apart day by day. As investigators look for a "smoking gun" in the Iran/Contragate affair and White House officials stonewall, they've sealed off the president from questioning by the press for almost three months. But now it turns out that the National Security Council hotshots left behind boxloads of NSC computer tapes, which could turn out to be a smoking howitzer that blows the administration out of the water. One of the president's men already attempted suicide, while others are quitting *en masse*. Wall Street's giving off quite an odor as well, as prominent beneficiaries of Reagan's Greed Inc. are busted for insider trading. More and more the evening TV news is sounding like *Dynasty*. What's the next episode—Oliver North sneaks into the White House gunning for Don Regan?

The day before former national security chief and ex-Marine "Bud" McFarlane was due to testify before the Tower Commission investigating the NSC, he OD'd on Valium, gobbling down 20 to 30 tablets. McFarlane was rushed to Bethesda Naval Hospital where he joins William Casey, the now-former CIA chief. A *New York Times* (8 February) article described the disarray and *sauve qui peut* (everyone for himself) atmosphere in the White House as top administration aides decamp "while their connections to the Administration still have market value." And at a February 17 confirmation hearing for Casey's successor at The Company, what the Senators wanted to know is how many lies he would tell Congress before "considering" resigning. Reagan's credibility has sunk so low that a Roper poll taken for Cable News Network and *U.S. News and World Report* shows that more people trust their auto repairman than the president.

For six years Reagan reaction has attacked virtually every sector of the American population. Blacks and other minorities never had any illusions about the Klandidate in the White House. Labor has been targeted with a massive union-busting drive launched by Reagan's firing of the PATCO air traffic controllers. Huge chunks of basic industry have been ripped up, hundreds of thousands of industrial workers thrown on the scrapheap while crooked Wall Street speculators and military contractors have made billions. Now this deeply racist, labor-hating government is vulnerable and can be defeated. But capitalist reaction won't be reversed by Watergate-style investigators or the Democrats in Congress. The objective possibility exists to *bring down Reagan through sharp class struggle!*

Downing/Newsweek

All the president's men: Poindexter axed; McFarlane attempted suicide; Regan going down the tubes.

Reagan on the Ropes

There's a deep-going regime crisis in Washington. In his State of the Union speech Reagan vowed to go to the limit for two items: Star Wars and aid to the counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan contras. Barely two weeks later this was publicly challenged by no less than the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Referring to the Reaganauts' plans for early deployment of anti-missile defenses, Admiral William Crowe asserted flatly that "a deployment decision is premature." Forget about the super high-tech fantasies of laser guns and particle beams—even the stripped down SDI is full of holes. Crowe also virtually wrote off Reagan's contra losers, saying that they better come up with some "success" soon. If they failed to do so, "The Chiefs certainly would be opposed to direct U.S. involvement" (*Washington Post*, 13 February). White House spokesman Fitzwater shot back that "U.S. commitment to the Contras is fixed...."

Reagan's allies are angry at not being consulted over deployment of Star Wars, but that's only one of their

continued on page 12

WV Photo

Solidarity Day, 1981: Half a million workers march on Washington, protesting Reagan's drive to destroy PATCO air controllers union.

Black History Month

SEE PAGES 4-9

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Honor Toni Randell! Build the PDC!

FREE ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!

We print below a condensation of remarks by New York PDC representative Richard Dundy at a January 23 Spartacist League forum on fighting racist terror:

This is nearly the fifth anniversary of the death of our comrade Toni Randell. She died at the age of 38 of cancer. She was a founding member of the Partisan Defense Committee. Toni did the research on the early defense work of the International Labor Defense, the organization, led by James P. Cannon from 1925 to 1928, on which our work is modeled. It was her dedication, her scrupulousness, her attention to detail, but primarily her tireless efforts to launch a fighting organization in defense of victims of capitalist injustice, which are the base from which we have been able to carry out our work.

Toni was a hard communist, and she...fought until her death for a socialist future. And she understood the importance of a defense organization, one that could wield the powerful fist of a united workers movement, which could defend ourselves as well as those hard-won, bloodstained victories of our class. She taught us the critical importance of a political fight in defense of those who because they struggle were victimized by the rulers of this country. Toni researched, she learned and she passed on to us some of the lessons that have been lost since the ILD became nothing more than a pawn of the Stalinist Communist Party.

There are certain cases which shape and condition entire periods of history, not necessarily because they are unique or because of the enormity of the crimes involved, but in particular because they are understood by broad layers of the masses. Cases which focus the fight against state repression, which serve as lightning rods through which the consciousness of a generation can be changed. Sacco and Vanzetti—they were kept from the electric chair for six years because of a truly international movement of protest. The Scottsboro Boys case—black youth in the South framed up because they were found on a cattle train with young white women. Massive protest saved their lives and served to expose the conditions of the South in that period.

Certain events shape political periods. Sometimes they're victories—often they're not. Howard Beach is one. The destruction of the Black Panther Party was another. The Philly MOVE massacre may be the most horrible in recent memory. Because she survived the 13 May 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia, Ramona Africa is in prison in Muncy, Pennsylvania with her sisters Janet and Consuewella Africa and MOVE members scattered all over the state of Pennsylvania in prisons. The Howard Beach lynching is blowback from that firebombing—the incineration of eleven people, including five infants and children. They were blacks who were organized, who dared to be different, and who had managed to understand something very fundamental about racist America.

That the rulers couldn't tolerate. They were incinerated by Reaganite terror in collaboration with the black Democrat Wilson Goode. It fueled racist reaction. The MOVE massacre was meant to cow and intimidate an entire population. I spoke this week with Ramona Africa and let me tell you that this woman is not cowed, and she is not intimidated. She is fiercely resolute. She is articulate. And she is fighting against that system that illegalized her entire organization and jailed those it could not murder.

We pledge to avenge the MOVE martyrs. We work for the freedom of their imprisoned survivors. Ramona was just denied parole on the basis of her refusal to accept conditions—conditions that she not associate, if released, with any member of MOVE or any household of MOVE. This she refuses to do. Only when the workers and the oppressed rise in protest against this apartheid-like denial of her right of association can Ramona expect justice.

Earlier last year when a section of Chicago labor protested her quarantine—her isolation from the general population—the jailers relented. A protest centered on the labor movement must again speak out: Freedom for Ramona, for Janet and Consuewella and all MOVE prisoners!...

The FBI/COINTELPRO destruction of the Black Panther Party was for its generation the starkest example of state terrorism—the vicious naked fist of the rulers. The Panthers represented the very best of a generation of fighters—in opposition to Martin Luther King pacifism and for the right of armed self-defense against Klan and government terror. They were targeted for extermination.

Elmer Geronimo Pratt was a leader of the Black Panther Party. And when he escaped assassination in a murderous cop/FBI assault on the L.A. Panther headquarters he had to be framed up for the murder of a woman in Los Angeles—a murder that he could not and did not commit because he was in Oakland 400 miles away. Nevertheless 16 years later, Geronimo is in jail having spent nearly half that time in solitary because his will is not broken. We won't forget.... The Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, in conjunction with dozens of unionists and the Spartacist League and others, have called for a mass demonstration at noon on the 21st of February in Oakland, as an expression of our determination to see this heroic man get justice.

Geronimo Pratt today is America's foremost class-war prisoner. He is in jail because he stood up to racist capitalist oppression. His freedom is of great importance to all who fight against that oppression, not merely for the justice of his case, but for the memory of all his fallen comrades....

You see, democratic rights are not divisible. The fight for Geronimo's freedom, for Ramona's freedom, for the dismissal of charges against Guillermo [Bermúdez, Bay Area Spartacist campus activist], these are the fights against race-terror today. These are fights against the madman war drive against the Soviet Union. Concrete actions in defense of the whole of the working people. Michael Griffith is dead, many others are dead. Class-struggle defense, the policy of mobilization and protest, not whimpering before august authorities of the state, their judges, their cops, their lawyers—these are our policies. The fight for these cases and for others is the fight against the all-sided assault on our rights and on our lives.

A year ago the PDC revived an honorable tradition of the ILD. We began sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners—$25 every month to those behind bars whose freedom is linked to ours, as an expression of our solidarity. We also asked our friends and supporters to contribute regularly—$5, $10, $100—so that we could do this work, so that others could be active participants in the struggle to free these class-war prisoners. I'd like to ask you tonight to help us, to join us in this fight. It was our way of honoring Toni Randell and it's the best way we know of continuing her work.

WV Photo

Toni Randell

* * *

In this brief one-year period the PDC has enlisted 50 sustaining contributors pledging about $1,600 per month. We now provide monthly stipends to 13 imprisoned victims of capitalist injustice. The PDC-initiated demonstration to free Black Panther Geronimo Pratt is our first major demonstration. The labor endorsements of our cases and causes are small but important steps in forging the mass organization of class-struggle defense toward which Toni worked so hard.

We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send your donation of $5 and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy of issue number 3, send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Black Freedom and Socialist Revolution

American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon concluded a six-part lecture series, "America's Road to Socialism," with a vista of proletarian class rule inseparably linked with the struggle for black freedom:

I must also break the news to the Southern crackers and their Northern cousins, and other members of the Jim Crow fraternity, that under socialism America will no longer be "a white man's country." It will belong to the colored people too. They will own as much of it as anyone else and share to the full, without let or hindrance, all its bountiful prosperity and abundance, all its freedoms, rights and privileges—without any exceptions whatever.

The socialist society based on human solidarity will have no use for such unscientific and degrading and inhuman notions as the idea that one man is superior to another because, many thousands of years ago, the ancestors of the first lived in an environment that produced in the course of time a lighter skin color than was produced by the environment of the ancestors of the second.

The Jim Crow gangsters who strut around in self-satisfied ignorance as representatives of the "superior" race may have to learn their mistake the hard way, but they will learn—or "be learned"—just the same. The Negroes will play a great and decisive role in the revolution, in alliance with the trade unions and the revolutionary party; and in that grand alliance they will demonstrate and conquer their right to full equality.

—James P. Cannon, "What Socialist America Will Look Like" (January 1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 422 **20 February 1987**

Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!

Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

Be there! Saturday, February 21, 12 noon, Oakland City Hall Plaza Park, 14th and San Pablo in downtown Oakland.

For more information, call the PDC at (415) 839-[illegible]52

Marxists Sue "Accuracy in Academia" Outfit

AIA's Vicious Libel That Kills

The Spartacist League is suing the notorious right-wing "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." (AIA), its executive director Laszlo Csorba III and Reed Irvine, founder and Chairman of the Board of AIA. The SL, a Marxist political organization, is seeking damages for defamation over AIA's publication of a false and deadly accusation against the Spartacist League.

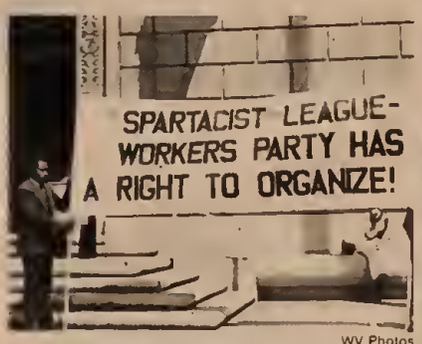
An AIA pamphlet authored by Csorba, entitled "Appeasing the Censors, A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," received newspaper coverage as a supposedly "authoritative" report on leftist student activity. In it the following sentence concerning the SL appeared: "Their publications (*Workers' Vanguard, Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge 'military victory' for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers." The Spartacist League declares it is a blatant lie that we urge the killing of police, as any reading of our publications would quickly and clearly expose. AIA's attempt to equate our forthright Marxist politics with terrorism is a conscious, deadly smear.

The SL complaint charges: "The false accusation made against the Spartacist League of 'urg[ing]...the killing of police officers' is a libel that kills. There are few greater or more deadly false accusations that can be made against Marxists, who are openly in political opposition to the government's policies, than to accuse them of such a criminal and terrorist act. It is an accusation which sets them up to be deemed outlaws of society, people for whom democratic rights have no meaning and no application."

Legal papers were served on Reed Irvine in New York City February 13 as he entered ABC studios to discuss his brainchild, the vile anti-Soviet, anti-communist, anti-American *Amerika* series. The SL complaint, demanding $200,000 in damages, will be heard in the Supreme Court of the State of New York. Attorneys for the SL action are the noted libel attorney Jonathan W. Lubell and Rachel H. Wolkenstein, Spartacist League general counsel.

According to the SL complaint: "Accuracy in Academia is a virulently anti-Marxist ultra-conservative organization formed and dedicated to purging Marxist, radical and liberal ideas from the nation's campuses.... AIA is on a campaign for ideological conformity with current governmental policies and the social agenda of the Moral Majority/religious fundamentalists. AIA has targeted for exposure and censorship an alleged 10,000 Marxist and 35,000 radical/liberal instructors nationwide who espouse their views in the classroom.... The pamphlet is an extension of AIA's campaign for ideological conformity. The pamphlet contains half-truths, misquotes, misstatements and omissions as well as outright lies...."

The complaint further states: "The Spartacist League is forthright in its exercise of its First Amendment rights. Its political stands, not least its defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, are well known. In the exercise of its political expression the SL has taken positions such as defense of Cuba and Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism; for smashing apartheid, for workers revolution and the establishment of a black-centered workers republic in South Africa; for labor/black mobilizations to stop the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis; opposition to the Moral Majority/religious fundamentalist social agenda; and the necessity of a workers revolution in the United States. The Spartacist League's political impact is entirely dependent on the most open and wide dissemination of its views and aims."



WV Photos

Spartacists beat back California attorney general's "terrorist" smear, 1981 (above), FBI witchhunting, 1984.

SL counsel Rachel Wolkenstein emphasized: "Spartacist publications speak for themselves; the AIA's statement is a deliberate, blatant falsehood, and I want to stress again, it's truly a 'libel that kills.' The Spartacist League has had considerable success in legal challenges against attempts to brand Marxists as 'terrorists.' In 1984 the SL successfully challenged the FBI's new 'Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines,' winning an agreement from the FBI to retract its long-standing sinister set-up 'definition' of the Spartacist League and substitute a statement defining the SL as what it is: a Marxist political organization. In 1983 it won a retraction from the Moonie *Washington Times* of their attempted smear of the SL as advocating violence against police. And in 1981 the SL forced then-California attorney general Deukmejian to remove it from a list of so-called 'terrorist' organizations. It is difficult to believe AIA is innocent of these well-publicized cases, especially given links between them and the Moon organization going back to the early '70s."

Spartacist League spokesman Marjorie Stamberg charged: "Those who resort to terror will be found first and foremost in the camp of this dying imperialist system. Brute force, laced with lies, is the only recourse for a system which imposes global wars, starvation and hideous oppression on the world's peoples in its search for profits. The bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia is hellish testimony to the bloodthirsty terrorism of this capitalist state. As Hitler's minister of Nazi propaganda understood, to create a climate of terror and knee-jerk conformity, unrestrained use of the Big Lie against perceived opponents is also necessary. AIA's task is to push those Big Lies."

AIA and its parent group Accuracy in Media's increasingly vicious and frantic efforts to whip up a witchhunt against the left and liberals reflects the fact that the Reaganites are in big trouble. The SL spokesman noted, "No representative of American foreign policy—from Jeane Kirkpatrick to Al Haig to Weinberger or Shultz—can step onto a major campus without evoking protest. Thus AIA is on the leading edge of an increasingly bonapartist and crazed regime which isn't cutting it with the folks back home." "In attacking us," Stamberg added, "AIA is attacking everybody's rights, and in defending ourselves, we are also defending democratic rights for every campus protester, every political opponent of this reactionary government. We know, though, that what Csorba and Irvine's murderous disinformation represents will not be finally defeated until the system which needs it and breeds it is replaced through a victorious socialist revolution."■

Support Builds for Geronimo Pratt

OAKLAND—The Strikers Committee of the embattled cannery workers in Watsonville, California has joined the endorsers of the effort to free class-war prisoner Geronimo Pratt. At a weekly meeting of the elected Committee held on February 9, about 100 of the predominantly Hispanic workers, in their 18th month on strike, voted enthusiastically to endorse the February 21 Oakland demonstration demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" At the conclusion of the vote, workers called out in Spanish, "Everything for the workers' cause!" and "Against this kind of oppression!" Gloria Betancourt, president of the Strikers Committee, also endorsed. Her husband Amador Betancourt was jailed for eight months for defending the picket lines in the bitter Watsonville strike.

The Watsonville Strikers Committee joins Communications Workers of America Local 9410 (San Francisco) and Oakland labor: United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, the Oakland Education Association, Service Employees Local 616 and the executive board of Machinists Local 739, in backing the Oakland demonstration. Others who have endorsed since the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* carried an initial list include entertainer Gil Scott-Heron, Rev. Benjamin Chavis, Jr., executive director of the Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; Nelson Johnson, executive committee, New Democratic Movement; Bobby L. Rush, second ward Democratic Party alderman (Chicago); and Howard De Nike, president of the Bay Area chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. Organizers for the PDC and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense, which initiated the demonstration, report an enthusiastic response as word of the demonstration spreads.

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin.

On February 6, the Labor Black League sponsored a successful pot luck dinner to raise funds to help defray costs of the demonstration. Between advance ticket sales, donations and a raffle of pro basketball tickets, nearly $1,700 was collected. Over 100 Pratt supporters attended, including LBL and Spartacist League supporters, PDC sustainers and family and friends new to our efforts who came to get involved in Pratt's defense. Former supporters of the Black Panther Party took leaflets to distribute in the West Oakland housing projects and Berkeley.

Students who weren't even in kindergarten when Pratt went to jail over 16 years ago are among those who have rallied to his cause, particularly at UC Berkeley and San Francisco State where Young Spartacus clubs have been building for the demonstration. Film showings of the moving documentary, *The Murder of Fred Hampton*, attracted audiences from both campuses. At SF State, members of the Pan-African Students are posting demonstration flyers; after a presentation at an Afro-American studies class at Berkeley, 14 black students volunteered to help build the action. Students are donating funds, distributing flyers and announcing the demonstration in their classes.

Interest has also been generated among the news media. KITS radio aired a one-hour interview with Spartacist spokesman Don Andrews and several other radio shows are scheduled. The *Sun Reporter*, the Bay Area's chief black newspaper, ran a PDC press release with a letter from Pratt in its 21 January edition.

In Oakland, birthplace of the Black Panther Party, Pratt's case strikes a chord among the many who remember the Panthers' courage and determination in the struggle for black liberation. A younger generation is quick to grasp the meaning of Pratt's freedom fight as a symbol for all those who would resist the attacks of the racist rulers and their government. It is this sentiment, among the workers and all the oppressed, that we are seeking to tap in mass protest at the February 21 rally.■

Chicago Historical Society

White racists stone defenseless black to death.

The Killing Floor—
A Review

Chicago 1919:

William Loren Katz Collection

Government troops occupy the Black Belt.

Racism and Union-Busting

Black History Month

In July 1919 Chicago erupted in one of the most violent explosions of racist terror in the history of the United States. Organized and spurred on by white neighborhood gangs—so-called "athletic clubs"—racist mobs rampaged through the streets. Blacks were ambushed as they walked to work, dragged from streetcars, chased through the streets, cornered in alleys. They were shot and stabbed, beaten and clubbed to death. The cops joined in the carnage: black victims of white mobs were arrested and beaten while their attackers went free; seven blacks were gunned down by the racists in blue. Outraged blacks, many of them decorated veterans of World War I, struck back. In many cases this retaliation was against marauding white racists who rode through the South Side Black Belt shooting at random pedestrians. But often, innocent whites were the victims. After five days, 23 blacks and 15 whites were dead. Over 500 people were seriously injured, 342 of them black.

The Chicago race riot came in the midst of a massive postwar upsurge of labor militancy and radicalism. Historian William M. Tuttle, Jr.'s account of the events, *Race Riot* (New York, 1970) is appropriately subtitled, "Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919." The Russian Revolution, then in its second year, inspired proletarian fighters throughout the world. It was the year of the Seattle general strike and the Great Steel Strike. That fall, Seattle dockers refused to handle a shipment of guns destined for the White Guard counterrevolutionary armies fighting to overthrow the fledgling Soviet workers state. Close to four million workers were on strike. In Tuttle's book the Chicago labor movement is described as "more closely organized, more self-conscious, more advanced in its views...than in any other American city." But however militant, Chicago unions at best ignored the hideous oppression and exploitation of newly industrialized black workers who were segregated into the most menial, backbreaking jobs and increasingly the target of lynch mobs.

Tuttle was a consultant for the powerful and moving public television film *The Killing Floor*, which is based on the actual participants and documented events of the drive to organize Chicago's then-enormous packinghouse industry. The 1919 race riot directly shattered this organizing drive. As Tuttle points out in *Race Riot*: "It is not coincidental that the summer of 1919 also marked the beginning of the xenophobic and hysterically antiradical 'Red Scare.' Both phenomena were the ugly offspring of some of the same unrest...." Across the country racist terror was the spearhead for reaction down the line: the robber barons were riding high and membership of the overwhelmingly white unions nationally fell to one-fifth the pre-1919 level. Karl Marx's dictum was written in blood and fire: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

The Killing Floor opens with footage of U.S. troops being sent off to join in the imperialist carnage of World War I. It then flashes to the central character, Frank Custer, a black sharecropper from Mississippi preparing to move to Chicago. Custer says to himself: "If it wasn't for the war I probably would have never left the South and come to the 'Promised Land,' that's what we called it." In the four decades since the last Union troops were pulled out of the South in 1877, blacks had been the victims of Jim Crow segregation and Ku Klux Klan terror. In the North there was little chance of escaping poverty and destitution. Blacks were barred from jobs in the growing industries—except when they were brought in as strikebreakers. But with the onset of WW I the cheap supply of immigrant labor from Europe was cut off and blacks were actively recruited to industry by labor agents sent to the South.

Between 1916 and 1918 close to half a million blacks moved to the North, over 50,000 of them to Chicago. *The Killing Floor* portrays the optimism of Custer and his friend Thomas when they arrive in Chicago and get jobs in the stockyards paying $2 a day, more than they ever dreamed possible in the South. Later, they are completely taken aback when two white soldiers reflexively step off the sidewalk to go around them. Says Custer, "I was a free man in Chicago. They could get off the streets for me now." But it is not long until Custer is introduced to the racist realities of Chicago's streets and the packinghouse industry. Segregated in the Black Belt ghetto he is surrounded on all sides by discrimination. Other black workers warn Custer of the racist gangs in the all-white neighborhoods he has to walk through to get to the stockyards. On the killing floor he is consigned to mopping up pools of blood.

The stockyard bosses had earlier fanned the flames of white racism by bringing in blacks to break a stockyard strike in 1904. The AFL labor leaders only added fuel to the fire. Lily-white job trusts, AFL craft unions in the stockyards not only did nothing to organize black workers but in most cases actively kept them from joining, either by racist union constitutions or by custom. The racism of the white labor aristocracy was captured by AFL president Samuel Gompers who wrote in 1905: "If the colored man continues to lend himself to the work of tearing down what the white man has built up, a race hatred far worse than any ever known will result. Caucasian civilization will serve notice that its uplifting process is not to be interfered with in any way."

During World War I, the stockyards were literally the killing floor for labor which was driven at a murderous pace to meet the profiteering meat packers' contract of 1,000 train carloads of meat a day for the government. In 1917 the Stockyards Labor Council (SLC) was founded to unite the AFL unions in the stockyards in an unprecedented mass organizing campaign. It was initiated by William Z. Foster and led by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Foster, who would go on to join the Communist Party and later become its national chairman, had split from the IWW in favor of his strategy to "bore from within" the AFL. Fitzpatrick, who opposed U.S. entry into the war and called himself a friend of the Russian Revolution, was considered a maverick among AFL officialdom.

The black question confronted the SLC from day one. Blacks comprised over 25 percent of the workforce and in some of the smaller packinghouses were a majority. The union leaders appealed to Gompers for a "solution" to organizing blacks in the stockyards; Gompers "resolved" the problem by telling them to create separate all-black locals! The SLC leadership called for organizing on a "neighborhood" basis, but it amounted to Jim Crow unionism. Local 651, based in the Second Ward, was all black and represented 90 percent of all blacks organized in the yards. As Philip Foner notes in his book *Organized Labor and the Black Worker* (New York, 1974): "Secretary Johnstone of the Stockyards Labor Council apologized to the black

Jim Taylor

USOA

The Killing Floor shows militants Custer and Bremmer (left) in fight to unionize black and white stockyard workers.

Chicago Historical Society

Blacks used by stockyard bosses to break 1904 strike.

packinghouse workers for the necessity of organizing blacks into separate unions. But the blacks were tired of such explanations, which only confirmed their belief that white unionists would permit racist prejudices to stand in the way even of their own interests."

Jack Johnstone would also go on to become a leader of the Communist Party. But the attitude of even the radical leadership of the SLC toward black oppression reflected the prevailing views of the early socialist movement. As Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs described it: "We have nothing special to offer the Negro...," As James P. Cannon, a former "Wobbly" and CP leader who went on to become the founder of American Trotskyism, pointed out: "the predominant AFL unions, with only a few exceptions, were lily-white job trusts. They also had nothing special to offer the Negroes; nothing at all, in fact" ("The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," in *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, 1962). It was the impact of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Cannon wrote, thundering "its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities and all races," which brought the struggle for black freedom to the forefront.

Organizing the Killing Floor

The stockyards organizing drive met with rapid-fire success among the unskilled non-English-speaking immigrants—Lithuanians, Poles, Russian Jews. Undoubtedly many were members of the Socialist Party's foreign-language federations, radicalized by the 1917 Russian Revolution. Within six months 20,000 members had been signed up. In *The Killing Floor*, when initially confronted by union organizers, Custer says, "I come up here to make a living. I ain't getting in no white man's fight." Later, however, in one of the most powerful scenes in the movie, Custer's white coworker Bill Bremmer fights to teach him the butcher trade, which was the exclusive domain of white native-born Americans. When a foreman tries to stop Bremmer, the rest of the workers on the floor stand with their arms folded across their chests and refuse to work. The foreman backs down and Custer is won to the union.

Backed by the power of his class brothers on the shopfloor, Custer becomes a skilled worker. Later, in a touching incident, reflecting the power of integrated class struggle to break down racial and national antagonisms in the workforce, Custer's Polish friend Dan gives him a small gift for Christmas. However, while most Northern-born blacks joined the union, only 25 percent of the black workers signed up. And the power of labor united was never brought to bear in struggle against the Big Five meatpacking companies. In 1918 when the industry was running at full blast and unemployment was at its lowest ebb, a strike of black and white workers could have brought the packers to their knees. But the union leadership shackled the workers to a no-strike arbitration agreement. The SLC did not even win union recognition.

B W Huebsch, Inc.

Organizers of 1919 packinghouse union drive: John Fitzpatrick (left), William Z. Foster (later a leader of Communist Party).

At a union celebration party in *The Killing Floor* Fitzpatrick announces, "The government got this for us in recognition of our work for the boys overseas." Reflecting the labor shortage at the time, government arbitrator Judge Samuel Alschuler granted an eight-hour day and wage increase to all stockyard workers. But by tying the union to the war aims of U.S. imperialism the SLC had dug its own grave. Bremmer bitterly comments to Custer: "All we had to do was strike, then they would have to recognize us. But no, we opened the damn door to the government to come sneaking in.... There will be a showdown some day. It should come now when they need us."

The showdown came in the summer of 1919, and racism was the packers' most effective union-busting weapon. In the first half of the year some 2.6 million U.S. troops were demobilized, intensifying the effects of the postwar recession. Blacks were the first to lose their jobs; then the companies laid off white union men. *The Killing Floor* shows people scrounging through garbage cans for food. Thousands stand in front of the packinghouses begging for work, among them Custer and other union organizers. The foreman yells "I ain't hiring no union troublemakers!" and Custer is incredulous that "new boys from the South" are the only ones being hired.

National Archives

Black soldiers, decorated by France for their valor, return from World War I wearing the Croix de Guerre.

In the bar Custer sees his friend Thomas who has come back from the war bearing medals he won for heroism in battle. (Many blacks from Chicago were part of the 8th Illinois, a highly decorated unit the Germans had learned to fear, and the only regiment commanded wholly by blacks for much of the war.) Blacks returning from service in the "great war for democracy" justly expected that they would finally get some "democracy" at home. Instead they were met with lynch mobs and racist riots across the U.S., North and South. Every day Custer and Thomas walk to the stockyard to look for work past graffiti in the white neighborhoods reading "Niggers go home!"

When Custer is finally rehired, racism is at a fever pitch. A black company union appears on the scene warning blacks not to join a "white man's union." In the movie the packers put out a bogus leaflet in the name of the SLC declaring, "we demand an all-white union." In early July 1919, in a last ditch effort to cut through this dangerous surge of racism, the Labor Council organized a mass integrated parade through the Black Belt. The cops intervened at the behest of the packinghouse bosses to force blacks and whites to march seperately on the grounds that an integrated march would start a race riot!

Chicago Historical Society

Chicago black ghetto sealed off by racist terror; troops hand out food provisions.

The two columns met in a playground for a united rally. Here Johnstone and other union organizers appealed for black and white workers to stand together against the stockyard bosses. But it was too little, and too late.

Racist Terror and Union-Busting

On July 27, the day after the Stockyards Labor Council had finally submitted its demands to the packers, a black teenager drowned after being stoned by a white racist in the waters off the segregated 29th Street beach. Chicago exploded in racist terror. For over a week black Chicago was trapped in the South Side ghetto. No one could get out to work, there was no food, garbage piled up on the streets threatening disease of epidemic proportions. Eventually the meatpacking companies set up food distribution centers in the black neighborhood for their employees. In *The Killing Floor*, when Custer gets to the YMCA he is confronted by a black pro-company provocateur distributing the meager food supplies, who taunts, "*Where's the union?*" The scene ends with black workers whom Custer had organized coming up and handing in their union pins.

When Custer's friend Bremmer comes to his home a week after the racist onslaught had begun, Custer also asks, "Why ain't no one from the union been here?" Good question, to which he receives a lame response. Nevertheless he responds to Bremmer's plea for help in stopping the packers' drive to bust the union by playing the race card, and goes to a union meeting. Homeless Lithuanians and Poles huddle in the stairwells, burned out of their tenements by arsonists the night before. When Custer goes to shake his friend Dan's hand he is slapped away as Dan yells, "You burnt down our houses!" Custer is completely taken aback. Blacks couldn't even get out of the Black Belt, much less enter the all-white "Back of the Yards" neighborhood where most of the arson occurred. In the smoke and flames that destroyed the homes of these impoverished East Europeans, many of whom were the backbone of the union organizing drive, there was the smell of a company provocation.

Custer makes a powerful appeal: "Can the packers stop this riot? No! The union's got to do it.... I am a colored man but I am a union man!" The union should have been out there long before, ensuring safe passage for black workers through the all-white neighborhoods around the yards. It would have been a simple matter then for integrated union patrols to beat some respect into a few bigoted skulls. In the riots, union defense guards mobilizing the integrated power of the thousands of workers in the packinghouse industry not only could have protected black workers and their families, they would have changed the face of 1919 Chicago...and the country. But the SLC never made the slightest move to aid or defend the black stockyard workers who were trapped in the Black Belt by racist mobs.

Jeered and threatened on his way out of the meeting, a demoralized Custer decides to go back to work in the union-busting mobilization of black workers organized by the packinghouse bosses and led by the militia. In one of the last scenes of the movie, a near-bloodbath between black and white workers outside the stockyards is averted by

continued on page 6

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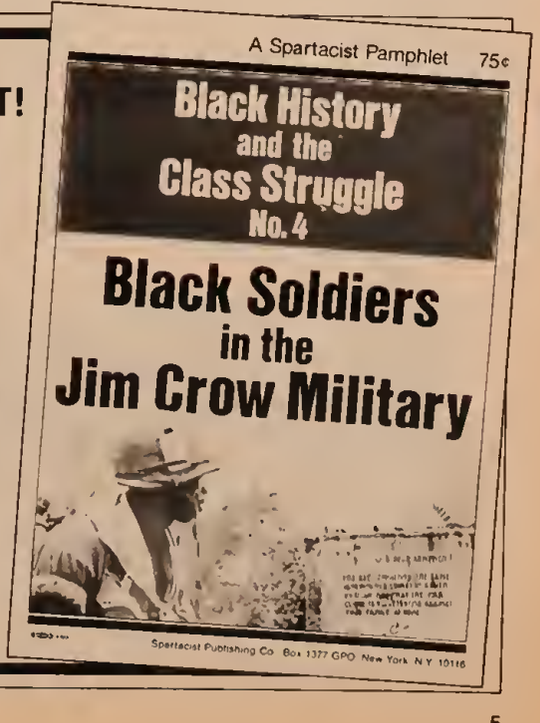

Chicago 1919...

(continued from page 5)

union organizers, who lead the white workers away from the yards. Inside, expressing the degradation and humiliation of the black workers, Custer says: "Look at us. They herded us to the slaughterhouse like cattle. When we get on the killing floor we're going to be exactly what the company wants us to be." Putting on his union pin he says, "Those men and women who just walked away, we need them, and they need us."

It was the failure of the union leadership, among the most militant and radical in the country, to defend the

Atheneum

A company provocation? Arsonists destroyed homes of East European workers.

rights of the black workers which allowed the packers to defeat the organizing drive with racist terror. After the standoff in front of the yards, SLC leaders called a strike that lasted for four days. David Brodie, who consulted on *The Killing Floor*, wrote that "the underlying issue" was the demand that only union blacks be allowed back to work, and quotes one leader saying the men "have a right to know whether the Negroes returning to work are members in good standing of the unions" (*The Butcher Workmen* [1964]). Yet at this point, black union membership was at its lowest ebb and blacks were least inclined to join. Fitzpatrick commented, "The breach is so broad that it is almost impossible now to cement or bridge it over." It would be two decades before black and white stockyard workers were organized by the Packing House Workers Organizing Committee as part of the CIO organizing drive.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

The Killing Floor is a stark and bitter portrayal of race and class oppression in this country and the unbreakable link between them. But it can suggest no alternative to the racism and union-busting that engulfed Chicago in the summer of 1919. Another significant omission in the film is any mention of the 1917 October Revolution which awakened the hopes and aspirations of the working and oppressed masses around the globe. Through the Communist International Lenin sought to impart to the young Communist parties in the West the need to rally the oppressed to the banner of the proletariat. This stood in stark contrast to the social democrats who did nothing to fight racial or colonial oppression, acting as the handmaidens for their "own" imperialist rulers.

At the Comintern's Second Congress in 1920, American Communist John Reed gave a report on the black question in which he spoke of the Chicago race riot. Reed stressed:

> "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."

It would take a decade before the Comintern's exhortation to lead the struggle for black emancipation would be translated into action, in the (by then Stalinized) Communist Party's fight for black rights during the early 1930s, particularly around the racist frame-up of the Scottsboro Boys. Thousands of blacks were recruited, above all in Chicago. But blacks were subsequently betrayed by the CP, the defense of their rights sacrificed on the altar of the popular front in support of Roosevelt's racist Democratic Party and the war aims of U.S. imperialism.

In the mid-'30s, the CIO organizing drive brought thousands of blacks into the new industrial unions, many of them built by CP union organizers. But simple trade unionism and "unite and fight" rhetoric did not overcome the realities of racial oppression. Blacks were still segregated in the lowest paid unskilled work and were still targets for racist terror. As the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party wrote in 1943 when lynch mobs rode against blacks in the streets of Detroit:

> "The labor leaders must do more than deplore these attacks upon the Negro people. They must do more than order their members to stay off the streets and appeal for grand jury investigations. They must summon their membership to take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs. The unions of Detroit could have repulsed this threat to their very existence as they repulsed General Motors in 1937 and Ford in 1941. Detroit would be far different today and the native fascists would be cowering in their holes, demoralized instead of triumphant, had the union leaders called out the veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people."

Only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League can claim the Leninist banner of multiracial revolutionary struggle to win emancipation for all the exploited and oppressed.

IF WE MUST DIE
By Claude McKay
(1919)

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, Oh let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!

Oh, kinsmen! we must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

Chicago: Segregation City USA

Almost 70 years later, Chicago remains one of the most segregated cities in the United States and blacks on the South Side are still in danger if they cross Western Avenue. Smelling the opportunity for race war in the explosive situation of black mayor Harold Washington seeking to govern "Segregation City USA," the KKK has made Chicago the staging ground for lynch mob terror. Last summer, while black and Hispanic homes were firebombed, a Klan rally in Marquette Park egged on a crowd of 3,000 white racist punks. Although itself the target of the fascist mobilizations, the Harold Washington administration has no intention of lifting a finger against the marauding racist scum. Indeed it was Washington's cops and courts who protected the fascists while beating, arresting and trying to legally lynch protesters who courageously sought to stop the KKK killers.

The way to defeat the racist terrorists in white sheets and in blue uniforms is through mobilizing the integrated power of Chicago labor. Unlike in 1919, when blacks had just established their presence in industry, today they make up over 40 percent of Chicago's population and an even greater proportion of the organized working class. In August 1985 hundreds of Chicago transit workers gave a show of this power in an integrated mobilization outside police headquarters which stopped the racist frame-up of a black bus driver charged with manslaughter in an unavoidable traffic accident. A decade earlier, integrated union defense guards from UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) set up 24-hour integrated patrols to protect the home of a black union brother in a Chicago suburb after the house was repeatedly firebombed and stoned by nightriding racists.

Powerful and integrated working-class action, championing the rights of every oppressed and exploited section of the population, can crush the growing fascist threat and make the streets of Chicago safe for all working people. What is desperately needed is a communist vanguard party that can draw the lessons of 1919 and carry forward the revolutionary heritage of the Russian Bolsheviks, to lead labor and the ghetto masses in the struggle for socialist revolution.

Then and now, racism and anti-communism go hand in hand. In 1919, from Mississippi to Washington, D.C. to Chicago blacks were targeted by lynch mobs and race riots. In the early 1920s, thousands of leftists were rounded up, jailed or expelled from the country in the Palmer Raids aimed at smashing the postwar proletarian upsurge.

Today in the supercharged climate of Cold War II, war on blacks, reds and labor is being brought home once again and with a vengeance. The struggle for black freedom is integrally linked to the struggle for proletarian revolution against racist American capitalism. In the introduction to our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (revised), "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism," the Spartacist League answers the bitter message of *The Killing Floor* with the program of revolutionary integrationism:

CIO

It took two decades for black and white workers to again unite against packinghouse bosses in the CIO organizing drive of late 1930s.

> "...wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working-class political independence. As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." ■

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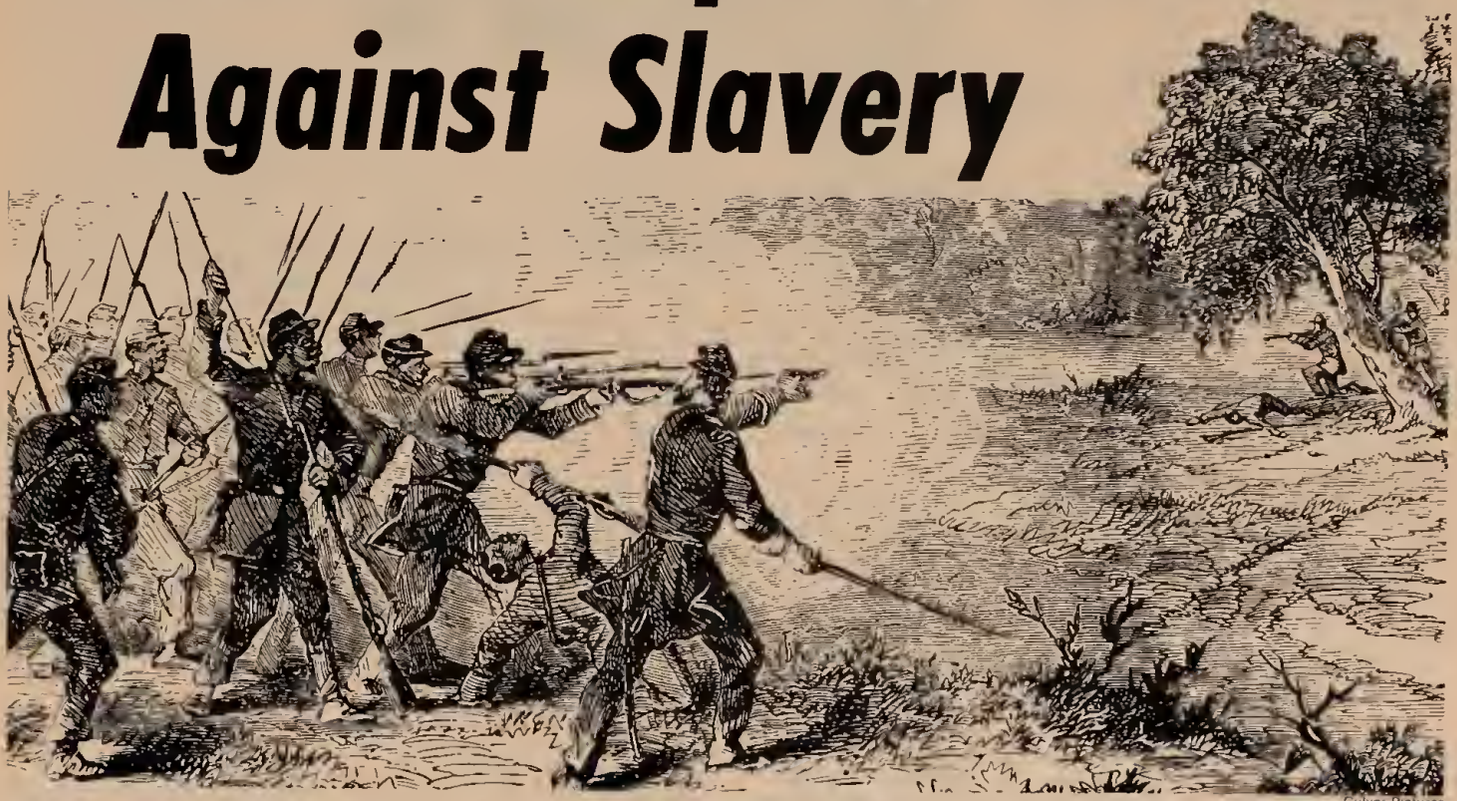
Young Spartacus

Colonel Higginson and the First South Carolina Volunteers

Black Troops in Battle Against Slavery



Freed slaves in First South Carolina Volunteers fight Confederacy near Doboy River, Georgia.

Culver Pictures

"The question of slavery is a stern and practical one. Give us the power and we can make a new Constitution... how is that power to be obtained? By politics? Never. By revolution, and that alone." Those words were spoken by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1857, and by 1862 Higginson took a commanding role in that revolution as the colonel of the first black regiment to fight in the Civil War. For Black History Month, *Young Spartacus* is proud to reprint (with our commentary in italics) excerpts from Higginson's account of his service with the First South Carolina Volunteers, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1984).

Higginson was an abolitionist, an agitator for women's rights and school desegregation, and in the last years of his life an anti-imperialist opponent of U.S. occupation of the Philippines. He was an ardent supporter of John Brown through both the fight for "Bleeding Kansas" and the raid on Harpers Ferry. When others of Brown's supporters were diving for cover during the hysterical witchhunt following the raid, Higginson endeavored to break Brown out of the Charlestown, Virginia jail where he awaited hanging. When Brown refused to condone a rescue attempt, Higginson went to North Elba, New York to bring Brown's wife down to see him.

In 1862 Higginson was exactly where old John Brown had always wanted to be—at the head of a black regiment wiping the scourge of slavery from the face of the land. The vacillating and hesitant Northern bourgeoisie had refused to use black troops. In fact, when Higginson was called to lead the First South Carolina Volunteers—all former slaves led by white officers—he wrote, "Had an invitation reached me to take command of a regiment of Kalmuck Tartars, it could hardly have been more unexpected." But the war was going badly for the North, and it was finally recognized that if the Civil War was going to be won, slavery would have to be abolished and, as Frederick Douglass said, the "Black Phalanx" unleashed.

The slave system had created its own gravediggers, with four million slaves in the South. The First South Carolina was the Black Spartacus, and their mighty battle cries for liberation sent shock waves throughout "The Secesh" (the Confederacy). They were the first black regiment, but 200,000 of their black comrades followed in their footsteps before the slaveholders' rebellion was smashed in 1865. In Higginson's words, "We had touched the pivot of the war.... Till the blacks were armed, there was no guaranty of their freedom. It was their demeanor under arms that shamed the nation into recognizing them as men."

* * *

After two months of drill and training on the South Carolina Sea Islands, the First South Carolina Volunteers were ready and eager for battle. In January 1863, the regiment proved its mettle under fire as they traveled up the St. Mary's river in search of lumber and recruits. These black soldiers, bearing arms and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, had a magnetic pull on their brothers in bondage. They had an equal if inverse impact on the slaveowners who recoiled in shock and horror when confronted with their escaped "property" in Union Army uniforms.

It was after midnight when we set off upon our excursion. I had about a hundred men, marching by the flank.

continued on page 8

Culver Pictures

Houghton Mifflin Co

Troops drilling in Beaufort, S.C., headquarters of Department of the South (left); Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1862 (right).

Black Troops...

(continued from page 7)

with a small advanced guard, and also a few flankers, where the ground permitted.... Corporal Sutton marched near me, with his captured negro guide, whose first fear and sullenness had yielded to the magic news of the President's Proclamation, then just issued, of which [Massachusetts] Governor Andrew had sent me a large printed supply;—we seldom found men who could read it, but they all seemed to feel more secure when they held it in their hands. We marched on through the woods, with no sound but the peeping of the frogs in a neighboring marsh, and the occasional yelping of a dog, as we passed the hut of some "cracker." This yelping always made Corporal Sutton uneasy; dogs are the detective officers of Slavery's police....

I feared no attack during our ascent,—that danger was for our return; but I feared the intricate navigation of the river, though I did not fully know, till the actual experience, how dangerous it was.... No piloting less skillful than that of Corporal Sutton and his mate, James Bezzard, could have carried us through...at last we dropped anchor before the little town of Woodstock, after moonset and an hour before daybreak, just as I had planned, and so quietly that scarcely a dog barked, and not a soul in the town, as we afterwards found, knew of our arrival.... I took a survey of the premises. The chief house, a pretty one with picturesque outbuildings, was that of Mrs. A., who owned the mills and lumber-wharves adjoining. The wealth of these wharves had not been exaggerated....

When the morning was a little advanced, I called on Mrs. A., who received me in quite a stately way at her own door with "To what am I indebted for the honor of this visit, Sir?"... I wished to present my credentials; so, calling up my companion, I said that I believed she had been previously acquainted with Corporal Robert Sutton? I never saw a finer bit of unutterable indignation than came over the face of my hostess, as she slowly recognized him. She drew herself up, and dropped out the monosyllables of her answer as if they were so many drops of nitric acid. "Ah," quoth my lady, "*we* called him Bob!"

It was a group for a painter. The whole drama of the war seemed to reverse itself in an instant, and my tall, well-dressed, imposing philosophic Corporal dropped down the immeasurable depth into a mere plantation "Bob" again. So at least in my imagination; not to that person himself. Too essentially dignified in his nature to be moved by words where substantial realities were in question, he simply turned from the lady, touched his hat to me, and asked if I would wish to see the slave-jail, as he had the keys in his possession.

* * *

In the spring of 1863, the First South Carolina Volunteers took Jacksonville, Florida, establishing the only mainland Union post in the Department of the South. But the posting of Higginson's regiment still hung in the balance of shifting national policy, which swung from daring offensives against the slavocracy to attempts at reconciliation. Nothing disappointed the First South Carolina more than the orders to evacuate Jacksonville. Here for the first time, black and white union troops fought side by side, black NCOs led white soldiers, and ex-slaves were the victorious occupation force in the town of their former masters. Recalled to picket duty at Port Royal Ferry, and later at Camp Shaw (named in honor of the colonel of the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth regiment who had been recently killed in battle and buried along with his fallen black troops at Fort Wagner), Higginson recounts two stories showing the determination of black troops to win this war.

The one military performance at the picket station of which my men were utterly intolerant was an occasional flag of truce, for which this was the appointed locality. These farces, for which it was our duty to furnish the stock actors, always struck them as being utterly despicable, and unworthy the serious business of war.... It goaded their souls to see the young officers from the two opposing armies salute each other courteously, and interchange cigars. They despised the object of such negotiations, which was usually to send over to the enemy some family of Rebel women who had made themselves quite intolerable on our side, but were not above collecting a subscription among the Union officers, before departure, to replenish their wardrobes. The men never showed disrespect to these women by word or deed, but they hated them from the bottom of their souls. Besides, there was a grievance behind all this. The Rebel order remained unrevoked which consigned the new colored troops and their officers to a felon's death, if captured; and we all felt that we fought with ropes round our necks. "Dere's no flags ob truce for us," the men would contemptuously say, "When de Secesh fight de *Fus' Souf*" (First South Carolina), "he fight in earnest."

At Camp Shaw:

The men had that year a Christmas present which they enjoyed to the utmost,—furnishing the detail, every other day, for provost-guard duty in Beaufort. It was the only military service which they had ever shared within the town, and it moreover gave a sense of self-respect to be keeping the peace of their own streets....

Then, when once posted, they glorified their office, you may be sure. Discipline had grown rather free-and-easy in the town about that time, and it is said that the guard-house never was so full within human memory as after their first tour of duty. I remember hearing that one young reprobate, son of a leading Northern philanthropist in those parts, was much aggrieved at being taken to the lock-up merely because he was found drunk in the streets. "Why," said he, "the white corporals always showed me the way home."...

One of the sergeants of the guard, on one of these occasions, made to one who questioned his authority an answer that could hardly have been improved. The questioner had just been arrested for some offence.

"Know what dat mean?" said the indignant sergeant, pointing to the chevrons on his own sleeve. "Dat mean *Guv'ment*." Volumes could not have said more, and the victim collapsed. The thing soon settled itself, and nobody remembered to notice whether the face beside the musket of a sentinel were white or black. It meant Government, all the same.

* * *

Higginson not only led his troops in battle against the slave system, he also fought the War Department and Congress to wrest equal pay from the government for black soldiers. Finally in April 1864, the War Department ruled that black soldiers would receive equal pay—provided they were free men by 19 April 1861. Higginson was outraged by this decision which denied the hundreds of black soldiers who escaped slavery after April 19 their due. Higginson petitioned Congress to redress this inequality and fired off dozens of letters to Northern newspapers, excerpts from which we reprint below.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune, 22 January 1864:

I have not seen even a proposition in Congress to pay the colored soldiers, *from date of enlistment*, the same pay with white soldiers; and yet anything short of that is an unequivocal breach of contract, so far as this regiment is concerned.

Meanwhile the land sales are beginning, and there is danger of every foot of land being sold from beneath my soldiers' feet, because they have not the petty sum which Government first promised, and then refused to pay.

To the Editors of the Evening Post, 10 July 1864:

On the 2d of July, at James Island, S. C., a battery was taken by three regiments, under the following circumstances:

The regiments were the One Hundred and Third New York (white), the Thirty-Third United States (formerly First South Carolina Volunteers), and the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts, the two last

From base of Port Royal, Higginson's troops traveled along Atlantic coast from Charleston to Jacksonville and up the inland rivers.

Culver Pictures

Dorothy Sterling

Robert Smalls pirated the Confederate gunboat Planter in daring escape from slavery, bringing the ship laden with guns and cannon to the Union fleet. The Planter was used to transport Higginson's men to their first mission, a foray up the St. Mary's River in January 1863. Smalls was later promoted to captain of the ship. After the war he served as a South Carolina lawmaker, and was elected to Congress in 1875. He was denied his seat in 1886, along with other black Congressmen, as part of the betrayal and defeat of Reconstruction.

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Historical Pictures Service

John Brown, Frederick Douglass: heroes of anti-slavery struggle.

Milton Meltzer

Corporal Robert Sutton navigated the John Adams along treacherous waterways, facing Confederate sharpshooters. He brought the regiment to Woodstock, Georgia, where he had formerly been enslaved.

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being colored. They marched at one A. M., by the flank, in the above order, hoping to surprise the battery. As usual the rebels were prepared for them, and opened upon them as they were deep in one of those almost impassable Southern marshes. The One Hundred and Third New York, which had previously been in twenty battles, was thrown into confusion; the Thirty-Third United States did better, being behind; the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts being in the rear, did better still. All three formed in line, when Colonel Hartwell, commanding the brigade, gave the order to retreat. The officer commanding the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts, either misunderstanding the order, or hearing it countermanded, ordered his regiment to charge. This order was at once repeated by Major Trowbridge, commanding the Thirty-Third United States, and by the commander of the One Hundred and Third New York, so that the three regiments reached the fort in reversed order. The color-bearers of the Thirty-Third United States and of the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts had a race to be first in, the latter winning. The One Hundred and Third New York entered the battery immediately after.

These colored regiments are two of the five which were enlisted in South Carolina and Massachusetts, under the written pledge of the War Department that they should have the same pay and allowances as white soldiers. That pledge has been deliberately broken by the War Department, or by Congress, or by both, except as to the short period, since last New-Year's Day. Every one of those killed in this action from these two colored regiments—under a fire before which the veterans of twenty battles recoiled—*died defrauded by the Government of nearly one half his petty pay.*

To the Editor of the New York Tribune, 12 August 1864:

In other words, a freedman (since April 19, 1861) has no rights which a white man is bound to respect. He is incapable of making a contract.... Any employer, following the example of the United States Government, may make with him a written agreement, receive his services, and then withhold the wages. He has no motive to honest industry, or to honesty of any kind. He is virtually a slave, and nothing else, to the end of time.

* * *

All honor to the First South Carolina Volunteers!

No doubt there were reasons why this particular war was an especially favorable test of the colored soldiers. They had more to fight for than the whites. Besides the flag and the Union, they had home and wife and child. They fought with ropes round their necks, and when orders were issued that the officers of colored troops should be put to death on capture, they took a grim satisfaction. It helped their *esprit de corps* immensely. With us, at least, there was to be no play-soldier. Though they had begun with a slight feeling of inferiority to the white troops, this compliment substituted a peculiar sense of self-respect. And even when the new colored regiments began to arrive from the North my men still pointed out this difference,—that in case of ultimate defeat, the Northern troops, black or white, would go home, while the First South Carolina must fight it out or be re-enslaved. This was one thing that made the St. John's River so attractive to them and even to me;—it was so much nearer the everglades. I used seriously to ponder, during the darker periods of the war, whether I might not end my days as an outlaw,—a leader of Maroons.... ["Maroons" were bands of runaway slaves who set up "liberated zones" in the rugged areas of the Caribbean islands, jungles of Brazil, and prior to the Seminole War of 1818, the Everglades of Florida.]

The operations on the South Atlantic coast, which long seemed a merely subordinate and incidental part of the great contest, proved to be one of the final pivots on which it turned. All now admit that the fate of the Confederacy was decided by Sherman's march to the sea. Port Royal was the objective point to which he marched, and he found the Department of the South, when he reached it, held almost exclusively by colored troops. Next to the merit of those who made the march was that of those who held open the door. That service will always remain among the laurels of the black regiments. ■

New York Public Library

Black regiment battles Confederate dogs of war, the bloodhounds sent to search and attack escaped slaves.

Confederate Museum

Radical members of the South Carolina legislature during Reconstruction. First South Carolina sergeants Prince Rivers and Henry Hayne became legislators, along with Planter captain Robert Smalls.

Finish the Civil War!

Letter

Ann Arbor
24 October 1986

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

In the *Young Spartacus* article in *WV* #413 [10 October 1986], "We're Looking for a Few Good Communists!", there were two things that I wasn't sure about. About half way through the article, in talking about the outcome of the Civil War, the article states, "But its promise of black equality was not fulfilled...and the hopes of black Americans were crushed in the terror and moral cowardice of the political counterrevolution which gutted... Radical Reconstruction. Out of this the racist Ku Klux Klan was reborn."

Whose moral cowardice? If it was in the interests of the Northern capitalists to make a deal with their Southern brethren, then it was not moral cowardice they were following, but their material interests. It seems to me that moral cowardice describes capitulating around something you believe in. Did the moral cowardice refer to the Radical Republicans? But didn't they go down fighting (my history is weak here)? If the Northern capitalists had wanted to they could have crushed the terror, as they had crushed the Confederacy. But it was not moral cowardice that made them quail before it—rather their material interests that allowed them to tolerate it. And allowed the terror to flourish. Also, wasn't the Ku Klux Klan born at this time rather than reborn at this time?

Yours,
Gordy W.

Young Spartacus replies: Gordy's point on the "moral cowardice" of Northern capital is well taken. Although they may have been opposed to property in human flesh, the robber barons of the late 19th century allied themselves with Southern landholders in defense of private property in the means of production. The capitalist reaction flowed from the inherent inability of a system based on private ownership of the factories, mines and mills to eliminate scarcity, the economic source of social inequality. The Northern capitalists turned their backs on the blacks after it had used them to fight for the Union.

Students today are rarely taught about the pivotal role played by armed ex-slaves in the Civil War, and are instructed that John Brown, the martyr of Harpers Ferry, was an "insane mass murderer" or at best a "religious nut." He was in fact among the first to see that to end slavery it would be necessary "to purge this land with blood," as the Civil War showed. The success of the counterrevolution following Reconstruction produced wide acceptance of the white supremacist view of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement. These omissions and distortions of the past serve a purpose for today's rulers—to make the injustices of the present seem more acceptable.

The Ku Klux Klan was a fraternal order of ex-Confederate officers and racist thugs at its founding in 1866. These race-terrorists had their origins in the slave patrols of the antebellum South. They existed throughout Reconstruction, lynching, robbing, raping and murdering blacks and their white Republican allies. The subject of Radical Republican resistance to the reimposition of overt racist terror would be a very valuable subject for future *YSp* pages.

It was the fact that the Northern ruling class could not truly "finish the Civil War" by fulfilling the promise of equality for the ex-slaves that led to both the rise of the Klan and the defeat of Reconstruction. The removal of Union troops in the Compromise of 1877 represented a surrender to Klan terror and permitted the malignant proliferation of the lynchers and cross-burners not only throughout the South but nationwide. Only a third American revolution, a proletarian revolution which abolishes private property, will remove the social roots of racial oppression.

Thomas Nast

Thomas Nast cartoon depicts blacks' lot as capitalists sell out radical Reconstruction: KKK terror, lynchings, Jim Crow segregation.

Young Spartacus

Divestment Liberals Protest Black South African Music

Howard University

8 February 1987

To the Editor:

About a year ago, an American musician, Paul Simon, put together a collection of songs he recorded with direct assistance of some of the popular artists in South Africa. And early in January 1987, the *Washington Post* reported that during his tour on campuses for opinions on his album, *Graceland*, Simon met with open criticism from Howard University students for defying the UN ban on performing in South Africa by recording the album "using" South African musicians and singers.

Simon may be guilty of not making a strong political statement against the system of apartheid ("apart-hate") that exists in his colleagues' country in any of his recordings. But he certainly is not at fault in exposing America and the rest of the world to a part of South Africa that many have not seen or heard of. As a black South African, I surely hope that in the midst of this, Paul Simon will continue his work with artists all over the world, especially South Africans.

The making of *Graceland* made possible the remarkable reunion of world-renowned South African musicians Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela. These two exiled South Africans have teamed up with Simon and the co-creators of his album. During their final preparations to embark on what is to be one of the most memorable tours of Europe and the U.S. which was scheduled to start on February 1, Simon, Makeba, Masekela, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Stimela and others faced threats of "boycott action against the tour" from the Anti-Apartheid Movement (European version), and the same can be expected from their counterparts in this country.

It is absolutely thoughtless of this "anti-apartheid" movement to target as an object for criticism the coming together of these talented individuals and groups. I find it greatly ironic for these people to have ill feelings especially toward Makeba and Masekela, who for greater parts of their lives have worked for the cause of liberation in their country. Who are these people to tell us what is worthy of boycott?

Since the imposition of the UN cultural boycott of South Africa, the oppressed South African masses have not moved an inch toward their liberation. Instead they are locked out of the world (or is it that they are locked in their own isolated, tiny world?). The UN is not determined to assist the downtrodden to gain their liberation. This is proved by their policies toward South Africa which are contrary to their stated intention. Cultural boycotts are not a strategy to bring down apartheid. The government must be faced and toppled.

At present, South Africa is in the grip of a massive political upheaval. To break free from the exploitive forces, we need a socialist revolution led by our potentially powerful workers.

Power to all workers of the world! There's a battle to be won!

Basebetsi Tsohang, Matla ke a Rona!
(Workers Rise, All Power Is Ours!)

Danny

Young Spartacus thanks Danny for his letter and joins him in condemning this most absurd action of the liberal- and nationalist-led anti-apartheid "movement." Pushing the no-win divestment "strategy" to new heights of ridiculousness, these fake-leftists echo and *reinforce* the segregation imposed on black South Africans by the apartheid butchers.

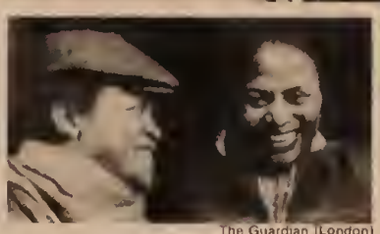
Paul Simon finally got the United Nations (a gang of imperialist robbers and their victims) off his back by sending them a letter in which he explained that he never "performed" in South Africa, just "recorded." We preferred the spirit of his retort to heckling students at Howard University, in which he decried the oppression of black artists by what he termed "double apartheid"—"the first being that imposed by the state, and the second imposed by the world that shuns everything South African, including black music" (*The Hilltop*, 23 January). To liberal moralists screaming "exploitation!" it's immaterial that Simon paid the recording artists $600 per session, *triple* the American wage scale, and incomparable with the South African rate of about $12.

On February 5, Spartacist spokesman Marjorie Stamberg took the "bull" by the horns at a Spartacist forum at Howard University when she castigated "cultural boycotts":

"Last night somebody brought to my attention an article in the London *Guardian*. It says that Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba, two black South African musicians who have spent their entire lives in exile working for the cause of black freedom in South Africa—this article says that their concert with Paul Simon may now be picketed by the anti-apartheid groups in London. Hugh Masekela is really enraged about this also. He said Nelson Mandela used to go to his concerts in Johannesburg when he was raising money for the ANC, and now he has the spectre of being picketed for the 'crime' of generating and supporting the South African black cause throughout Europe and throughout America. His song, by the way, which may likely be picketed, is an anthem to Nelson Mandela. This just shows the insane, and at the same time logical, conclusion of the politics of nationalism, as opposed to internationalism, and of the liberal divestment and sanctions movement. We say: not divestment, but expropriation by a revolutionary workers government. To the toilers belong the fruits of their labor.

"To take it from the other side, why is it not okay for Paul Simon to make an album in South Africa, but it is okay to play and make albums in the United States? The American imperialists are the ones who are responsible for the My Lai massacre. The American imperialists are the ones who turned South Vietnam into a moonscape; that dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The American ruling class exterminated the people who were here before they came. It was the American imperialists who killed millions of people during the period of slavery and the slave trade. And yet these are the people—Reagan and Koch—that the divestment movement calls on to pressure the South African apartheid rulers into cleaning up their act. So when we say, 'the main enemy is at home,' that is the bitter truth."■

Maria Robledos



The Guardian (London)

Above: Paul Simon with South African musicians of Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Left: Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba.

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club
Black History Month Forum

From Howard Beach to Marquette Park—Racist Terror in Reagan's America

For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks!

Speaker: Bernard Vance
St. Central Committee

Saturday, February 21, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
4900 South Lake Shore Drive
Michigan Room
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club
Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

(Exco Course)
Tuesday, February 24, 7:30 p.m.
Thursday, March 12, 7:30 p.m.
Wilder Hall, Room 112
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 775-5858

OBERLIN

Spartacist Class Series

Revolutionary Marxism and the Fight for Black Liberation

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next classes: February 25, March 11
Lamont Library, Room 605
Harvard University
For more information (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club
Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Next classes: Feb. 28, Mar. 7, 28
See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin
For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Spartacist Class Series

Black History and the Class Struggle

Alternate Saturdays, 1:00 p.m.
Next classes: February 28, March 14
Blackburn Center, Room 142
Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacist Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
Next classes: Feb. 21, Mar. 7, 21
Spartacist Public Office
41 Warren Street
For more information (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK

Thatcher's Gestapo Raid on BBC

LONDON—To each imperialist bourgeoisie its own crisis. Reagan's Contragate has the U.S. ruling class worried that he's lost his grip altogether. Meanwhile in Britain, Reagan's ally Margaret Thatcher has gone berserk over the revelations made by liberal journalist Duncan Campbell of a super-secret government "spy-in-the-sky" satellite, dubbed the Zircon project, which had been kept hidden even from the all-too-pliable MPs (members of Parliament). Enraged by the exposure, the Tory prime minister has unleashed the British version of the FBI, the Special Branch, to launch Gestapo-like raids on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), that august voice of the British ruling class, and the Labourite *New Statesman* magazine. A spokesman for the National Council for Civil Liberties described the raid on *New Statesman* offices as "the first of its kind on a national paper since the first world war" (*Guardian*, 9 February), while police occupation of BBC offices and seizure of tapes was virtually without precedent.

Thatcher's tantrum was precipitated by a scheduled BBC series on the "Secret Society," in one segment of which Campbell was to reveal the existence of the Zircon spy satellite, which is being built at a cost of £500 million (about $700 million). Research was begun on the BBC series last June; in July Campbell even interviewed former Defence Permanent Under-Secretary Frank Cooper about the Zircon project. The government must have known all about the filming but made no attempt to stop it until the last minute. On January 15 BBC Director-General Alasdair Milne (since forced out) banned the broadcast after meeting with the head of Britain's communications spy agency, the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). But Campbell had also planned to publish an article on the affair in the *New Statesman* (23 January) and as the government fumbled through legal thickets to issue the necessary injunctions the magazine managed to publish the article.

Thatcher took revenge by unleashing the Special Branch to spend *over three days* ransacking the *New Statesman* offices and raiding the home of Duncan Campbell (and his co-authors Patrick Forbes and Jolyon Jenkins). During the raid, Campbell's phone was cut. Thatcher even went so far as to ban MPs from viewing the film in the House of Commons. Then on January 31, Special Branch officers bolted into BBC offices in Glasgow, Scotland, armed with a warrant giving them the power "if necessary to use force for making such entry whether by breaking open doors or otherwise, and to search the said premises, and if necessary every person found therein." In the end, they carted off three vanloads of material relating to the BBC "Secret Society" series—including the banned segment.

The Secret That Never Was

From the beginning, it was ludicrous to believe there was any secret here. As Campbell noted in his *Statesman* exposé, what little cover the Zircon project had—the satellite was to be disguised as another one of those Skynet NATO "communications" satellites—was blown by one of the manufacturers, British Aerospace, who bragged in a 1985 press release that "The new satellite is due to be launched in 1988 and be positioned 53°E." Campbell noted with emphasis: "*But 53 degrees east is the longitude of the central Soviet Union, not Britain, the other European NATO member countries or the United States.*" The Ministry of Defence tried to recover from the flub by applying whiteout to the "53°E" part in a subsequent release, but even the most thickheaded KGB agent would have figured it out by then: the Brits were planning to launch a spy satellite over the Soviet Union, to listen in on all kinds of electronic communications.

Pirated videos of the banned BBC program on Zircon have been playing to packed audiences throughout Scotland, Wales and England. Perhaps the only people who haven't been able to see it are the MPs, barred by a goon squad from the Sergeant at Arms' staff at Westminster on January 22. (Even some of those MPs went off to a private viewing at nearby Transport House.) By now everybody interested has read Duncan Campbell's article, so the cat's well out of the bag. Besides, you've got to be pretty gullible as well to think that once the satellite was launched and positioned over Soviet territory there'd be any "secret" to hide from Moscow. But then, maybe that's not who they were trying to hide it from.

Press Association

"Security" scare: Special Branch seizes BBC papers and tapes.

The American Connection

The idea that this decrepit ruling class which has sent Britain spiraling downward toward Third World poverty could develop any serious high-tech "secrets," let alone keep them, is cause for rolling on the floor in laughter. They just gave up trying to develop a workable AWACS surveillance plane (the Nimrod) and decided to purchase the already deployed American plane. Indeed the whole Zircon project is a product of nationalist pique at having become a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. The dependency rankled British imperial pride during the Falklands/Malvinas war, when Thatcher's armed forces needed U.S. satellite intelligence data and the Reagan administration was trying not to come down completely on Britain's side against Argentina. With the Zircon satellite, London would have a certain independence. A former British defence chief told Campbell it was "a matter of 'macho politics'—of keeping up with the Americans."

The *New Statesman* exposé centered on the fact that Zircon violated the so-called Chevaline agreement of 1982 in which Parliament was to be informed of major defence projects—currently those costing £250 million or more. But, from NATO commitments of troops and weapons to Zircon, the British rulers jealously guard their monopoly of secrecy on military matters, and the American connection strikes a raw nerve. While under the 1947 UK-USA agreement the vast majority of information gathered by U.S. spy satellites is shared with Britain, the Americans have reportedly become more selective with their information. This was particularly so after the 1982 discovery of a spy within GCHQ who had been leaking secrets to Moscow for more than a decade. So British intelligence decided that they needed their very own spy satellite, to be one of the big boys.

As for keeping secrets, nobody has taken the British seriously on this score ever since the top British counter-espionage elite led by Kim Philby turned out to be Soviet moles going back to before World War II. In 1979, long after Philby and his colleagues had taken up residence in Moscow, a "fourth man" in the Philby network was discovered, and even today British intelligence circles are arguing over the possibility of a "fifth man." Thatcher's arrogant edict banning unions at GCHQ was a feeble attempt, probably at the behest of her American masters, to restore long-lost imperial discipline. There's more than a whiff of bonapartism in this game. Thatcher & Co. aren't concerned about who knows of Zircon, but about enforcing their "right" to secrecy... and to spend millions spying on Russia while social misery is on the increase according to every leaked statistic.

Labour Traitors

The bourgeois press has re-raised the hoary debate about the Official Secrets Act and "responsible" politicians of all sorts call for more effective secrecy, for limited and necessary secrecy. The inevitable hunt for "moles" and dark hints about the "enemy within" come from Thatcher. But the most putrid, backstabbing response came from Neil Kinnock, leader of the "opposition" Labour Party. When Thatcher sought an emergency motion in Parliament to ban the showing of the BBC tape to MPs, she needed approval from Labour, and *Kinnock gave it!* His office issued a disgusting statement which read in part: "if the government says that this is a serious matter of national security I must take their word for it until such time as that claim is substantiated or otherwise" (*New Statesman*, 30 January). In the House of Commons Kinnock attacked Thatcher for failing to stop the leaks!

Taken together with Kinnock's sabotage of the valiant British miners strike in 1985, this latest episode once again shows that the Labour misleader is no less an enemy of the working class than the hated Iron Lady. Thatcher and her "opposition" are united that Britain will play a role in the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive, and that this means more official secrecy, more censorship and more naked use of force. The BBC raids came on the heels of a massive police riot against a 20,000-strong protest on the anniversary of the defeated print-workers strike at Wapping where nearly 200, including press and onlookers, were injured. And racist "justice" declared that the cop who paralysed Mrs. Cherry Groce, a black woman, for life, gets off while the youth who were rounded up at the London housing estate during a racist cop invasion there get the full brunt of prosecution.

If Thatcher has her way, enterprising journalists like Duncan Campbell will be made to pay for the sorry state of British imperialism in its decline. Ironically, the *New Statesman* itself is Labourite to the core, but as the revelations of MI5 operations against Wilson's Labour government show, that's no guarantee of anything. (Indeed, Campbell was prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act in 1977, under Labour prime minister Callaghan.) One columnist lectured the loathsome Kinnock to never forget that in Thatcher he is dealing with the party of the Zinoviev letter (a Tory fabrication in the 1920s designed to smear the Labour Party as Soviet agents). Ask the GCHQ employees whose unions were smashed what happens when you get in the way of the government's self-serving definitions of "national security."

All the talk of "reform" of this decrepit system—with its vast intelligence operations laid on top of its monarchy, House of Lords, established church, hideous state terror in Northern Ireland, Labour traitors waiting in the wings to shove it to the people more "effectively"—is so much hogwash. The Official Secrets Act is used to cover up Thatcher's order to sink the *Belgrano*, the cold-blooded mass murder of hundreds of Argentine troops, and the SAS "anti-terrorist" assassination squads who gun down "IRA suspects" in Northern Ireland. It will take a workers revolution to open the files of the spy and secret police agencies. An authentic Bolshevik vanguard party must fight the imperialist war drive, taking as its starting point the unconditional defence of the Soviet workers state against imperialism. It will win the proletariat to the need for socialist revolution by breaking the stranglehold of the Labour fakers—both of the right and "left." Hands off the *New Statesman*, the BBC and Duncan Campbell! Down with the Official Secrets Act! ■

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West Coast Tug Strike

Shut Down the Ports!

SAN FRANCISCO—Six hundred tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), are on strike in Seattle, the Columbia River Basin and San Francisco against Crowley Maritime, one of the biggest tug operators in the country. Crowley is demanding massive givebacks in wages and benefits and the elimination of the union hiring hall. The union tops offered concessions of up to 27 percent but the bosses want more: Crowley is out to bust the IBU.

The striking tugboat workers can't win alone. Scab tugs are already operating here with members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA) crossing IBU lines. But *every* ship that's docked, regardless of who's manning the tugs—IBU members working for other companies, MEBA scabs, non-union workers, whatever—is undermining the strike. The ranks of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), to which the IBU is affiliated, have the power to stop Crowley's union-busting offensive cold. This is part of an offensive by the maritime bosses aimed at every union member on the waterfront and every gain won since the bloody SF general strike of 1934. East Coast longshoremen in the ILA showed what could be done when they briefly shut down Atlantic ports last October with mass picket lines. *Shut down the harbors—nothing in, nothing out!*

In April 1980, 700 IBU ferry boat workers went on strike in Puget Sound against the state of Washington. Strike leaders were jailed and huge fines were imposed against the union. In response, ILWU workers in Seattle struck the port for 24 hours. The state immediately freed the union leaders, dropped the fines and signed a contract. A member of the strikers' negotiating committee said, "if we'd been out there on our own, they might have broken us. But when the ILWU shut down, it was like night and day" (*Dispatcher*, 2 May 1980).

ILWU members: Labor's gotta play hardball to win! Shut down the ports! Victory to the IBU strike!

Reagan Gang...

(continued from page 1)

grievances. Last week the U.S. was forced to cancel a conference on "terrorism" with the major Western powers. Even Reagan's closest supporters like Britain's Margaret Thatcher protested they didn't want the Americans to go off half-cocked in Lebanon. The U.S. had to make an embarrassing climb-down, withdrawing an aircraft carrier, four warships and a 2,000-member marine amphibious group from the Lebanese coast. Meanwhile, scores of influential Americans, including Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Machiavellian Henry Kissinger, are trooping off to the USSR to take a look at "Camelot on the Moskva." One of Kissinger's entourage said they were all impressed by Gorbachev's "intelligence, vitality and obvious leadership qualities"—which is more than anyone will say for Reagan these days.

But at the same time, the entire ruling class, including the Democratic Party opposition, is worrying about weakening the "imperial presidency"—and this one's got two years to go. Whether it was the rape of Grenada, voting aid to the contras, terror bombings of Libya abroad or the MOVE family in Philly, the Democrats fell into line for Reagan. From Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion to the imperialist Vietnam War, the Democrats have had as much recourse to state terror as the Republicans. They are not about to dismantle the secret police apparatus, the CIA's covert operations, the FBI's bloody dirty tricks at home. As the *New York Times* editorialized, what the ruling class wants is some limited "damage control": "It will take ingenuity to contain this imperial Presidency without hobbling others" (*New York Times*, 9 February).

It was bad enough when Nixon used to appeal for sympathy by talking about his dog Checkers. Now Reagan says his dog Rex sees ghosts in the White House. Maybe it's Reagan who is seeing ghosts of Watergate past. And it's going to take more than a Rosemary Woods to erase the Reagangate tapes. The White House "Situation Room" contained an elaborate computerized message system, PROFS, that taped telephone recordings and preserved messages written on NSC computer terminals, which were used extensively by the top Reagangaters. (A year after he left the White House, McFarlane still had a terminal in his house.) But apparently North & Co. weren't aware that a copy of everything they erased was preserved in the system. The tapes show the NSC was engaged in scads of covert operations, and Regan, Casey and former NSC chief Poindexter knew all: "North reported everything," said one source (*Newsweek*, 23 February). So the question now is when did they access and who did they network with. And to find out, just play the tapes!

Conrad/LA Times

Saigon 1975, White House 1987: Rats abandon sinking ship.

Labor: Sock it to Reagan!

The Reaganites' disarray has not registered with the far right which continues to act as if nothing has changed. Thus, despite virtual declaration of martial law to ensure a "peaceful, respectable" march in Forsyth County, Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan prominently spearheaded the rioting racists. Then the Klan marched unimpeded in the College Park suburb of Atlanta. And when Atlanta city council member Hosea Williams tried to protest KKKers broadcasting their appeal for racist murder on a nationally televised talk show, he and seven other protesters were summarily arrested. At the same time in recent weeks there have been some substantial countermobilizations against the KKK from Louisville, Kentucky to Maryland's eastern shore. And in Mobile, Alabama an all-white jury awarded $7 million in damages against Klan lynchers to the family of black teenager Michael Donald, whose battered body was found hanging from a tree in 1981. One KKKer was sentenced to death for this grisly murder.

However, the bosses and their racist killers have not recently been dealt any sharp blows. Black misleaders preach reliance on the racist courts and cops. Even the heavily policed, liberal march in Forsyth was subsequently criticized as "too confrontationist"! Ex-SNCC leader, now U.S. Congressman John Lewis called for "build[ing] a sense of community in Forsyth," and Jesse Jackson similarly appealed to the Howard Beach racists. The purpose of the black Democrats' obscene calls to ignore racist terror is to re-cement their alliance with the Dixiecrats. The selection of Atlanta as the Democratic convention site was an open appeal for Dixiecrat support. Forsyth County, after all, is Jimmy Carter "ethnic purity" country.

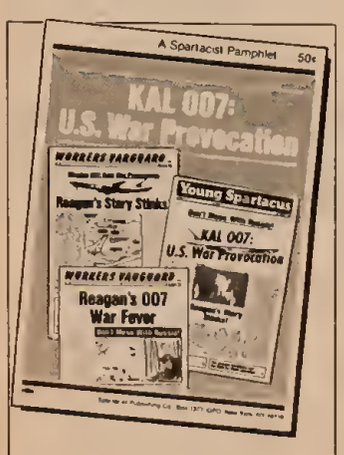
Today, fully one-third of unionized workers are black, making the labor movement the most integrated sector of society. And it is the unions that have the social power to smash capitalist reaction. During the PATCO strike, the AFL-CIO misleaders organized a mass rally of more than half a million workers. If only a fraction of that strength had been mobilized to shut down the airports, the union-busting offensive could have been smashed early on. But the union tops ordered their members to scab on the air traffic controllers, and it was PATCO that was smashed. In Philadelphia, combative transit workers and teachers have repeatedly struck against anti-union city administrations. But when black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered the bombing of the black MOVE commune, carried out with the aid and approval of Meese's "Justice" Department, the unions did nothing. Labor must be mobilized to smash the racist terrorists before they strike again!

Despite the defeatism of the labor tops, the Spartacist League's labor supplements such as "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball" and our strike special issued during the East Coast longshore battle last fall have been warmly received, with several hundred thousand copies distributed. Our papers strike a chord because they address the burning questions facing unionists and minorities: a program to smash the Klan and bust the union-busters. We fight for militant class struggle, mass picket lines, teaching the scabs a lesson they won't forget, for labor "hot-cargo" actions to achieve genuine union solidarity. The union bureaucrats may whine that such tactics "violate the law," but appeals to Reaganite "law and order" don't really cut it—not when the American population at large correctly perceives the men who run this country, from the White House to Wall Street, as liars and crooks. The next time there's a big strike and the bosses get a court injunction or appeal to "national security" interests, the unions ought to throw it back in their face.

The U.S., and the world, faces a dangerous contradiction today with a wounded regime in Washington looking desperately for an opportunity to strike out at anyone on its long enemies list. At the same time, the American labor movement, led by imperialist agents up to their ears in Contragate machinations, is playing dead. Hard class struggle today could quickly galvanize the sympathy of broad layers of the populace, from the ghetto poor and unemployed, to farmers driven to desperation, to the intended victims of Ed Meese's thought police and sex police. *It's time to strike back*, while Wall Street and its servants in Washington are rattled and in crisis. Bringing down Reagan must not mean replacing Republicans with Democrats. A class-struggle, multiracial workers party must be forged to lead the fight to smash racist American capitalism and carry out a socialist revolution that will emancipate labor and all the oppressed. ■

Daily Challenge

Integrated rally in Louisville outraged over Klan's racist provocations, January 31.



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Amerika...

(continued from page 1)

McDonalds in Colorado). But Rambomania just isn't selling like it was after Reagan's one military "success," the racist rape of tiny black Grenada. And now with Reagangate, as the Star Warriors in the White House spin wildly out of control, they're increasingly recognized as crazed, bumbling, dangerous liars. It looks like *Amerika* could blow up in the Reaganauts' face.

Amerika is Cold War propaganda in the tradition of the Hitlerite Big Lie. Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels could have written the script about a Soviet "occupation" of the U.S., where white middle Americans are terrorized, brainwashed, starved and sent to gulags. *Amerika* is Goebbels gone Hollywood. It's *1984* writ large. But the truly Orwellian quality of *Amerika* is its uncanny resemblance to Reagan's America today. This $40 million, 14-1/2 hour orgy of anti-Sovietism reflects the mentality of a U.S. president who salutes Nazi SS graves at Bitburg, a government that bombs black babies in Philadelphia and a sinister New Right that thinks Vietnam was "lost" because of a "stab in the back" at home.

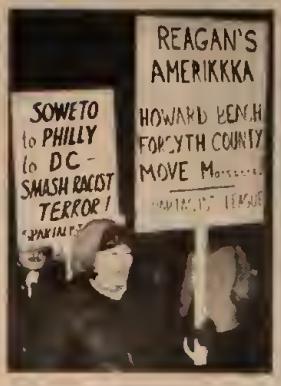
Carrying the red flags of Bolshevism, Spartacist League protesters picketed ABC studios in New York City, February 15. Comrades and supporters in Washington, D.C. and Chicago demonstrated at the same time, coinciding with the opening of the *Amerika* series. Spartacist protesters carried signs proclaiming, "Reagan's AmeriKKKa: Howard Beach, Forsyth County, MOVE Massacre," "For Soviet Aid to the South Bronx!" and "The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow!" Demonstrators chanted: "Finish the Civil War! Forward to a Workers State!" "Lincoln Freed the Chattel Slaves, Lenin Freed the Wage Slaves!" and "World War III, Brought to You by ABC!" Other SL slogans included, "Who Stopped Hitler? The Red Army Did! Defend the Soviet Union!" "Labor: Sock it to Reagan! Avenge PATCO and Philly MOVE!" and "Communist Revolution is America's Last Best Hope!"

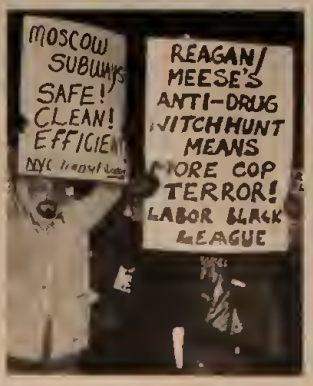
The demonstrations received wide media attention, with AP and UPI wire stories and TV coverage by ABC and local affiliates of NBC and CBS. The Cable News Network contrasted the red rally of 75 Spartacist supporters outside New York's WABC to the dozen pacifists holding candles outside the U.S. mission to the UN. Cameras focused on signs including, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Reagan/Meese Anti-Drug Witchhunt Means More Cop Terror!" and an NYC transit worker's sign, "Moscow Subways: Safe! Clean! Efficient!" In Chicago, WBBM highlighted an SL placard calling for "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" The Spartacist protesters indicted the rulers of this country—Democrats as well as Republicans—who have made witchhunting, racist terror and the desperation of hundreds of thousands of homeless the reality of "their" America.

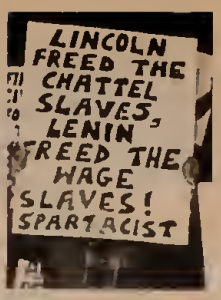
AP

Reagan honors Nazi war dead at Bitburg.

February 15—Spartacist supporters protest ABC's anti-Soviet Big Lie, Amerika, in New York City, Washington, D.C.







WV Photos

On February 16, Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour spoke from the audience on WABC's "Morning Show" featuring a panel discussion of *Amerika*, which included Soviet diplomats, an ex-CIA man and notorious right-wing Republican Congressman Robert Dornan. The SL spokesman denounced *Amerika* as "an attempt to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria in mobilizing the American people for World War III, or a prelude to imperialist adventures such as an invasion of revolutionary Nicaragua." The "former" CIA agent interrupted, demanding "do you receive your funding from the Soviets?" Unfortunately, the Kremlin lacks sufficient revolutionary fervor to finance the work of a Trotskyist organization like the SL. Professional Russia-hater Dornan repeatedly insulted and heckled the invited SL speaker. (In an earlier ABC program racist pig Dornan had baited Soviet spokesman Vladimir Posner as a "disloyal, betraying little Jew.") Comrade Seymour concluded: "We aspire to create a Soviet America. Not through this fictitious notion of a coup, but through an uprising of the American working class and the black and minority poor in this country."

Won't Play in Peoria

Amerika may end up scaring a lot of people into realizing that the "Evil Empire" Reagan gang that inspired this demented war propaganda is just crazy enough to push the nuclear button. After all, it was conceived as their response to *The Day After*, a widely viewed anti-nuclear-war movie about Kansas City after The Bomb was dropped, aired on ABC in 1983. Former Nixon speech writer, columnist Ben Stein called on ABC to make a movie showing that Soviet occupation of the U.S. would be far worse than being reduced to irradiated rubble. The idea was pushed by Reed Irvine, sinister, ultraright founder of the witchhunting outfit Accuracy in Media and its offshoot, Accuracy in Academia (see page 3). At a 1984 ABC stockholders meeting Irvine called for an investigation into whether the station's "facilities had been used to disseminate Soviet propaganda."

Conceived when Reagan was "standing tall," *Amerika* was intended as old-time Russkie-bashing. The Soviet prime minister who presides over the occupation of the U.S. was originally called "Gropeichev." But today Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev probably has more credibility with the American people than Reagan. Everybody knows Reagan's "We begin bombing in five minutes" line was no joke. In the 14 February issue of the *Nation*, Andrew Kopkind tells how the audience at a 90-minute preview screening last December howled at this line from *Amerika*: "we know a lot more about disinformation campaigns now than we did then."

Far from rallying the patriotic anti-Soviet war spirit of white middle America, *Amerika* has everyone from the Quakers to Nebraskans for Peace to the Grey Panthers up in arms, picketing, holding teach-ins and demanding equal time from ABC. TV talk-show host David Letterman quipped that *Amerika* shows how boring and oppressive this country would be if it was run by ABC. Right-wing "born again" détentenik Ted Turner compares it to films made by the Nazis "to turn the German people against the Jews." Turner's WTBS super-station is showing a full week of anti-*Amerika* programs hosted by Christie Brinkley and featuring the Soviet-made film *Letters from a Dead Man*, about the nightmare aftermath of nuclear holocaust. Phil Donahue hosted a week-long series of broadcasts from the Soviet Union. The cable network Discovery Channel has scheduled 66 hours of Soviet-produced programs to air at the same time as *Amerika*.

Even certified war criminals like Jeane Kirkpatrick, Alexander Haig and none other than Bob McFarlane protested *Amerika*'s portrayal of United Nations "peacekeeping" troops as the Russians' occupying army. Despite the frequent UN-bashing from Democrats and Republicans alike, they *need* these gendarmes for preserving the imperialist status quo, from "UN" troops in Korea to the UNIFIL border guards for Israel. Meantime the UN is considering suing ABC for using its insignia on the flag of Soviet-occupied "Amerika." The Spartacist protesters carried signs proclaiming: "Lenin Called the League of Nations a Den of Thieves" and "We Call the UN a Gang of Imperialist Robbers and Their Victims!"

Amerika attacks everyone who does not subscribe to the white Christian bible-thumping bigotry of the Moral Majority disciples of anti-Soviet nuclear Armageddon. Practically the only blacks and Latins in the movie are part of the Soviet occupying troops. In scenes reminiscent of Margaret Mitchell's racist, pro-slavocracy *Gone With the Wind*, black, Hispanic and Vietnamese troops terrorize the population, pillaging and raping white women. In the original script, one woman says she was raped by "an Angolan, two South Americans...and a Vietnamese. I always thought he was Vietnamese—but it's hard to tell them apart, you know." Women who are not sufficiently imbued with the *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* mentality of Phyllis Schlafly are also among the main "traitors" in *Amerika*; most of them make a career for themselves by screwing Soviet and East German generals and turning in their children to be brainwashed.

We doubt that *Amerika* will play in Peoria. Farmers, traditionally upheld as the backbone of middle America, might find collectivization an appealing alternative to the bankers and Reagan tax

continued on page 14

Young Spartacus

Melanie Yun, above, led ultra-rightist attempt to break up Harvard Spartacist forum, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution," in November 1981. "How much did Poland's fat bosses pay you?" demanded this officer of government-funded Kennedy School. Today, imperialist operative defending Reaganite soap opera Amerika hurls accusation that SL receives "Moscow gold."

Amerika...

(continued from page 13)

men who are driving them off their land. An ABC promo describes life in *Amerika*: "America is a land depressed and in mounting disarray. Against a background of aging autos, propaganda posters and people increasingly dressed as refugees... many of the country's youth engage in vandalism, drunkenness and drugs." This is a *benign* description of what life is *really* like in Reagan's America. Standing in line for tomatoes? Today thousands stand in line for rotting Velveeta cheese. Foodstuffs in short supply? Just look at any inner city where the poor are rooting through garbage bins. And the *hundreds of thousands* of homeless huddling over subway gratings for heat in the frigid winter. Nothing in fictional *Amerika* can compare to this.

The "Who Lost Vietnam?" Witchhunt

In *Amerika* the U.S. goes down to the Soviets not with a bang but a whimper. One of the main characters, Devin Milford (played by Kris Kristofferson), says: "It has happened subtly. We did not lose it on the field of battle—we lost it in our hearts. We lost it with our loss of purpose, our loss of vision. We lost it with our lack of courage and faith in our democratic system." Like the "Who Lost China?" purges of 1950s-vintage McCarthyism, the Reaganites came to office pushing "Who Lost Vietnam, Iran and Nicaragua?" This right-wing litany of the "enemy within" was intended to be the basis for a new witchhunt that would steel the national will for anti-Soviet war. The message of *Amerika* is that everyone from weak-kneed liberal pacifists to blacks to feminists to secular humanists sapped the moral strength of the nation and "lost America."

America's imperialist rulers can't accept that they were *defeated on the battlefield* by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. Kennedy thought he could overthrow Castro with a ragtag bunch of gusanos and CIA hitmen. Reagan thinks that his Nicaraguan contra mercenaries, a bunch of losers

ABC

Scene from ABC's Amerika. Spartacists say: Lincoln freed the chattel slaves, Lenin freed the wage slaves!

Kristofferson who was recently arrested at a no-nuke protest, proclaims his opposition to U.S. support to the contras and traveled to Moscow for Gorbachev's peace meet. Actor Sam Neill says he would be "distraught" if the show turns out to be "another piece of anti-Soviet propaganda." All say they first turned it down. So why did they sign up? Because the liberals and social democrats share the anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism which has been at the heart of U.S. imperialism's Cold War policy ever since WWII. In the 1940s they opened the door for McCarthyism by purging reds from the unions. They only started to protest in the '50s when the witchhunters started lining liberals up in their sights. Now they're getting a taste of the new Reagan/Meese McCarthyism and they're scared. But Cold War II didn't start with Reagan. Much of *Amerika*'s "moral rearmament" message harks back to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade.

For a Communist America!

Unlike the liberals who worry about being tarred with the brush of "Communism" we proudly defend the Soviet workers state. As we said in announcing our protests against *Amerika*: "The

Culver Pictures

American troops invade Russia in 1919 seeking to crush workers revolution.

capable only of raping, killing and torturing women and children, are going to overthrow the Sandinistas. The people who run their dirty "covert" wars out of the White House basement can't conceive of a *popular* war—that entire peoples are prepared to fight to the finish to free themselves from U.S. imperialism and its puppets. And the New Right ideologues go into paroxysms of paranoia over the fact that a "peace movement" led by what they consider traitors and Soviet agents and dupes can win mass support at home. Their conclusion, mirrored in *Amerika*, is that this is a nation of sheep. So they try to create a climate of fear, intimidation and crazed anti-Sovietism in order to regiment the American population for war.

While the liberals are up in arms over *Amerika*, curiously the script was written by Donald Wrye, a self-described Kennedy liberal and anti-Vietnam War protester. It stars Kris Trotskyists of the Spartacist League stand in the revolutionary internationalist tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks. While '*Amerika*' invents a Russian invasion of the U.S., the U.S. *did* invade Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. We honor Trotsky's Red Army which defeated the invading imperialist armies from 14 countries." And in his remarks on WABC's "Morning Show," SL spokesman Seymour pointed out: "The Soviet spokesman noted that unlike this fictional account, the United States did invade Russia in 1918, and again in 1922. Why? [commotion] To crush the greatest working-class revolution in history, a working-class revolution which inspired the world, and [was] the greatest defeat for world capitalism."

A Russian invasion of the United States, the perennial bugaboo of the far right, is patently absurd. Even *Amerika* producer/director/writer Wrye says he doesn't believe the basic premise of his film. But the U.S. has concrete plans to invade the Soviet Union. Indeed, the plot cooked up by ABC screenwriters for *Amerika* could have been taken straight from the Pentagon's 1948 "Bushwacker" plan which detailed war plans for American occupation of the USSR. According to CUNY physics professor Dr. Michio Kaku, who obtained a copy under the Freedom of Information Act, "Bushwacker" begins with the nuking of 20 Soviet cities. Then comes "de-communisation" of the USSR, hunting down Soviet officials and throwing them in concentration camps.

> "Phase Three would be the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, just like *Amerika* talks about the dismemberment of America. Then Phase Four is working with collaborators.... The difference here is that Operation Bushwacker was drafted by professional soldiers with the permission of President Truman and with the wishes of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."
> —WNYC, 16 February

Bushwacker was also known as "NSC 20/1," since it was drawn up by the National Security Council. Today under Reagan the NSC is still at it.

Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership are understandably upset over the hysterical war propaganda being aired over American TV. First they tried to pressure ABC into dropping *Amerika*; then they sought broadcast rights, to show the Russian population the lies the American people are being fed (ABC refused). In order to whip up war fever in the U.S., the Reaganauts portray the conservative Moscow bureaucracy as bent on world conquest. But the Kremlin Stalinists are perennially looking for "peaceful coexistence" with the crazed Cold Warriors in the White House. To defend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution requires that these conquests be *extended*, not only to the peoples of Afghanistan beset by Islamic feudalists armed and paid by the CIA, but to the working people and oppressed internationally. The Spartacist demonstrators protesting ABC's *Amerika* carried signs proclaiming, "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" and "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!"

Amerika is an attempt by the rulers of this country to project their own totalitarian fantasies onto Communism. Concentration camps? They're ready and waiting to be filled under NSDD 52, as part of a Reagan/Meese plan to round up and imprison 400,000 "illegal aliens" upon a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, just like thousands of Japanese Americans were incarcerated behind barbed wire during World War II. The present rulers of America would like to impose a new McCarthyism, only this time with lie detectors in addition to loyalty oaths. Big Brother is already at work, as the Meese police invade the bedrooms of America, make workers pee into Dixie cups and terrorize the ghettos in their drug witchhunt. As for brainwashing, how about *fourteen-and-one-half hours* of this truly Orwellian anti-Sovietism?

The Reaganites' moronic anti-Communist soap opera isn't exactly capturing the hearts and minds of the population. After six years of Reaganism, a lot of people are fed up with their arrogant and increasingly isolated rulers. Reagan hates everybody, and these days the feeling's mutual. *Amerika* to the contrary, there exists within this country a powerful will to resist tyranny and oppression... of the present cynical and deeply corrupt rulers. The anger, the economic desperation, the sense of injustice could spark big class struggles. What's needed to weld together the potential militancy of the multiracial working class with the ghetto and all the oppressed is a party of the kind the Bolsheviks created in tsarist Russia. We Spartacists are dedicated to building the party to lead the third American revolution that will emancipate all the world from the chains of poverty, immiseration and war. ■

Chicago Elections...

(continued from page 16)

announced mass evictions of the poor from public housing and done nothing to stop racist terror in Segregation City. And for this his re-election bid has been endorsed by both mouthpieces of big business, the *Sun-Times* and the union-busting *Chicago Tribune*.

All of Boss Daley's Children

But Washington's racist opponents are not pacified. As the election nears, the tattered remnants of the white Democratic Machine are once again engaged in a desperate scramble to defeat the black mayor. The bigots' City Council leader, "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, has laid down their rallying cry in '87: "anyone [white] but Harold." But they have a problem deciding who the great white anyone will be.

Ex-mayor Jane Byrne's been running for two years, especially courting the Hispanic vote, which could be crucial in a racially polarized election. Vrdolyak has jumped in and out of the Democratic primary, and then filed as a mayoral candidate for the "Solidarity Party." One John Bilski is running against Vrdolyak because "the term Solidarity belongs to the Polish people, and you don't have anyone Polish running." Meanwhile, other remnants of the old Daley Machine are fielding Cook County assessor Thomas Hynes on the "Chicago First Party."

Despite the apparent fracturing and complex maneuvering, all wings of Chicago's Democratic organization agree to their party's main task: to administer the city on behalf of the La Salle Street bankers and industrial capitalists who *really* run this city. From Washington to Vrdolyak, they are carrying on the work of Boss Daley's Democratic Machine, which is where they *all* got their start. And they all, including Washington, honor the memory of Boss Daley, a racist pig who ordered his police to "shoot to kill" during the ghetto unrest following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968.

Fifty years of Democratic Party ethnic/patronage rule made Chicago the nasty segregated hellhole it is today. For 30 years, Harold Washington served the Machine, faithfully delivering the black vote for the determined enemies of black liberation. But in '83 Washington rode into office on a wave of massive revulsion against the racist stunts of "Crazy Jane" Byrne's administration. Washington's "it's our turn" demagogy struck a wellspring of hope in the black population, as expectations here and nationwide soared.

We told the truth about Washington's election. In an article entitled "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," we wrote:

> "As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."
> —*WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983

And he did it.

Harold Washington Did Betray Black Chicago

Under Washington, Segregation City has experienced an *increase* in black oppression and racist terror, and a *decrease* in living standards for poor and working people. Washington has laid off some 8,000 black and white city workers at a time when black unemployment runs well over 25 percent. Anywhere from a quarter to a third of the city lives below the government's miser-

able "poverty line." In a city with 25-30,000 homeless and 20,000 families waiting for public housing, the Chicago Housing Authority announces a "get tough" policy and openly plans mass evictions! The bourgeoisie has its eyes on the prime real estate occupied by the CHA's sordid and dangerous Cabrini Green high-rises: even dangerous and dilapidated public housing is "too good" for the black and poor residents when there are enormous profits to be made out of Cabrini's ashes.

The bourgeoisie relies on Washington to put organized labor in its place, and the mayor has shown himself eager to comply. When the Chicago Teachers Union—which is half black—struck in 1983 shortly after Washington was elected, their strike was branded as "racist" by the school board and Washington's supporters like the Chicago *Defender* newspaper. Operation PUSH, run by Washington backer Jesse Jackson, engaged in open strikebreaking by trying to set up scab schools.

Having supported Washington in the 1983 election hasn't helped the mainly black Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals in the Chicago Transit Authority: in late '83 Washington personally muscled through the state legislature a piece of legislation (House Bill 1805) which stole ATU members' pension money, wiped out COLA, introduced part-timers and dictated the terms of the contract. Currently, transit workers are working without a contract, as Washington seeks even more concessions and the pro-capitalist union tops are crawling to avoid a strike on the eve of the election.

Yet even after four years of administering Segregation City, Washington is still being hailed by an army of reformist fake-lefts eager to portray his administration as "the mass movement toward democracy" (Manning Marable in *Black Scholar*, November-December 1986). Only now that Washington has proven his worth to the enemies of labor and blacks, it's gotten tougher to sell him as the "people's mayor." Unable to point to any real advances for black and proletarian Chicago, rad-lib papers like the *Guardian* and *In These Times* have found themselves echoing capitalist praise for Washington's "budget-balancing" layoffs!

Even the slavishly reformist *Workers World* (15 January) has been forced to admit that "the Washington administration has not fundamentally altered the quality of life in Chicago." But that didn't stop these cretins from claiming in the next breath that "a vote for Washington is a vote for a united struggle for jobs, housing, medical care, education and equality." According to *Workers World*, then, the *Sun-Times* and union-busting *Tribune* have joined the "united struggle" against racism.

The Communist Party's *People's Daily World*, meanwhile, has practically become an election daily for Washington. Arguing that he deserved the endorsement of the Chicago Federation of Labor (which he eventually received), the paper's columnist Herb Kaye asked rhetorically: "can the officials of the multi-racial and multi-national labor movement bypass an endorsement without going against its own best interests?" (*People's Daily World*, 29 January). Needless to say, the CP press ignores the Washington administration's anti-labor moves against transit workers, teachers, *Tribune* strikers and USX pickets.

The real interests of the multiracial labor movement demand a break with the Democratic Party, which provides the black front men (like Washington, Detroit's Coleman Young, Philadelphia's Wilson Goode) for Reagan's attack on the working people and ghetto poor. The potential for labor/black struggle was dramatically demonstrated by Chicago transit workers in August 1985. Over 700 black and white ATU members marched on police headquarters to demand that charges be dropped against David Johnson, a black bus driver framed up on manslaughter charges after an unavoidable accident. They faced down the notoriously racist Chicago police and freed their union brother. That kind of labor/black power must be unleashed against Klan/Nazi terror, against union-busting and against the bosses of Segregation City, in the forging of a revolutionary workers party. ■

WV Photo

August 1985—The power of labor/black action: mobilization of Chicago transit workers stopped frame-up of black union brother David Johnson.

UPI NY Daily News Amsterdam News

We will not forget Michael Griffith, Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, black victims of racist terror.

New York...

(continued from page 16)

performed by Dr. Gross, the ghoulish NYC coroner—eerily recalled the 1983 choke-hold/bludgeon murder of young black artist Michael Stewart by a mob of transit police.

The day after the Howard Beach indictments, all three NYC tabloids headlined "An American Tragedy," echoing the words of the Queens judge at the bail hearing. Murdoch's rabid *Post* raved about the "Court Shocker"—not the racist murder but the "17-yr.-old informer" Robert Riley, the "teen who turned in his pals." The *Times* gushed grotesque sympathy for the racist killers and their families, variously described as "role model" employees, "nice boy from a good family," etc. But for the black victims, including the dead Michael Griffith, it was obscene character assassination, digging up decade-old arrests and asking "why three of them ended up in Howard Beach"! Racist mayor Koch's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward chimed in that he thought "the black-white issue here is played up more by the press than it should be"!! From the beginning, the Howard Beach lynching has been an American *travesty*, a bloody outrage in a history of racist injustice.

On January 21, the Transit Authority released the report of its "special counsel," retired federal judge Harold Tyler, which for the first time officially admitted that Michael Stewart died in police custody. For three and a half years there was a solid "blue wall of silence" denying any official wrongdoing in Stewart's death. An all-white jury let the cops off, all remain on the force and one was promoted. But as the city heated up over the Howard Beach lynching, they felt they had to go through the motions of "investigating." The Tyler report concludes that "Mr. Stewart had stopped breathing, at the latest, during the ride to Bellevue," and a cop's contrary claim was "willfully false." So he was DOA, *yet for 13 days they had a dead man hooked up to a respirator in order to cover up the killer cops' crime.* But for all the chilling details, the report made no recommendations. At most one of these perpetrators in uniform will now face a departmental reprimand for not following "TA procedure."

In the Bronx, the "trial" of cop Sullivan, triggerman in the 1984 "eviction by murder" of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, is almost over. Day after day, the dead victim is portrayed as a "knife-wielding psychotic" who "endangered" the Emergency Services Unit cops who kicked in her apartment door. The defense and "prosecution" engage in a macabre debate over whether the old woman could still hold a knife after Sullivan's first shot left her hand a "bloody stump," according to the emergency room doctor. Mary Bumpurs, the victim's daughter, is a daily witness to this obscene racist spectacle and a target for Sullivan's attorney who has tried to blame her for her mother's death. Mary told a *WV* reporter she had to disconnect her phone after repeated racist harassment. The entire proceeding is a sham designed to ensure that the killer cop goes free. Prisoners in Attica have petitioned the Bronx D.A.'s office to "vigorously prosecute" Sullivan. Lock Sullivan up in Attica and throw away the key!

In the wake of the indictments of the Howard Beach lynchers, the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee is demanding U.S. attorney Giuliani enter the case. These calls for state and federal prosecutors are the '80s version of the 1960s liberal civil rights movement call on the Democratic Kennedy administration to send U.S. marshals into the South. But the intervention of one or another wing of the bourgeois state will not defend black people; as freedom marchers experienced, troops were brought into Little Rock and Birmingham only when blacks began to arm themselves in self-defense against racist terror. The absurdity of illusions in the Democratic Party was seen recently in Forsyth County, Georgia where Democratic Atlanta city councilman Hosea Williams led the black marchers, Democratic governor Joe Frank Harris called in the National Guard, and Democratic ex-governor Lester Maddox stood with the racists!

Koch's killer cops are on the loose, stealing quarters from homeless panhandlers at pistol point, shooting motorists over a parking space, beating up Hispanic women on the subways. There is widespread anger in this city over the arrogant police and a burning desire in the ghettos and working-class neighborhoods for justice, to avenge the countless victims of racist terror. If ever there was a case of premeditated murder, the Howard Beach lynching is it: a pack of racist hoods screaming, "There's some niggers in the pizza parlor. Let's go kill them!" But of the three accused killers of Michael Griffith, Riley is angling for reduced charges in exchange for talking and ringleader Lester is in "protective custody" in a Dutchess County jail. Even they are only charged with second-degree murder, and already Cuomo's special prosecutor Hynes is making noises like he's prepared to settle for manslaughter. There is no justice for black people in the racist courts.

Following the Howard Beach lynching, the Spartacist League issued an urgent call to "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" (reprinted in *WV* No. 419, 9 January). Militant subway workers of the Committee for a Fighting TWU demanded that the transit union take the lead in bringing out NYC labor against racist terror, to form a "caravan of flat-bed trucks filled with integrated union defense squads," to ensure that the streets of New York City are safe for all working people. The martyred dead will not be avenged by "special prosecutors" like Hynes, who turned a deaf ear to those who tried to expose the cover-up of the cop murder of Michael Stewart. It will take a political fight leading to a victorious proletarian revolution to rid this country of the race-terrorists in and out of uniform. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Labor/Minority Struggle to Smash Racist Backlash

Chicago: Segregation City Elections

Ebony

Mayor Harold Washington and Jane Byrne (left).

CHICAGO—The upcoming February 24 Democratic mayoral primary here comes in the midst of a wave of racist terror across Reagan's America, from New York's Howard Beach to Chicago's Marquette Park. Last summer the Ku Klux Klan mobilized 3,000 rabid race-haters in a violent racist rally to keep Marquette Park lily-white. Black mayor Harold Washington told blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays and all targets of the fascists to ignore the Klan rally even though his white racist opponents on the City Council inspired it. Washington's cops enforced his "advice" by beating up and arresting blacks and leftists who sought to counter the KKK mobilization. The deadly attacks of the following weekend—racist murder in the suburb of Zion, midnight firebombing of a black-owned house in white Gage Park—showed that ignoring race-terror is a program of suicide.

A nationwide fascist resurgence has targeted Chicago for race war. Three years of "council wars"—challenging every mayoral appointment, contesting control of every important city board—have fueled the race-terrorists' drive in the streets. The KKK/Nazi fascists suffered a body blow on 27 June 1982, when 3,000 people spiked a planned Nazi provocation against the annual gay pride march. Initiated by the Spartacist League, that mass labor/black united front drove the Nazis out of Lincoln Park and kept them off the streets of Chicago for three years. Now, however, the KKK/Nazis have the wind in their sails with the Marquette Park victory of last June. A massive mobilization by Chicago's huge proletarian and black population could have swept these scum off the streets. The 1987 mayoral election has all the potential for sparking the kind of racist mobilization that flared up in 1983—but worse.

WV Photo

When Chicago Teachers Union struck in 1983, Washington supporters denounced strike as "racist."

Washington narrowly won the 1983 Democratic primary and mayoral election amidst a vicious racist backlash instigated by white Machine politicians. Howling racist mobs greeted Washington when he attempted to campaign in white neighborhoods. Cops conspired to arrest black voters *en masse* on election day. When Washington won the February primary—the real mayoral election in this Democratic city—the white Democratic ward heelers threw their support to the Republican candidate. The attempt to deny Washington the prerogatives of his office was carried into the City Council, where a racist majority challenged and obstructed every mayoral appointment or proposal. The Spartacist League denounced the dangerous and racist "stop Washington" drive, asserting, "Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office" (see "Jane Byrne, You Lost!" *WV* No. 326, 25 March 1983).

At the same time we refused to give one ounce of political support to this long-time Machine Democrat. In contrast, Washington's backers range from national Democratic Party leaders Mondale and Jesse Jackson and the AFL-CIO hureaucracy to the local black estahlishment and a slew of fake-left outfits. Typically, the left-liberal *New Alliance* (6 February) claims: "Washington's stunning grassroots victory in 1983 ignited an unprecedented wave of reform in a city more famous for machine politics and patronage than fairness." Reform?! The Washington administration has broken strikes,

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Racist Murder in "Up South" New York

WV Photo

Spartacist League and NY Labor Black League protest racist terror, January 12.

On February 10, three of the dozen-plus mob of racist lynchers from the Howard Beach section of Queens were charged with the murder of black, 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith. Nine more of the white punks face charges ranging from manslaughter to inciting to riot. The racist gang had surrounded the three blacks as they emerged from a pizza shop in the lily-white enclave last December 20, hounded them through the streets savagely beating them with baseball hats, and then, as underlined by new evidence, chased Griffith directly into the path of an oncoming car on the Shore Parkway where he was killed. When only three of the killers were charged with nothing more than "reckless endangerment" in this hideous lynching, public outrage escalated. New York City was at the flashpoint, and to take the heat off, NY governor Cuomo appointed a special prosecutor, Charles Hynes, who got a grand jury to bring in the murder indictments.

The liberal black weekly *City Sun* (11 February) proclaimed that this "vindicated" the appeals of the black victims' lawyers Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason to Cuomo. But the system of New York-style racist capitalist "justice" is still at work. The very next day another black man died in the custody of the NYPD. At about 4 a.m. on February 12, black transit worker Wajid Abdul-Salaam was arrested after pounding on the door of a home in Forest Hills, Queens shouting for help. Eight cops dragged Abdul-Salaam off, hands and feet manacled and bound together with tape behind his back, and threw him in jail. It is not known how long he lay unconscious in his cell because the 112th Precinct isn't talking. But the cops' M.O.—from hog-tying the "struggling" black man to the autopsy

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 423

6 March 1987

Labor, Minorities Need a Fighting Workers Party!

Watergate–Reagangate

Imperial Presidency in Crisis

The American ruling class has concluded that Ronald Reagan may continue to reign as president, but he can no longer rule. The Tower Commission, originally appointed to "investigate" the operations of a runaway National Security Council, came back with a damning report that in diplomatic language indicted the entire administration. "Chaos" had descended on the White House, the president "didn't understand" what was going on in the Iran/contra affair, the "legal underpinning" for the arms shipments to Teheran via Israel was "at best highly questionable," and the whole "private" contra supply operation run out of the NSC was an elaborate attempt to get around a Congressional prohibition. Above all, the Reaganauts' schemes, each more bizarre than the next, failed miserably. The Commission ludicrously called the whole business an "aberration." But all wings of the bourgeoisie agree that drastic measures have to be taken to clean up the mess.

The United States, which proclaims itself leader of the "Free World," has been made a laughingstock, and ever since the scandal broke, paralysis has set in. European imperialist allies refer to the "black hole in Washington." Under the headline "Wanted: a Leader," the *Los Angeles Times* (13 February) editorialized on behalf of the American bourgeois establishment: "Someone needs to seize control of the White House, and there is just one person who can do it: Ronald Reagan." But Reagan evidently can't, and that puts U.S. rulers in a dilemma. On CBS' *Face the Nation* news program, former Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie spoke for all three panel members, saying they were

Actualidad Española

Tasnadi/AP

Tricky Dick run out of town. Now it's bedtime for Bonzo.

"appalled by the absence of the kind of alertness and vigilance to his job and to these policies that one expects of a president." Muskie's devastating conclusion: "We do not regard him as a mental case, but we regard him as a person who didn't do his job."

There is an acute political crisis at the pinnacle of U.S. capitalism, which could quickly spread through the imperialist alliance. Yet capitalism will not fall by itself, and there are other programs to "solve" the crisis. General Haig has declared his candidacy for president, saying if he is elected "nobody, but nobody, will ever ask you who is in charge" in the White House (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 March)! And while Reagan's contras are still spreading death and destruction around the globe, the racist terrorists carry out their bloody terror at home—from lynch mobs in Howard Beach, Queens and Forsyth County, Georgia to night-riding firebombers in Marquette Park, Chicago. But there have also been substantial countermobilizations to KKK terror, including in such unlikely places as Louisville, Kentucky and Maryland's Eastern Shore. With the government in turmoil, now is the time for the working class and oppressed to

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Black Outrage Over Tampa Choke-Hold Cops

Ledford/St. Petersburg Times

AP

East Tampa burns with black anger against killer cops' murder of black youth, assault on NY Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden (right).

On the night of February 18, Tampa police strangled the life out of 23-year-old Melvin Hair, making him the latest black victim of the wave of racist Klan/cop terror sweeping Reagan's America. A day later, black East Tampa exploded, outraged over the choke-hold murder and a city report released that same day whitewashing the Tampa cops' brutal beating of New York Mets star pitcher and hometown hero Dwight Gooden. Hundreds of black youth fought a running battle with police, hurling rocks and bottles filled with gasoline as numerous fires were set. Cops in riot gear sealed off a five-block area of East Tampa and police helicopters circled overhead. The next night, black Tampa was still burning. Fourteen blacks were arrested on charges ranging from looting to assault.

Melvin Hair's mother had called police to take her son to the crisis center of Hillsborough County, because her son required medication. Police arrived and dragged him down the steps of his apartment building. Betty Johnson, a friend of the family

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Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Canada Slams Door on Salvadorans

TORONTO—On February 20, hundreds of desperate Latin Americans, refugees from death squad terror in El Salvador and Guatemala who are now fleeing the U.S. government's racist crackdown on "illegal aliens," found the Canadian border closed by the decree of Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa. Following approval by the U.S. Congress last October of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform" act, aimed at deporting several million undocumented foreign-born workers, thousands have looked to Canada as their last resort. Facing impossible U.S. requirements for documents, fired by slave-labor employers who have been threatened with stiff fines for hiring "illegals" and looking at the death sentence of being shipped back home, they have been heading to the Canadian *El Norte*. Since the beginning of the year over 6,000 people have applied for refugee status in Canada, close to half of them from Central America. In response the Conservative government in Ottawa rushed through legislation denying entry.

Under the new measures all refugee claimants coming from the U.S. will be sent back until an immigration hearing is scheduled in Canada. That could take months, if not years, and meanwhile hundreds of these "bus people" are backed up in U.S. border towns such as Plattsburgh, NY. The Tory Employment and Immigration Minister Benoit Bouchard claimed that Washington would not deport refugees seeking asylum in Canada, but American INS Commissioner Alan Nelson declared that individuals "found to be deportable" would be processed accordingly. At the same time Bouchard has demanded documentary proof that all refugees are "genuine"—i.e., that they will be killed if deported.

WV Photo

Spartacists in Los Angeles demonstrate against racist deportations.

In March, the government plans to introduce a bill that will limit the stay of refugee claimants in Canada to 72 hours during which time they will be held in detention centers. All refugees will be deported if immigration officials consider that they "may have had an opportunity" for asylum in another country or even if they "had safe refuge in a refugee camp in some Third World country" ([Toronto] *Globe and Mail*, 21 February).

Some critics have sought to portray Canada's new immigration decrees as a departure from its "humanitarian past." On the contrary, up until the 1960s Canada had a virtual whites-only immigration policy. During World War II they sealed the borders to Jews desperately trying to flee Hitler's concentration camps. But after the war the doors were opened to thousands of Nazi executioners. Last summer, 155 Tamil refugees, fleeing the terror of Sri Lanka and virtual concentration camp conditions in West Germany, risked their lives in a three-week nightmare voyage to get asylum in Canada. Reaching Canadian shores after being rescued from overcrowded lifeboats by Newfoundland fishermen, they were met with a racist backlash whipped up by the bourgeois media and politicians.

A reporter from Ottawa commented: "There is a suspicion that the [Canadian] government's swift reaction to the refugee problem, now that it involves Central Americans, reflects an effort to please the Reagan administration" (WBAI News, 23 February). The campaign against Latin American immigration is closely linked to the fear of revolution in America's "backyard." Most recently raids by immigration cops on the homes of Tamil refugees in Toronto have driven home the link between the racism and anti-communism which is the heart of the "illegal aliens" scare. After their apartments were ransacked Tamils were warned by immigration officers, "As refugees you should not read communist books" (*Canadian Tribune*, 2 March).

Scandalously, last summer it was Ed Broadbent, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, who demanded a "tougher look at all our immigration procedures" to prevent "abuse" by "quick buck artists." And the Tory government's racist crackdown against Latin American refugees is not going down very well with the public. Demonstrations were held at the Fort Erie "Peace Bridge" border and Montreal churches have provided shelter and advice to refugees in defiance of the legal consequences. There has even been talk of extending the U.S. sanctuary movement's "underground railway" network north to Canada.

At the height of the anti-Tamil hysteria last August, the Trotskyist League of Canada distributed thousands of special supplements of *Spartacist Canada*, headlined "Stop the Racist Backlash! Political Asylum for All Tamil Refugees!" at plant gates, in minority neighborhoods and to unionists at Labor Day marches. Fighting the racist immigration policies of the imperialists means building a proletarian internationalist party of world socialist revolution to free working people and the oppressed, from El Salvador to Sri Lanka to North America. It is to this task that the international Spartacist tendency is dedicated. ■

TROTSKY

Celebrate International Women's Day!

Seventy years ago, on International Women's Day, 8 March 1917, the women textile workers of Petrograd led a demonstration of 90,000 that signaled the end of 300 years of tsarist autocracy and the beginning of the Russian Revolution. On the second anniversary of the Soviet victory Lenin reported what that revolution meant to women:

LENIN

In the course of two years of Soviet power in one of the most backward countries of Europe more has been done to emancipate woman, to make her the equal of the "strong" sex, than has been done during the past 130 years by all the advanced, enlightened, "democratic" republics of the world taken together.

Education, culture, civilisation, freedom—all these high-sounding words are accompanied in all the capitalist, bourgeois republics of the world with incredibly foul, disgustingly vile, bestially crude laws that make women unequal in marriage and divorce, that make the child born out of wedlock and the "legally born" child unequal and that give privileges to the male and humiliate and degrade womankind....

Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality *for all*, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry. Instead of freedom for all, instead of equality for all, let there be *struggle* against the oppressors and exploiters, *let the opportunity* to oppress and exploit *be abolished*. That is our slogan!

Freedom and equality for the oppressed sex!

Freedom and equality for the workers and labouring peasants!

—V. I. Lenin, "Soviet Power and the Status of Women," November 1919

Letter

How ILA Backed Down Jim Crow

Oakland, CA
1/6/87

Dear comrades,

WV's recent article on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in *WV* 417 was excellent. The following story is another example of the ILA's key role in the fight against Jim Crow racism in the South.

In the summer of 1965, I was in Gulfport, Mississippi doing civil rights work with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Longshore union literally stood between us and racist violence.

One of SNCC's main activities was fighting to integrate restaurants, which refused to serve blacks. Our method was to enter a popular coffee shop with an integrated team and try to get served. After we were denied service, we organized several hundred demonstrators and picketed the restaurant daily. And each day a larger mob of racists surrounded us, spitting, shoving and screaming obscenities.

In the midst of this escalating situation, the black Gulfport ILA local intervened. They had a meeting with the mayor and Chief of Police. They laid down the line saying if any of us were arrested or injured, the ILA would strike and shut down the port.

It worked! Not only were we *not* arrested or beat up, but the restaurants began to serve blacks. It was an impressive demonstration of how the power of labor could be brought to bear on the struggle for black liberation.

Comradely,
Diana C.

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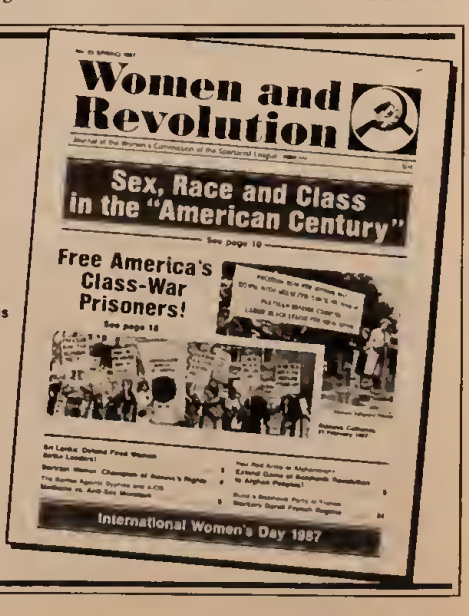

Angry Protest Over Murder of Black Grandmother

NYC Killer Cop Sullivan Walks

On February 26, more than 150 angry protesters, overwhelmingly black, demonstrated outside Bronx Supreme Court after killer cop Stephen Sullivan was acquitted in a racist sham "trial." Sullivan was the triggerman in the 1984 eviction-by-murder of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs. Before announcing the verdict, Judge Fred Eggert ordered cops to eject supporters of the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee who protested the exclusion of hundreds of blacks while white off-duty cops packed the spectators' seats. As the protesters were carried out, the crowd jamming the hallways chanted, "We say guilty!"

Inside the courtroom, the cops erupted in applause at the "not guilty" verdict. An elderly black man shouted out "Heil Hitler!" Mrs. Bumpurs' daughter Mary later summed up the "trial": "If you're black get back. You have no rights." In the demonstration, Spartacist supporters' signs proclaimed, "Vengeance for Victims of Koch's Killer Cops!" "Jail Killer Cop Sullivan! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!" "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Fuels Racist Lynch Mob Terrorists!" and "Remember Michael Griffith and Willie Turks! Gun Control Kills Blacks!"

The courthouse, in the black and Hispanic South Bronx, was an armed camp. Hundreds of cops ringed the block and manned nearby rooftops; a police helicopter hovered overhead.

Wilford Harewood

Protest outside Bronx courthouse February 26: Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs! Jail Killer Cop Sullivan!

Hundreds of additional police waited at nearby Yankee Stadium. Civilians entering the courtroom were screened by metal detectors and police dogs sniffed for explosives. This blatant assertion of "police power," of cop bonapartism, has marked the case from the beginning. In February 1985, when Sullivan was first indicted, *10,000 armed NYPD cops* surrounded the courthouse—an ominous armed demonstration against *any* civilian control over the killer cops and their guns.

The police have taken the verdict as a license to kill. Sullivan went on TV and vowed he'd do it again, while PBA president Phil Caruso crowed Sullivan was just "doing what he's paid to do." (Caruso also claims the recent ban on hog-tying prisoners is a violation of the PBA contract.) And two days after the killer cop walked they did it again, as eight cops cornered a black Muslim they said was carrying a lead pipe at 125th and Lenox in Harlem, and cut him down in a hail of bullets.

Taking their cue from Koch and his killer cops, the racists are increasingly taking to the streets. On February 26, a black family's home in Crown Heights, Brooklyn was firebombed. On Fehruary 22, blacks waiting for a bus in Bayside, Queens were chased and shot at by a racist, bat-wielding mob. On February 24, "former" KKK "imperial wizard" David Duke showed up outside City Hall, after grandstanding in front of the New Park Pizzeria in Howard Beach where the lynch mob murderers of Michael Griffith assembled last December 20. Duke is recruiting for his "National Association for the Advancement of White People" and claims dozens of members in the racist Howard Beach enclave. Last month, Duke was in the thick of the attack by hundreds of racists on a civil rights march in Forsyth County, Georgia. New York City is on the verge of a racist explosion and fascist scum like Duke want to light the match.

After Sullivan the cop was turned loose, Roger Warshaw, a spokesman for the Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee, said that under slavery the white masters "needed our labor." In 1987, he said, "black people have become a superfluous population." But while unemployment is sky-high in the ghetto, black workers do have power—as a key component of an integrated labor movement. The 37,000-strong Transport Workers Union (TWU), for example, is heavily black, and this city doesn't run without their labor. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU called for the formation of union defense guards to patrol the streets of Howard Beach, using labor's muscle to make them safe for all working people. The racist terrorists in and out of uniform must be stopped with labor/black mobilizations! ■

Black Teacher's Home Firebombed

Chicago Elections and Racist Terror

CHICAGO—As the white Machine Democrats whip up racist opposition to black Democratic mayor Harold Washington, they have inspired a wave of terror against blacks on the Southwest Side. On February 17, nightriders firebombed the home of black schoolteacher Dorothy Stirgus, who narrowly escaped with her life. Stirgus told *WV* she was watching TV in bed when she

WV Photo

Dorothy Stirgus barely escaped death in racist firebombing of her home.

heard a crash in the hallway. "I jumped out of bed and ran to the door.... When I pushed the door open I saw flames up and down my hall." Stirgus had to jump through the wall of fire to escape: "I didn't stop—I just ran!" The four racist punks arrested were only charged with aggravated arson and let out on the streets with incredibly low bail. Police initially labeled this attempt at racist murder as a "random act of vandalism"! The night before Stirgus' home was firebombed, a black Washington supporter in Marquette Park returned from an election rally to find his home defaced with racist slurs, "KKK" and swastikas.

These attacks came a week before the Democratic Party mayoral primary, as remnants of Boss Daley's Machine went all out to elect "anyone [white] but Harold." When a few dozen blacks from the South, led by Ben Chavis, came to Chicago on a "reverse freedom ride" to campaign for Washington, former mayor Jane Byrne denounced them as "carpetbaggers," the Ku Klux Klan's language for those who fought for black rights during Reconstruction. Washington won 96 percent of the black vote, and riding on the endorsements of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* (and the support of the LaSalle Street bankers) also captured 21 percent of the white vote. Narrowly defeating Byrne, Washington now faces a Republican college professor (who defeated Spanky the Clown in the GOP primary) and a white Democrat or two running on "independent" slates in the April 7 general election.

Four years ago Chicago blacks had illusions that Harold Washington would change "Segregation City." For many those illusions remain. But this time around Washington's campaign rarely ventured into the projects, "high-rise ghettos" like Cabrini Green and the Robert Taylor Homes. After four years of more racist terror, mass unemployment and police brutality, the tie of "black faces in high places" (cheered on by the reformist left and nationalists) is harder to sell. "It's just the same old same old," said Cabrini Green resident Charles Smith. In 1983, "we campaigned for Washington. Then we were constituents.... After they won, we became hoodlums, thugs and drifters hanging out in the projects" (*Sun-Times*, 8 February).

Harold Washington and the Democratic Party are and have always been defenders of the racist, capitalist system. Washington spent decades as a kept state legislator, and later Congressman, of Boss Daley's Machine. Today, with the Reagan gang on the ropes, the capitalist rulers of this country depend more than ever on black Democratic Party mayors like Harold Washington and Detroit's Coleman Young to check social struggle.

The KKK and Nazis have targeted Chicago blacks who break the "color bar" by moving across Western Avenue. The racist terrorists must be smashed by the organized power of labor and blacks, like the CTA transit workers and the 26,000-member Chicago Teachers Union. That same power must also be mobilized to fight the decimation of the industrial proletariat of the Midwest, as "smokestack" industries like auto and steel become rusting hulks. This requires an integrated, class-struggle workers party, forged in struggle against the union tops who keep labor and minorities chained to the Democrat/Dixiecrats and this racist, capitalist system.

The bosses like to call this state the "Land of Lincoln," but in Chicago it's clear that it is necessary to finish the Civil War! ■

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Reagangate...

(continued from page 1)

bring down Reagan through sharp class struggle!

Changing of the Guard

The day after the Tower report was issued, Don Regan was unceremoniously fired as White House chief of staff, informed of the event by a TV announcement of his successor. Regan, who had imperiously insisted on "micromanaging" everything in the White House, was variously referred to as "prime minister" and "the real president." But in trying to get Ronald Reagan out there reading his lines, Regan committed the cardinal sin of running afoul of Nancy Reagan. The First Lady who would be empress had insisted on keeping the president sealed off from the press, even trying to cancel the annual State of the Union speech. She cited medical reasons, and with a 76-year-old Reagan who's obviously not in touch she may have a point. But that doesn't help the imperialist bourgeoisie, which needs a functioning government. And one thing nobody proposes to do is to turn the store over to George Bush.

The appointment of "moderate" Republican former Senator Howard Baker as Regan's replacement was widely greeted with a sigh of relief by mainstream politicians. For a while it had looked like no one would take the job. But the *Wall Street Journal* (2 March), reflecting the forebodings of conservatives generally, was distraught over the "Baker regency," fearing that it could "effectively end the Reagan Doctrine,"

FitzPatrick/White House

McFarlane, Casey, Regan—the gang that couldn't lie straight.

nominee to head the CIA withdrew. As you can imagine, it's no easy job to find replacements: the only man they could find for Buchanan's job turns out to have been a member of a Nazi youth group. Meanwhile, North's secretary Fawn Hall is decidedly no Rosemary Woods; after vowing not to shred-and-tell, she's now talking to the special prosecutor in exchange for immunity from prosecution.

As the U.S. administration unravels, the turbulence in Washington is sending shock waves through the U.S.' "Free World" allies and surrogates. The split in the Nicaraguan contras reflects divisions between the State Department and the CIA...and the fact that the Sandinistas have won. "After this [Tower] report it's all over," says a U.S. official. "We need to start thinking about evacuating the *contras*" (*Time*, 9 March). In Britain, arch-Reaganite Maggie Thatcher, herself increasingly unpopular, is on the verge of calling elections. The French government is paralyzed in uneasy "cohabitation," with a rightist premier and "socialist"

Washington Post

Reagan with contra bosses and North.

the 28 percent maximum tax rate and Star Wars, thus endangering their president's "place in history." Baker was to be the great conciliator, who would orchestrate the cameo appearances of the Great Communicator. But the first day on the job he put his foot in his mouth, referring to Nancy Reagan as a "dragon."

Regan follows former CIA chief Casey, former National Security Adviser Poindexter and Lieutenant Colonel North. Already, Navy secretary John Lehman, deputy defense secretary Nestor Sánchez and White House propaganda boss Pat Buchanan headed for the door while they could still walk out. Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams will be "gone by summer," it's reported, and dozens of other high and middle-level administration officials are emptying their desk drawers. And in order to avoid a "Gatesgate" donnybrook with Congress, the White House president, battered by mass student protests and then a month-long rail strike that threatened to turn into a general walkout of labor. And Washington's chief NATO ally West Germany is torn between wanting an arms deal with Soviet leader Gorbachev and fears that an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles could lead to a U.S. pullout from Europe.

As the American political superstructure totters, the falling debris can't help but shake the economic house of cards on Wall Street. This administration, after all, is more closely identified with Big Money than any other in decades. And while the stock market has been soaring, it could quickly plummet—looking curiously like Reagan's ratings in the opinion polls. Swindling is rampant: the Boesky and "Yuppie Five" insider trading scams have been tracked to the top levels of the most prestigious brokerage houses. Billions are going into junk bonds as takeovers drive out productive investment. Added to the mammoth U.S. budget deficit and Latin American bank debt, this spells a disaster waiting to happen. Any financial shock could bring it all tumbling down. *Time* (9 March) warned that because of the mountain of debt, "in the event of recession...the resulting bankruptcies and attendant hardships would probably be more severe than during any downturn in recent memory."

Demise of the "Reagan Doctrine"

"If this report had been written by Robert Ludlum, it would make the fiction best seller list overnight. It's a report about a President out of touch and a President out of control." That was one Congressman's reaction to the Tower Commission's report. When Iran/Contragate first broke, Reagan had called up to thank his "American hero" Oliver North, remarking that the story would make a great film. But in 300-plus pages the Tower report lays out the script for a Laurel and Hardy comedy of errors. Cakes, bibles, pistols, planeloads of missiles listed as oil drilling equipment: the latest revelation was a scheme to ransom a hostage with $300,000 in chemically treated bills that would disintegrate after a couple of days! That one flopped, too. And while McFarlane/Poindexter/North are quoted disparaging the ayatollahs, the net result is that Khomeini has managed to bring down the Great Satan.

On whether he had authorized the first Israeli delivery of antitank missiles to Iran, Reagan first told the Commission he agreed with former NSC head McFarlane that he had approved it; then (on chief of staff Regan's orders) he denied he had okayed the shipment, and finally he sent a letter saying: "I don't remember—period." Reagan's one attempt to defend himself in public was to ask an audience, who could remember what they were doing on August 8, 1985. This has spawned a new adult trivial pursuit. When the *Los Angeles Times* (1 March) asked musician Frank Zappa what he was doing, he replied facetiously: "I was head of the National Security Council arranging to have arms shipped to Pakistan and Angola and diverting funds through a Swiss bank account in order to shamelessly spend it on the campaigns of my favorite Republicans."

But that whole controversy is beside the point. On 17 January 1986 Reagan signed a secret finding approving arms sales to Iran and ordering the affair kept secret from Congress. And on the contra aid diversion, North writes in a 16 May 1986 memo: "the President obviously knows why he has been meeting with several select people to thank them for their support for Project Democracy in [Central America]." As the PROF computer messages and scores of memoranda show, North reported everything to his chiefs McFarlane and then Poindexter, Regan sat in on virtually every NSC meeting, Shultz and Weinberger knew what they wanted to know, and Reagan knew all (whether or not he forgot it). Who's surprised? Reagan was pushing covert action and vowing to overthrow radical-nationalist Sandinista Nicaragua from the start. It was all blatantly illegal, but worse than that in the eyes of the Tower Commission and the American bourgeoisie, it was "clumsily and amateurishly" carried out, and it failed.

"Project Democracy," or PRODEM, was the code name for the covert program funneling arms and guns to CIA-backed anti-Communist forces around the world, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan and Cambodia. Tens of millions of dollars were raised from rake-offs on Iran arms sales, contributions from kings and sultans, tax-deductible donations from Texas right-wingers, profits from drugrunning, etc. With some creative accounting these funds were not only used to finance the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries, despite the Boland Amendment which for a time banned "direct and indirect" U.S. military aid to the contras; but also to lobby Congress and defeat anti-contra Congressmen in the '84 elections. In the course of it, a lowly colonel put the arm on King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, threatened President Arias of Costa Rica to cut off U.S. aid, ordered the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica to organize a united contra "Southern Front," and much, much more.

As the White House ran its private wars, lying to Congress and hiding much of the facts from the Cabinet as well, the *New York Times* (2 March) concluded: "Frustrations with democracy, it seems, led President Reagan to turn his National Security Council into a secret government." Former NSC head McFarlane said at one point to North: "If the world only knew how many times you have kept a semblance of integrity and gumption to US policy they would make you Secretary of State. But they can't know and would complain if they did—such is the state of democracy in the late 20th century." The Reaganauts set out to slam the Soviet "Evil Empire" up against the wall, roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution, restore the "American Century" and "avenge Vietnam." They were going to "save democracy" from the State Department, the Pentagon, Congress and the American people.

But the "Reagan Doctrine" didn't work, because the contra scum are *losers*—they have been smashed on the battlefield in Nicaragua. U.S. imperialism got its ass kicked in Indochina, and most Americans don't want to see the body bags coming home in another mad Third World military adventure to put a gang of rapists and murderers in power. So six years into the abortive "Reagan revolution" the Sandinistas are still there, and Gorbachev has a lot more credibility than the liar in the White House. In fact, over Iran/Contragate the American Congress would like a little *glasnost* (openness) itself. The Tower Commission talked to every living past president and virtually every living former vice president, secretary of state, war secretary, CIA head and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Its modulated but devastating conclusions, therefore, represent the consensus of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Bonapartism and Democracy

"The President is the ultimate decision maker in national security....We could not long endure exercise of Executive power by committee. A strong Executive with the flexibility to conduct foreign and diplomatic affairs is an essential feature of our form of government," intoned Senator John Tower in presenting the Commission's report. Make the NSC responsible to Congress? No way, they say. A ban on NSC "operational roles"? The trouble with Iran/Contragate in their eyes is that it gave covert action a bad name. The U.S. ruling class wants a strong executive. Their problem is that "effective" presidents have been hard to come by in recent years. Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan were all elected with overwhelming majorities, and all were disgraced or driven from office. So once again, as at the time of Watergate, U.S. rulers are

New York Post

Was Ollie's Fawn Sandinista pawn?

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talking of a crisis of the imperial presidency.

The presidency has always represented institutional bonapartism, a power rising above the elected lawmakers. The American Revolution was, after all, a *bourgeois* revolution, and not the most radical at that. The "founding fathers" took care to construct a government that would enable the executive branch or the courts, as bastions of property, to nullify laws enacted by a popularly elected legislature. A second, upper house of Congress, the Senate, was originally non-elected and intended to give veto power to the much less populous Southern states—i.e., to the slaveowners. The American constitutional historian Charles Beard describes these so-called "checks and balances" as "a government endowed with certain positive powers, but so constructed as to break the force of majority rule and prevent invasions of the property rights of minorities" (Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* [1913]).

The executive branch has been the principal arm of U.S. imperialism in the continual exercise of every kind of mass rapine, butchery and war. Woodrow Wilson engineered America's entry into World War I by concealing that the passenger ship *Lusitania*, sunk by German submarines, was carrying munitions to the British. Franklin Roosevelt prepared the way for World War II with his secret "destroyer deal" to arm England and by pushing Japan to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Truman A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not to defeat Japan but to send a warning to the Soviet Union, whose Red Army had won the war against Nazi Germany. World War II was the last war Congress ever formally declared. Truman sent troops to Korea as a "police action" and LBJ fabricated a bogus attack on U.S. ships to get the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Along the way, the CIA has overthrown a dozen or more elected governments, from Iran to Central America.

The schemes cooked up by Ollie North are no more bizarre than the CIA attempts to kill Fidel Castro, including poisoned cigars and biological agents to make his beard fall out. But the CIA's *gusanos* were smashed at the Bay of Pigs. Above all, the heroic peasants and workers of Vietnam decisively defeated U.S. imperialism, triumphing over superior military force and putting an end to the "American Century." LBJ was driven from office by the Tet Offensive of 1968, which exposed the lie that victory was "around the corner." And it was the bombing of Cambodia, in the course of an increasingly unpopular, losing war, that led to the wiretaps on Washington officials and the Watergate plumbers job that brought down Nixon. He was never charged for his hideous crimes against the Indochinese masses, of course. The sole article of impeachment concerned the Watergate cover-up—i.e., Nixon's crimes against the bourgeoisie. And then a dirty deal was patched up with Ford, the unelected vice president, to let the criminal butcher off with a pardon.

Democrat Jimmy Carter began the "moral rearmament" of U.S. imperialism, through his "human rights" crusade directed at the Soviet Union. And then came the "Reagan revolution" which was supposed to "roll back Communism" for real, not merely by beefing up the Pentagon arsenal, but by mobilizing the American masses in a *popular* crusade against the "Evil Empire." Yet Reagan barely got to first base. A passing enthusiasm for the racist rape of tiny black Grenada (where the 82nd Airborne had its hands full with a few hundred middle-aged Cuban construction workers) could barely divert attention from the fiasco of 241 Marines blown up in Beirut. The increasingly frenzied covert operations orchestrated from the White House were a futile attempt to cover up the administration's failure. And now they have brought Reagan's demise.

UPI

Carlos Durán

Two, three, many defeats for U.S. Imperialism! Saigon, 1975 (left); Reagan's dogs of war shot down, Nicaragua, 1986.

Impeachment Is Not Enough! For Workers Revolution!

With the ruling class in disarray, the possibility is posed for the working people and oppressed of this country to break politically from the Democrats and Republicans, to forge a class-struggle workers party that can sweep away the lying, murdering, incompetent criminals who are driving America to ruin while oppressing the peoples of the world. But as the spectre of a new Watergate loomed, various reformists raised the call for *impeaching* the president. Communist Party leader Gus Hall, trained in decades of donkey work for the Democrats, declared that the Iran/contra affair was "grounds for impeachment," and urged the "new Democratic majority" in Congress to take this course (*People's Daily World*, 13 November 1986). So what would that bring? George Bush, former head of the CIA, representative of Texas oil interests and one of the more sinister elements in Washington.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a toxic waste dump of pseudo-Trotskyist grouplets, the ex-Maoist MLP and assorted New Leftovers held a demonstration at Oakland Airport, February 20 around the slogan "Oust Reagan-Bush!" Well, if the Republican president and vice president go, that puts the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, next in line! Not surprisingly, the ten slogans of the demonstration included no criticism of the Democrats, and it was endorsed by Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums. The main organizers were a clot of anti-Spartacist renegades around one Bob Mandel and the extended Mandel family; his former buddies of the "External Tendency" (now "Bolshevik Tendency") tailed along with this mini popular front. In contrast, 12 years ago, at the height of the Watergate crisis, the Spartacist League said:

> *"Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!... The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but a fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!"* [emphasis in original]
>
> —"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

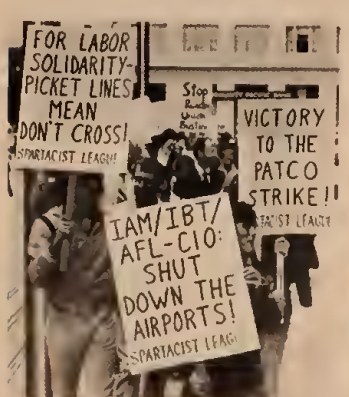
And what is one to make of the absurd demand raised by the Workers League (WL) of the dubious David North (no known relation to Oliver), for an AFL-CIO inquiry into the Iran/contra affair? Lane Kirkland & Co. are loyal lieutenants of American capitalism, who have proved their loyalty to the class enemy by fronting for CIA union-busting operations abroad and sabotaging strikes at home. From the beginning, the "AFL-CIA" tops have maintained a conspicuous silence about this affair that has shaken the anti-labor Reagan government to its roots. The reason is not hard to find: the anti-communist labor fakers are getting more than moral encouragement from the network spawned by Oliver North.

When Ronald Reagan proclaimed "Project Democracy" in 1982, it included a publicly funded arm, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Prominent on the NED board of directors are AFL-CIO chief Kirkland, American Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, Democrat Walter Mondale and right-wing union-buster Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. Of the $18.5 million disbursed by the NED in 1985, some $11.5 million went to the AFL-CIO and its Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), notorious for its role in CIA schemes to wreck militant labor unions around the world. Closely intertwined with the AFL-CIO's "free trade union" outfit is PRODEMCA, a "private" fundraising outfit heavily involved in Oliver North's scams. PRODEMCA has channeled NED dollars to the internal contra organ *La Prensa* in Nicaragua, paid for tours by journalists to contra bases in Honduras, and toured contra leaders in the U.S. It is now reported that PRODEMCA has received an undisclosed amount from Carl Channell, the Contragate PR man who received millions in rake-offs from Oliver North's Iranscam money.

A few short months after Reagan came to power, he busted the PATCO air controllers union. This top-paid, overwhelmingly white union was one of the very few labor groups to endorse Reagan, yet they saw their leaders led away in shackles like slaves in the antebellum South. This strikebreaking gave the green light to bosses around the country who went on a rampage of takeback union-busting, including the deliberate murder of strikers on the picket lines. But now the Reagan gang is on the run, and the workers and oppressed of America face a weak and isolated regime. Though *no one* in the bourgeoisie is talking impeachment, according to the polls fully a third of the U.S. population think Reagan should "consider" resigning! Now is the time to hit back, while they're down. But that requires, first and foremost, a fight to dump the labor lieutenants of Reagan's counterrevolution and to forge a Trotskyist party that can link the seething anger of the ghetto with the social power of the factory.

And there's not a lot of time. The warships are still off Lebanon. The new National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci is reportedly considering plans for a naval quarantine of Nicaragua, and Reagan (who has predicted Armageddon in our time) still has his finger on the nuclear button. At home, Attorney General Meese demonstrates his appetites for a police state, trying to decree a federal death penalty while effectively abolishing the Miranda (suspects' rights) ruling. And COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" are not just a Watergate memory, as more than 50 break-ins have been recorded in offices of groups opposing U.S. war moves in Central America. The basis is being laid for a bipartisan Reagan regency, with Congress brought into the show. But such a regime would be united on a platform for a rationally orchestrated anti-Soviet war drive, which spells union-busting, mass homelessness, hunger and racist terror at home.

A few days before the Tower Commission report was released, the lead article in *Time* magazine (2 March) began: "On the Day of Judgment, according to ancient religious tradition, all secrets will be revealed and all hidden sins bared.... Some aides went so far as to speculate that, depending on how Ronald Reagan and his lieutenants react, Feb. 26 could turn out to be a secular analogue of Judgment Day." Far from it. For the imperialists—who turned Vietnam into a moonscape, ordered the slaughter of tens of thousands of Central American peasants and wage war on labor and blacks at home—Judgment Day will come when a victorious socialist revolution sweeps away all the Watergaters and Contragaters, the My Lai mass murderers and their rapacious capitalist masters. That's when we will finally open the books to find out the murderous secrets the Tower Commission *didn't* reveal. ■



WV Photos

Spartacist League at PATCO rally (left); Solidarity Day 1981 (above). "AFL-CIA" traitors knife class struggle, aid Reagan's anti-communist crusades.

Spartacists Sue "Accuracy in Academia"

AIA: Reagan's McCarthyites

The Spartacist League is suing "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." (AIA), its executive director Laszlo Csorba III and Reed Irvine, founder and chairman of AIA, for willful, false and deadly accusations against our organization. Irvine is notorious as the head of AIA's parent organization, Accuracy in Media (AIM), which specializes in character assassination of liberal journalists while braying about a supposed Red Menace in the American mass media. The legal papers charging Irvine personally and as a representative of AIA were served on the morning of February 13, as this professional witchhunter entered ABC studios to discuss his brainchild, *Amerika*—the 14-1/2 hour, viciously anti-Soviet soap opera which just bombed in America.

An AIA pamphlet authored by Csorba, titled "Appeasing the Censors: A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," touted by nationally syndicated columnists as an "authoritative" report on leftist student activity, makes the following statement: "Their publications (*Workers' Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge 'military victory' for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers." As any reading of Spartacist publications would quickly and clearly expose, the charge that we urge the killing of police is a *total and lethal lie*. Police have a way of *killing* people tagged as "cop-killers." AIA's attempt to equate our forthright Marxist politics with terrorism is a conscious and deadly smear. In defense of our members and supporters we intend to mobilize every moral, political and legal resource at our disposal to bring these Big Liars to task and fight this "libel that kills."

We in the Spartacist League are by no means the first or only targets of Irvine/Csorba's poison pens. As "Big Brother" to the media with his platoon of "Little Brothers" in the nation's classrooms, Irvine is dedicated to red-baiting frame-ups and McCarthyite purges of *any* radical or liberal academic or journalist who deviates from the ultrarightist Reaganite "ethic." AIA has compiled a hit list of some 10,000 alleged Marxists and 35,000 liberal professors to harass in an effort to make them conform to its reactionary social agenda, or else drive them out of public life. AIM has successfully forced the transfer or firing of liberal journalists deemed soft on communism by red-basher Irvine, intimidating others from expressing their views. And already AIA's "Appeasing the Censors" has found its way into the *New York Post* (9 October 1986) and the Chicago *Sun-Times* (14 October 1986).

Reed Irvine's AIA and AIM are the living embodiment of what we've described as "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." AIA/AIM are the ideological shock troops for the Reagan/Meese government which seeks to criminalize labor, black and leftist protest, equating dissent with "treason." But today's witchhunters have a problem. The fact is that no major architect of bloody American imperialism from Jeane Kirkpatrick to Cap Weinberger can set foot on a college campus without evoking a storm of protest. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has more credibility with the U.S. media than Ronald "what did I forget and when did I forget it" Reagan. 1950s-style red scares just don't pack the same wallop these days with a population that's increasingly alienated from a government widely despised as a gang of bumbling, incompetent, war-crazed liars.

CovertAction

California Aggie

AIA/AIM "Big Lie" witchhunters Reed Irvine and Les Csorba, with assault rifle. Their Dartmouth Review cohorts launched terrorist sledgehammer attack on "shantytown" (bottom) occupied by anti-apartheid activists.

Peter Blakely

Unable to win the "hearts and minds" of Topeka, much less Harlem, today's McCarthyites aim not to convince the public but to silence them through intimidation, branding political opponents as "terrorists" to whom rights and due process do not apply. It is in this context of a bonapartist solution to the "Vietnam syndrome" that AIA/AIM's dirty tricks and slander must be understood. As Reagan & Co. revved up the anti-Soviet war drive, AIA's role has been to undertake a *pre-emptive first strike* against political protest.

Tearing a page from the notebook of Hitler's propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, Irvine's main weapon is the Big Lie. Bill Moyers, formerly at CBS and one of AIM's prime targets, noted that Reed Irvine "is to accuracy in the media what Cleopatra was to chastity on the Nile" (*CovertAction*, Spring 1984). AIA offers no substantiation or proof for their deadly slander against the SL, the lie that we supposedly urge "the killing of police officers," because there isn't any, and there *can't* be any. Any reading of our press, any examination of our program and actions would show such advocacy to be at total variance with all that we stand for.

Furthermore, a review of our successful legal challenges against similar attempts to falsely brand our Marxist political organization as "violent," "terrorist" or conspiratorial would also give pause: we have fought *and won* retractions of such smears from the California Attorney General in 1979, from the Moon organization's *Washington Times* (which both Csorba and Irvine write for) in 1983, from the FBI in 1984 (see "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" page 7). As we shall show, AIA/AIM are directly and intimately linked to these same governmental and ultrarightist forces, making it very difficult to believe that AIA/AIM could be ignorant of these cases.

In the pursuit of our own democratic rights, the SL is fighting in the interests of every unionist, every campus protester, every perceived political opponent of this reactionary government. Csorba's "Appeasing the Censors" goes after the Spartacus Youth League for a protest against Marine recruiters at the University of California/Berkeley in January 1985. In that incident Spartacist youth activist Guillermo Bermúdez was seized by a campus cop in a deadly choke hold, then slapped with a phony charge of "assaulting" a police officer. But the AIA doesn't mention this, or that the charges against Bermúdez were dismissed more than a year later—a victory that gave a black eye to the Reaganite witchhunters. The AIA's libel against us is part of an operation to repress *all* who would protest the criminal policies of the U.S. government.

Big Brother and Big Bucks

Historically, every mobilization for imperialist war has had as its domestic reflection an anti-red, anti-labor, anti-black reaction. Going after the perceived "opinion makers" in the media and elite universities, too, was an integral part of the McCarthyism of the 1940s and '50s. Irvine has all the crudeness, belligerence and methods of witchhunter Joseph McCarthy, though he lacks the prerogatives of the Senate. Through organizations like the World Anti-Communist League he "networks" aging Nazis, East European fascists and their very powerful disciples running death squads and contra terrorists on five continents. It's both ominous and logical that Irvine & Co. get a hearing in the seats of power. When Reagan placed a wreath on the graves of Nazi SS killers at Bitburg, the message was clear: to revive Hitler's war against the "Bolshevik menace." And we know what Hitler's anti-Soviet war drive meant for labor, Jews and other minorities in Germany, not to speak of accuracy in the media.

AIA/AIM are part of the Reaganauts' domestic war to regiment the American population into acquiescence to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. In an article entitled "The Rise and Decline of Accuracy in Media," the *Nation* (13 September 1986) basically dismisses Irvine as a "paper tiger." Like all liberals who believe in the eternal strengths of a "free" America they write off AIA/AIM as just the "lunatic fringe." But Irvine and Csorba are more than just ideological witchhunters. They're sinister Oliver Norths on the home front, reflecting the "privatization" of the drive for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. It's privatized McCarthyism.

The biggest corporations in the U.S. make their tax-deductible contributions openly to AIM, not the Aryan Brotherhood which is a genuinely fringe, openly fascist outfit. This is because, distasteful as even some right-wingers find Irvine, the bourgeois establishment knows that they *need* their "new McCarthyites." As documented in *CovertAction* (Spring 1984), AIA/AIM's financial backers span the gamut from the main players in Watergate (Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Bebe Rebozo, Maurice Stans) to ex-CIA chief William Casey. Other contributors include the loaded dowager

Washington Inquirer
28 May 1982

The Letelier Legend Lives On

Accuracy In Media

Wheeler/Washington Post

The smear in the service of the gun: Irvine disinformation in wake of Letelier assassination.

Claire Booth Luce, Texaco, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., Reader's Digest Foundation, Exxon USA, Chevron, Union Carbide, IBM, and the labor-hating right-wing beer magnate Adolph Coors.

AIM represents and is backed by right-wing CIA dirty tricks specialists and "retired" generals who map out "Seven Days in May" coups—with the forces to back them up. AIM contributor Richard Mellon Scaife, an old hand at creating and maintaining CIA propaganda fronts, has bankrolled AIM to the tune of a cool half million bucks. AIM co-founder Bernard Yoh was an adviser in counterinsurgency techniques to U.S. puppet Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam, 1955-62. He was a conduit for CIA funds to operations in Vietnam, an adviser to Generalissimo Franco in Spain, to the South Korean and Philippines dictatorships, a stalwart backer of Moon and contributor to the Moonie *Rising Tide*. Robert Moss, a notorious disinformation mercenary who was the author of the first open call for a coup in Chile, run on the front page of a CIA-funded magazine in March 1973, now writes fundraising pitches for AIM.

These links, but the tip of the iceberg, cast a certain light on AIA/AIM's unbridled enthusiasm for the international contra scum and the methods for liquidating political opponents they'd like to bring home. One of Les Csorba's personal heroes is the kill-crazy Salvadoran ultrarightist Roberto D'Aubuisson, nicknamed "Blowtorch Bob" for his preferred method of interrogation. In 1984 Csorba traveled to El Salvador on an all-expense-paid trip by the

Meiselas/Magnum

Laszlo Csorba's idol: Salvadoran death squad leader "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson.

Council for Inter-American Security—a D.C. think tank which according to NACLA's *Report on the Americas* (July/August 1986) last year promoted nationwide tours by Nicaraguan contra spokesmen. Csorba's Central American "vacation" included participating in a search and destroy mission with the elite Atlacatl Brigade and posing, rifle in hand, with government soldiers. Csorba was also listed as a contributing writer for *Freedom Fighter*, a publication which sends readers who donate $20 or more a spent brass rifle cartridge recovered from a battle between the FDN and Sandinista troops.

Irvine himself was involved in the "re-assassination" through disinformation of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffitt. After the former Allende cabinet minister and ambassador was blown up by Pinochet agents in downtown Washington, D.C. in 1976, David Atlee Phillips' Association of Former Intelligence Officers began circulating papers supposedly found in Letelier's briefcase, claiming that Letelier was a Cuban agent (and thus presumably deserved his fate). When even the FBI determined that this story was a total fabrication, Irvine charged the FBI with a cover-up. According to *CovertAction* (Spring 1984), Irvine wrote more than 55 stories on this case. It's a model of the AIM method, the smear in the service of the gun.

Perhaps his admiration for Pinochet's junta is where Irvine developed a fondness for book-burning. Professor Linda Arnold, a historian at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, entered AIA/AIM's cross hairs because she assigned Howard Zinn's *The Twentieth Century* as a text for her introductory courses. The book and Zinn himself are on AIA's "blacklist" for portraying "American heroes" such as Henry Ford and Douglas MacArthur as "villains." Professor Arnold received a phone call from Reed Irvine. "We ended up arguing for an hour, mostly about Zinn's book. Three times he asked, 'Don't you think the book should be burned?' I said I'm against book burning" (*Nation*, 5 April 1986).

Is Little Brother Watching You?

AIA began its campaign in August 1985 with a nationwide network of student and non-student finks at 160 colleges and universities to harangue professors, complain to the administration, solicit letters from right-wing politicos against these professors and otherwise try to stifle teachers from expressing their views. AIA describes itself as a "vibrant new movement that has leftist academics shaking in their sandals." Within this bit of humor lies the true purpose of AIA.

"Appeasing the Censors" represents a new twist in AIA's tactics to witchhunt faculty. The pamphlet retails vicious smears against left groups, including not only us but InCAR (International Committee Against Racism) and CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), in order to isolate the left and scare professors from association with such groups. It seeks more broadly to charge liberal faculty members and allegedly complaisant administrators with providing a protective milieu for the left—just like the '50s McCarthyite accusations of "comsymp" and "dupe" were designed to intimidate and silence liberal opinion. Generalized fear and isolation were key to the success of McCarthyism, as expressed in an old joke. A liberal professor is attacked by a right-wing mob as he leaves campus. Turning to his attackers, the professor says, "Wait, I'm not a communist, I'm an anti-communist!" The mob leader responds, "We don't care what kind of communist you are," and pummels him to the ground. But the fundamental and widespread unpopularity of the Reaganauts' war drive is hardly fertile ground for AIA, hence their increasingly frantic efforts and bigger lies.

"Appeasing the Censors" adopts the Orwellian line of the Reagan administration that those who protest the key architects of U.S. imperialism's international terror have impinged on the "free speech" of the government. But the Bill of Rights is supposed to protect political freedoms for the populace against government censorship and abuse—not the other way around! Csorba makes the ludicrous assertion that "there certainly is *no* freedom of speech on the larger campuses where radical groups are *active* in opposing American foreign policy" (emphasis in original). William Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, put it bluntly in an article in AIA's *Campus Report* (September 1986): "The academy is almost the last sanctuary remaining to the American left.... From that final redoubt they will have to be dragged one day, kicking and screaming." The real life model for this scenario is El Salvador's National University which was shut down at gunpoint in 1980 by D'Aubuisson's pals in the military. A lot of people were dragged out "kicking and screaming"—and never seen again.

Csorba himself got his start at the University of California/Davis, with "Students for a Better America" (SBA), a prototype of AIA. Csorba's target was Saul Landau, an outspoken critic of U.S. policy in Central and South America who co-authored a book on the murder of Letelier (*Assassination on*

continued on page 8

We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears

A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

The Spartacist League has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new McCarthyism. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Wurkers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the attempt by this government and its spokesmen to equate political opposition with violence, criminal conspiracy or terrorism.

FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander

WV Photo

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the SL's lawsuit against the 1983 FBI "Terrorism" Guidelines, the FBI and the Attorney General agreed to change the FBI definition of the SL to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. The FBI thereby conceded the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.

WV Photo

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

...istration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

The SL lawsuit forced the Moonies to retract their deadly libel against the militant union-backed, SL-initiated demonstration which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. 27 November 1982.

Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear

WV Photo

State of California
Department of Justice
George Deukmejian
Attorney General

(916) 322-2430

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th (8)
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES T. CASEY
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence

California Attorney General retracted the inclusion of the SL in the 1979 "Terrorism Report" and sent notification to law enforcement agencies throughout the country.

"Accuracy in Academia"...

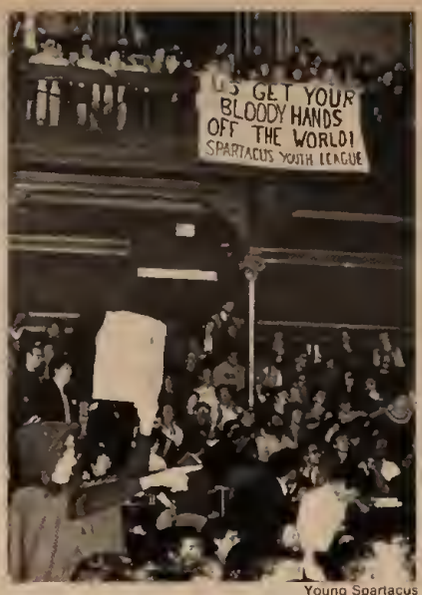
(continued from page 7)

Embassy Row [1980]). The group's commitment to the "free exchange of ideas" was captured on an SBA placard at a Grenada "victory" rally, *"I'd love to kill a Communist."* Csorba distributed a flyer against Landau containing information Landau believes was obtained from his FBI files, as well as "quotes" falsely attributed to Landau and Fidel Castro which Csorba lifted from the spy novel *Monimbo* by...CIA operative Robert Moss and witting journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave. Landau filed a complaint with the university's Judicial Affairs office noting, "the provocative nature of the notice could also make me a target for extremists, who might take the aspersion seriously enough to attack me" (*California Aggie*, 22 February 1985). Csorba's malice sparked a HUAC-style probe by conservative Republican senator Richardson who threatened to "raise the issue of Landau's appointment when the state Legislature considers the UC budget" (*California Aggie*, 7 March 1985).

Csorba can't be troubled with adhering to facts or any standards of accuracy. He answers to a higher authority: God. And there's no stopping anyone who thinks he's got a direct pipeline to the Almighty. Still wet behind the ears—pipsqueak Csorba is an '85 UC Davis graduate—he has already been "born again." His own divine revelations provide some insight into his character, or lack thereof. Csorba was quoted in the Christian newspaper, *The Forerunner*, as saying, "I used my prestige and power [while an executive council member in UCD's student government] to manipulate others through election fraud, stealing and misusing student funds. I was a disgrace" (*California Aggie*, 19 April 1984).

Some prominent targets on AIA/AIM's hit list of 45,000 include: Mark Reader, a professor at Arizona State University who describes himself as a "Whole-Earth person" and whom Irvine attacked as promoting "fears of nuclear war"; Terry Anderson of Texas A&M (who is also suing AIA for libel); Bertell Ollman, a Marxist who was explicitly denied chairmanship of an academic department in Maryland because of his political views; Mary Karasch of Oakland University in Michigan, because her lectures on Latin American history criticized U.S. policy; William G. Storey, a theology professor at Notre Dame and defender of homosexual rights. AIA/AIM harbor particular venom against Northwestern professor and InCAR supporter Barbara Foley for her commendable participation in a protest against Nicaraguan contra leader Adolfo Calero.

AIA's tactics against individual professors have earned it the enmity of a host of professional associations including the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the American Association of University Professors which condemned AIA as "clearly inimical to the principle of free expression of views by all members of the academic community." AIA's job is to try to create a social climate through fear and intimidation on campuses so that Klaus Barbie or Heinrich Himmler himself, if only he could be resurrected from the grave, could use the "respectability" of a university platform for their policies without protest. They'd like P.W. Botha to be a featured speaker on race relations at Atlanta University.



Young Spartacus

UPI

War criminal Weinberger gets the reception he deserves at Harvard, November 1983.

The Big Lie: Weapon of the Right

Those who must resort to terror will be found first and foremost in the camp of the dying imperialist system. Brute force, laced with lies, is the only recourse for a system which imposes global wars, starvation and hideous oppression on the peoples of the world. In this country, the bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia bears hellish witness to the bloodthirsty terrorism of the *capitalist state*. This state-supported terrorism requires a climate of opinion, one of fear and knee-jerk conformity. Unrestrained use of the Big Lie is indispensable. And that's where AIA/AIM come in.

In the last two years there has been a wave of racist assaults on campuses around the U.S. Most infamous for terrorist violence in the service of reaction were the conservative *Dartmouth Review* staff members who wielded sledgehammers against a symbolic shantytown while it was occupied by anti-apartheid activists. For that, the *Dartmouth Review* has become the darling of the right in much the same fashion as abortion-clinic bombers are the front line of the reactionary "right to life" movement. In the May 1986 *Campus Report*, AIA ran a prominent fund appeal for the legal defense of these racist assailants with the snide call to support "free speech and free play." Among the backers of right-wing organs like the *Dartmouth Review* are multi-millionaire William Simon and "neo-conservative" Irving Kristol, who in 1966 was exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA moneys. Simon and Kristol are also major contributors to AIA.

While Csorba hurls his Big Lie at the Spartacist League, baldly and falsely claiming that his inventions appear in our press, he also cites as a source for alleged "disruptive tactics" on our part an article by one Elizabeth Greene which ran in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (12 February 1986). Ostensibly a publication for university administrators and faculty, the *Chronicle* is cited no less than five times in the short capsule smear of the Spartacus Youth League in "Appeasing the Censors." Certainly for a dry, academic journal, the *Chronicle* maintains a hefty international network, with reporters stationed from Cape Town to Helsinki, Eastern Europe to Manila, Managua to Moscow. And while we don't pretend to know who she really is, Liz Greene is no stranger to us.

In an earlier incarnation as a writer for the Columbia University *Spectator*, Ms. Greene was complicit in calling the police against some of our members when they attempted to submit to the *Spectator* an announcement of our successful suit against the Moonies' *Washington Times*—for the same lying charge of urging violence against police that Csorba and Irvine are peddling today. Now Ms. Greene's article surfaces as the source for Csorba. It would appear that young "yellow journalists" in the mold of Claire Sterling—author of that masterpiece of disinformation, *The Terror Network*—are afoot. Certainly the techniques—planting a phony story in a little-known publication, then replaying it for broader circulation as "proof" of the lie—come straight out of the CIA's manuals for black propaganda via the "mighty Wurlitzer" of media manipulation.

The bourgeois media both revile *and heed* Reed Irvine. *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee called him a "retromingent vigilante" (the kind that urinates on himself) but *New York Times* publisher "Punch" Sulzberger meets with Irvine regularly and buckles under to his pressure. Take the AIM operation against *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner. Though far from a radical, Bonner's Central America reports didn't always side with the U.S. death squad clients in the region. Irvine went running to Sulzberger brandishing allegations of rad-lib skeletons in Bonner's closet. Then-foreign editor Craig Whitney concluded that AIM "ought to change its name...they clearly don't know accuracy from a hole in the ground, and maybe a good lawyer ought to take them to court and teach them what libel is" (*Nation*, 13 September 1986). But Bonner was pulled from Managua and transferred to the business desk.

The message was not lost on other journalists covering Central America. An article on the Managua beat in *Esquire* (November 1986) explained the chilling effect: "Several reporters said that sympathetic stories they had written about the Sandinistas had drawn protest letters to their editors from the State Department, letters that might have been dismissed out of hand during Vietnam, but now carried an implicit threat after the Bonner case."

AIM was able to get its hour-long rebuttal to a PBS series on the Vietnam War broadcast by that network. And after ABC aired *The Day After*, a drama starring Jason Robards about the terrible effects of nuclear war set in Kansas, AIM submitted a resolution prior to the corporation's annual meeting "expressing concern that the network's facilities had been used to disseminate Soviet propaganda." Although, according to the *Nation* article, ABC denies that its decision to produce *Amerika* had anything to do with AIM, "Irvine wrote in his newsletter: 'Last November, when "The Day After" was being discussed, a lot of us thought that a movie about a Soviet take-over would be an appropriate counterbalance to the nuclear war scenario that ABC was airing.... I think our pounding on ABC has paid off'." Irvine says he didn't like the final product, though; he would doubtless have preferred a more upbeat, *Triumph of the Will*-type ending.

Der Spiegel

Irvine in bed with Nazis, Moonies, death squads of World Anti-Communist League. Csorba writes for "campus contra" journal (right).

Fight the AIA/AIM Witchhunters!

Accuracy in Academia has gone after us in part because they see us as domestic "surrogates" for the forces Reagan is after abroad. We Spartacists are forthright in our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. We have actively campaigned to provide material aid to the radical-nationalist Sandinista Nicaraguans faced with the CIA's contra war, Washington's trade embargo and the threat of U.S. invasion. In solidarity with our class brothers and sisters we have led militant protests against those directly responsible for murderous U.S. policy, like Jeane Kirkpatrick. And we will continue this fight to keep the butchers on the run! We stood for the defense of Libya against the Pentagon's terror bombing. In southern Africa, we hail Soviet-backed Cuban troops defending black Angola against the South African army: and we call for the smashing of apartheid, for workers revolution and the establishment of a black-centered workers republic.

Here at home, the definition of "radical" has considerably broadened under the impact of Reagan/Meese's attempted social counterrevolution. Today it could easily encompass those who believe it's all right to read *Playboy*, who don't wish to urinate in a Dixie cup every day on the way to work, who cling to the belief that church and state should be separate, who want their children to be taught science and not superstition. Our Marxist commitment to defending and extending the gains of the Enlightenment means that we are staunch secular humanists and defenders of the right to privacy.

Likewise, our dedication as revolutionaries to black liberation, to the completion of the tasks of the Civil War, has meant that we have uniquely and with success mobilized the integrated labor movement against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi provocations in major urban centers, as in the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Because our goal is the emancipation of labor from the chains of capitalist exploitation, we have

Reagan's Plans for World War IV

American emissaries wing into Teheran disguised as Irish pilots, bringing Khomeini a key-shaped cake (baked in a Tel Aviv kosher bakery), a Reagan-inscribed Bible, a pair of Colt revolvers and a planeload of American TOW anti-tank missiles. Tens of millions of dollars in rake-offs from military sales to Iran by Israeli and Saudi arms merchants are laundered through Swiss and Panamanian dummy companies to purchase Soviet guns for the U.S.' Nicaraguan contra mercenaries. Wierd-o-rama. But while public attention is focused on the National Security Council "cowboys" in the White House, over at the Pentagon secret operations have tripled under Reagan, to more than $35 billion a year. It's not just running around Central American jungles. They're planning a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union, and their orders (like Oliver North's) come from the top. We've said for some time that this country is being run by a gang of nuclear nuts. Now a series by Tim Weiner in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (8-10 February) on "The Pentagon's Secret Cache" lays it out:

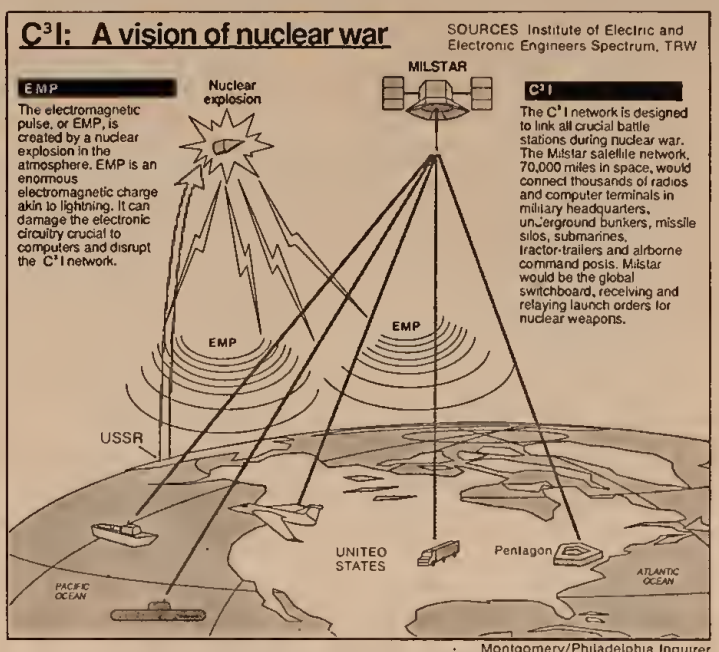
> "Under the cloak of black-budget secrecy, the Reagan administration is spending billions on nuclear bombers and millions to train dolphins as underwater saboteurs. It has developed elaborate plans for winning a months-long nuclear war—World War III—and preparing for World War IV. The plans include robots stalking radioactive battlegrounds, satellites orchestrating nuclear attacks and generals speeding along interstates in lead-lined trucks, ordering warheads fired from faraway silos."

World War *Four*? You read right. Weiner notes: "Since 1981, shortly after President Reagan took office, the fundamental U.S. defense strategy has been to be able to fight and win a six-month nuclear conflict—World War III—and remain strong enough afterward to strike again." It's all part of the government's plans to wage "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars, official U.S. doctrine since the Democratic Carter administration. The Reaganauts' declared goal is to "prevail... under the conditions of a prolonged nuclear war" and to "force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States" (from the "Fiscal Year 1984-1988 Defense Guidance"). The key to this strategy is a computerized command, control, communications and intelligence network ("C³I," pronounced see-cubed-eye in Pentagonese) to orchestrate space satellites and nuclear weapons during *and after* World War III. And this isn't "Star Wars" fantasy land—a lot of the stuff's already deployed.

The C³I network being deployed by the Reagan administration includes:

- The Milstar satellite system (for Military Strategic-Tactical and Relay) designed to transmit launch commands for nuclear missiles from silos and submarines. The first space test of a Milstar satellite was carried out on December 4.
- The Navstar or Global Positioning System satellites, which help guide nuclear missiles to their targets. The satellites also have IONDS (Integrated Operational Nuclear Detector System) sensors to pinpoint nuclear explosions and assess the efficacy of the attack. Navstar is scheduled to be fully operational this year.
- The GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network) system of 500 unmanned radio towers designed to withstand the electromagnetic pulse produced by high-altitude nuclear detonation, which would wreak havoc with communications. At least 50 are already in place.
- Ground mobile command centers, actually 18-wheel lead-lined tractor-trailer trucks, to be used by the president and/or his generals to continue the nuclear war. Two prototypes have already been built.
- AI (artificial intelligence) robots to pursue the battle in the "enhanced nuclear environment," as the military calls it. The Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency notes that these robots will "not generate discourse"—i.e., they don't talk back.

DARPA's 1987 budget calls for computers to "relieve military personnel in complex decision-making tasks"; former Pentagon missile defense chief Jacob Gilstein is even more blunt: "No human being can enter the real-time decision-making loop and control the system. It has to be pre-programmed with logic so the computer can make the decision and run the game." The popular movie *War Games* depicted a nuclear war being launched when a computer "game" was connected to the weapons launch system. This is not simply fiction: in mid-1980, Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha and the Pentagon's command center went on alert when a single chip failure led the computer to interpret a test message as an actual nuclear attack (Alan Borning, "Computer System Reliability and Nuclear War," *Communications of the ACM*, February 1987). But this real danger of "accidental" nuclear war pales before Washington's *plans* for a computer-driven nuclear holocaust.



Pentagon obsession: "command, control, communications & intelligence" to "win" WWIII. Dr. Strangelove was sane in comparison.

Reagan's secret National Security Decision Directive 13, issued in October 1981, elaborated on Carter administration plans for "decapitation" (i.e., assassination) of the Kremlin leadership. It called for a U.S. capability to control the escalation of a drawn-out nuclear war, force Soviet surrender and preserve sufficient nuclear arms to dominate a post-WWIII world. The stripped-down "Strategic Defense Initiative" being projected for early deployment amounts to a "defense" of remaining American missiles in the wake of a U.S. first strike on Russia. And among Colonel North's first jobs at the National Security Council was installation of computers and high-tech communications equipment, and reviewing "plans for the conduct of an extended nuclear war and the survival of top American officials" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 December 1986). You don't see Democratic liberals complaining about *that*.

For the American ruling class is united in pursuit of its war drive against the Soviet workers state. As the *Inquirer* notes in the concluding article of its series, Congress in the Reagan years has supported U.S. covert actions with hundreds of millions of dollars. And behind Congress' back new super-secret Pentagon outfits were spawned, such as the Intelligence Support Activity, to provide a permanent group to coordinate paramilitary operations. Weiner reports, "Two officers who are said to have participated in the Activity were Lt. Col. Oliver L. North and Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord" of Iran/Contragate fame. From mining Nicaraguan harbors and bombing Tripoli to sending the KAL 007 civilian airliner on a provocative spy mission over the Soviet Union, the war crazies in Washington are toying with blowing up the world. It will take proletarian revolution to sweep away the nuclear madmen. ■

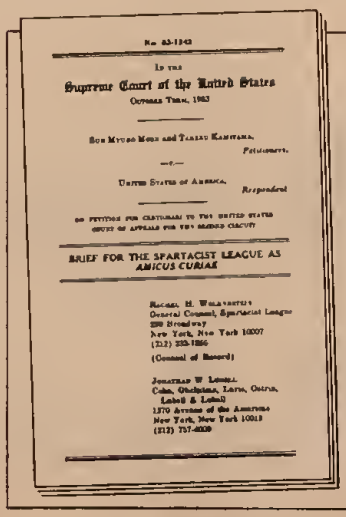
sought to intervene with our class-struggle program and propaganda in working-class battles such as the strike of East Coast longshore workers last October.

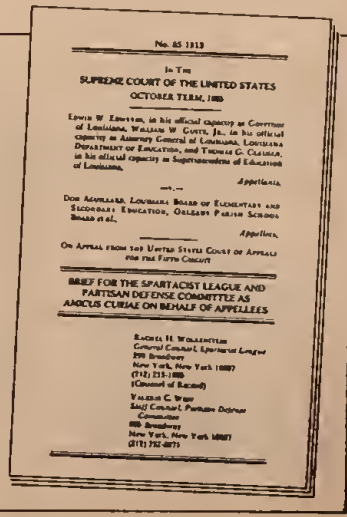
AIA/AIM and its fellow travelers subscribe to the right-wing notion that the U.S. lost its dirty, genocidal war against the Vietnamese people because of some conspiracy of "liberal media" and rowdy college kids. So today they want to head off a similar "conspiracy" which might mean losing "the big one"—World War III. It's plenty crazy—but these crackpots wield some influence in a country whose commander in chief "jokes" about beginning the bombing of Russia in five minutes. For the Reaganites, military defeat for U.S. imperialism can only be understood as due to an "excess of democracy" at home. Consider Reagan's response at an April '84 press conference when asked about his position in favor of a *declared* war in Vietnam. Reagan answered by raving against "the enemy within":

> "I said that at a time when it was going on here in our country, in which none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort and aid to the enemy."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 April 1984

As Richard Nixon used to say, let's be perfectly clear. Reagan was talking about charges of treason and a wartime mobilization of the police and military to crush antiwar activity.

Reagan and Meese long for a return to the McCarthyite period when millions of Americans were mobilized for war on Communism: recall the ticker-tape parades for MacArthur. Where has all the confetti gone, Reagan must wonder, as he tries in vain to recover from Irangate, Contragate, Shuttlegate, a cabinet in shambles and a population that sees the White House and their extragovernmental McCarthyite hitmen for the lying, murderous thugs they are. We are confident that many of the potential victims of the dirty disinformers of AIA/AIM will join us in support of our libel lawsuit. We know, though, that what Csorba and Irvine's murderous libel represents will not be finally defeated until the system which needs it and breeds it is replaced through a victorious socialist revolution. ■


No. 83-1343
In the Supreme Court of the United States
October Term, 1983
BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AS AMICUS CURIAE


No. 85-1819
In The SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
OCTOBER TERM, 1986
BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

Order Yours Now!

- In Defense of Science: Spartacist League/Partisan Defense Committee brief against teaching of biblical "creationism" in the public schools, filed 1986.
- For Separation of Church and State: Spartacist League brief opposing government attack on Sun Myung Moon and intrusion into constitutionally protected activities, filed 1983.

$4.00 each

Make payable/mail to:
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New York, NY 10116

WV Photo

Black Panthers and Philly black MOVE were victims of Meese/FBI "state terrorism," protesters say.

BT Provocation Lands in the Mud

Readers of *WV* familiar with the highly dubious nature of the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency" (formerly known as the "External Tendency") will not be surprised to learn of this outfit's latest provocations at the Oakland rally demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!"

The BT marched into the crowd in military formation and BT guru Howard Keylor—trailed by a BTer loaded with photographic equipment obviously intending to capture the hoped-for "incident"—shortly proceeded toward the stage. Approaching from the side opposite the access ramp clearly being used by rally speakers, Keylor attempted to leap over some shrubbery onto the stage. Blocked by a rally monitor, Keylor's acrobatics landed him flat on his posterior in the mud. As the rest of the BTers rushed forward to play their part in the orchestrated farce, Keylor then announced that the BT wanted a speaker!

As Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson later told the demonstrators: "This next group, I tell you, is a real test of our very firm belief in workers democracy. Since leaving our organization as individuals five or six years ago, they've since come together as a group whose main purpose in life seems to be to hate the Spartacist League and everything we represent." Nelson explained that prior to the demonstration the BT had done nothing to support it and that rally organizers had asked the BT for at least a written endorsement of the demonstration's demands. "So they huddled amongst themselves a bit, put something in writing, so we gave them a speaker; that's the way we do things. Also they attempted to donate *one dollar*—that was their whole group's donation today. We told them to stuff it. Somebody once said in the labor movement, it's good to know who your friends are and who your enemies are. So all I can say, folks, is listen to what they say, but hold on to your wallets."

BT speaker Gerald Smith railed against Spartacist "factionalism," the frequent theme of anti-communists. Grotesquely, Smith used this diatribe to rehash the FBI slanders equating Ron Karenga's dubious US organization and the Panthers, blaming US's assassination of L.A. Panther leader Bunchy Carter on "blind factionalism" between the groups. Bunchy Carter was the political mentor and close comrade of Geronimo Pratt, and he was murdered because he was in the government's COINTELPRO cross hairs! In slanderously attacking SL "sectarianism," the BT attempted to use FBI "dirty tricks" to besmirch those who defend the victims of state terror as well as the martyrs who fell in the struggle for black liberation.

Pratt Fought for Us...

(continued from page 12)

Now, there obviously should be thousands out here for Pratt today, and there's a reason why there's not. It's not that people don't care, because when we, the Spartacist League, provided revolutionary leadership in Washington, D.C. to stop the Klan in 1982, thousands of working people and black youth turned out. It has to do with the lack of revolutionary leadership within the labor movement and the oppressed minority populations. Because today the labor movement is shackled by a pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy that is totally committed to the capitalist system. It's a wonder that Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats didn't help finance that anti-Soviet warmongering Hitler Big Lie film that's being shown on TV, *Amerika*, since their class-collaborationist program is just as anti-Soviet, just as anti-union, just as anti-black, just as anti-woman as the Reaganite Cold Warriors.

We fight for class-conscious workers to forge a class-struggle revolutionary leadership, breaking workers and minorities from the property parties, the Democrats and Republicans, a leadership that would unleash the power of labor on behalf of all the oppressed. It would fight for the Geronimo Pratts, it would fight for the Johnny Spains, it would fight for Ramona Africa, for all class-war prisoners. It would demand jobs for all, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. It would organize the unorganized, demand full citizenship and union rights for foreign-born workers. And it would struggle for a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government.

The black leadership in this country from Jesse Jackson to Lionel Wilson are tied to the parties of the oppressors. After those MOVE adults and children were murdered, what did Jesse Jackson call for? He wanted to make sure a few black businessmen were going to get contracts to rebuild the homes that were destroyed. That is, he wanted a little bit of black capitalism over the graves of those murdered. And I don't have to tell you how Jackson was all over arch-segregationist George Wallace, praising him and saying, "The South shall rise again." It sure as hell is rising again. Like down in Forsyth County, Georgia, where Klan terrorists are rising again while so-called black leaders led anti-racist protesters to that county, like sheep being led to the slaughter. Jimmy Carter is from around there. Remember him? Jimmy Carter, the Democrat, one of his first statements was, I am for ethnic purity, I am for keeping the blacks in segregated neighborhoods, right?

The Russian Revolution established a planned economy and a collectivized property system, and despite its subsequent Stalinist political degeneration resulting from a political counterrevolution, those gains remain and must be unconditionally and militarily defended against imperialism. Those gains belong to us. That revolution was the greatest victory for the international working class and it was the biggest defeat for the imperialists. That's why the bosses hate Russia—and that's why the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow. Capitalism will surely destroy us—the Reaganites' Star War weaponry is no joke—unless we destroy it, unless we build that mass revolutionary integrated workers party, a Bolshevik party like the one Lenin and Trotsky built in tsarist Russia to lead the working class and oppressed to the seizure of state power, to a workers government, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fight for class-war prisoners like Pratt who stood, and is still standing, in the front lines of the struggle against this system is our fight. He fought for us and now we're using our power to fight for him. This is a very important beginning. It's not a question of one demonstration, but for final victory, labor and its allies must rely only on its own independently organized strength and power in opposition to all wings of the capitalist class. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! Free all class-war prisoners!■

Tampa Cops...

(continued from page 1)

and eyewitness to the police attack, said, "All three of them jumped on him and had him in the neck break or whatever you call it. They were kicking and beating him and choking him." The cop screamed, "I'll kill the black m-f" (*St. Petersburg Times*, 20 February). Johnson and Hair's mother pleaded with the police to stop, but were held at bay by a cop who cocked his gun. Melvin's sister arrived as his limp body was tossed into the squad car. The cops said Hair threatened "four people with a knife," but the Tampa PD now admits he was unarmed.

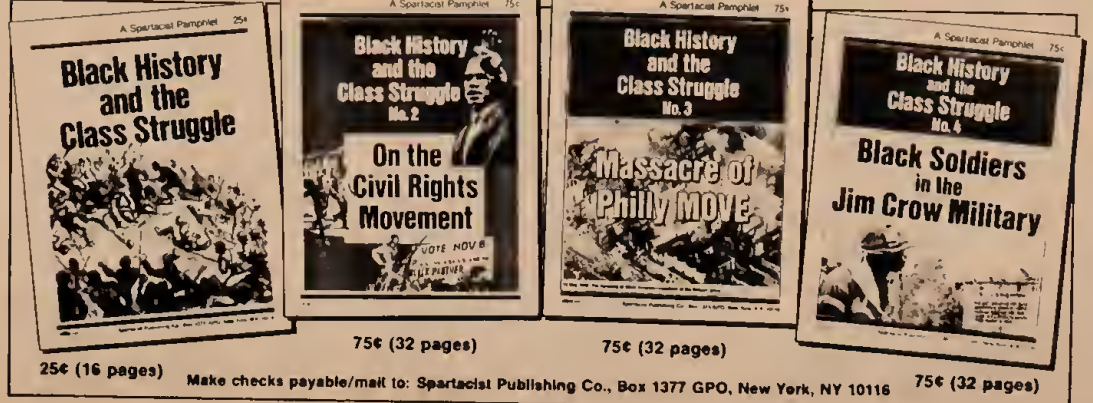
As black Tampa seethed, the city released a report which blamed Dwight Gooden for his own beating at the hands of the local cops last December 13. Gooden was driving his silver Mercedes home from a basketball game when he was pulled over by the police and beaten bloody. Taunting him with racial epithets, they went after the superstar's pitching arm, yelling "Hit his arm, hurt it, end his career." The report affirms Gooden was "undoubtedly struck several times by various officers with fists, knees, flashlights and nightsticks," and that a cop "pulled his revolver and placed the barrel under Gooden's chin." They shined a Mag-Lite in his eyes, holding a mock interview: "Dwight Gooden, Action Sports, how are you doing?" and "Our listeners are waiting to hear something. Do you have any comment?" They tried unsuccessfully to apply a choke hold to "subdue him," but Gooden was too strong for them, so he's alive today.

Nonetheless, the report concludes there is "no evidence" of "intentional police brutality," claiming Gooden instigated the assault by reacting in a "hostile fashion" after being pulled over by the cops. It also asserts race was not a "factor," even though Gooden and his four companions are black and all 22 police involved are white! Facing the threat of a stiff jail sentence which would destroy his professional future, Gooden, now in spring training at St. Petersburg, pleaded "no contest" to felony charges of battery on a police officer and resisting arrest. Not content with this, the racist cops are still pulling him over without cause and staking out his house, Gooden says.

As a pall of smoke hung over East Tampa, Bob Gilder, former Tampa NAACP president, commented, "It's a war zone down there." And the war on black people won't end after two days of police occupation. The unemployment rate for black youth in the area is 48 percent, Gilder said. With no jobs, no future, these young blacks have been condemned by capitalist society to the refuse heap, and racist cop terror is the means to keep them there. In 1967 the National Guard was called into Tampa to suppress blacks after the cops shot dead a 19-year-old "robbery suspect." Twenty years later, black misery has only increased, as even the modest gains of the civil rights movement are being reversed in the Reagan years.

Democratic mayor Sandy Freedman, the Tampa NAACP and local black preachers appealed for calm and non-violence...and for more black cops. From New York's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward to L.A.'s former top cop, now mayor Tom Bradley, black hands on the nightstick still mean choke-hold murder in the ghetto. But the chain of racist terror *can* be broken, mobilizing the black population in alliance with labor, like the largely black Tampa ILA dock workers. Shutting down the port and local industry to protest the cop rampage would teach some respect to the racists in blue and to the bosses, such as convicted Watergate felon George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees and the American Ship Building Company in Tampa, who in 1983 shut down his Lorain, Ohio shipyard axing 1,500 jobs in order to bust the union.

Cops out of East Tampa! For labor/black defense to smash racist terror! Hands off Dr. K!■



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PDC: Free Geronimo!

The Partisan Defense Committee thanks all who helped build the successful united-front demonstration to free America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt, in Oakland, California on February 21. The diverse and broad support for Geronimo Pratt reflects the many for whom he fought. The demonstration stimulated new publicity and brought labor support to his case.

This work must be expanded and repeated until the day Geronimo Pratt walks out of San Quentin a free man. But nothing will give him back the years they've stolen from him. Demand Geronimo's freedom: mobilize your unions and community groups; organize demonstrations; send letters and telegrams; publicize this case and do whatever you can.

Unfortunately there were individuals and groups who placed factional regard above taking a stand for Geronimo's freedom, by refusing to endorse or attend the February 21 demonstration because of the PDC's accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, and the active role of the SL in helping build this action. In the tradition of the International Labor Defense under the leadership of James P. Cannon from 1925 to 1928, which stood on the anti-sectarian principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all," the Partisan Defense Committee urges labor, socialist, defense and civil rights organizations to support the campaign to free Geronimo Pratt. We, of course, remain ready to coordinate with others to achieve the largest mobilization of support for Geronimo's cause. Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

We urge you to send letters and telegrams demanding Geronimo Pratt's freedom to: 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102; and California State Parole Board, District Parole Office, 759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt. To continue the fight to free Geronimo Pratt, write to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Pratt Rally...

(continued from page 12)

were among the more than 100 endorsers demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt, as were former Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale, Bobby Rush and Kathleen Cleaver.

Phone workers from Communications Workers of America Local 9410 (San Francisco) came on Saturday carrying their union banner. Messages were read from Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 President Hank White, veteran socialist and fighter for black liberation Richard Fraser, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, and the Ujamaa Society at Atlanta University. Letters to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals from California Assemblyman Elihu Harris and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 Business Agent Joseph Lindsay demanding Pratt's freedom were also read.

Local media covered the demonstration, including ABC-TV's Channel 7. Fellow prisoners of Geronimo Pratt at San Quentin saw the news, calling out to him that his case was on TV. Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander was interviewed on the black radio station KPOO the night before the rally. Both the San Francisco *Chronicle* and *Examiner* publicized the rally, helping to build support for Pratt's case. And it received international coverage, as Radio Moscow broadcast a report on February 24:

> "In Oakland, California a demonstration has been held in support of a demand to free Geronimo Pratt and other political prisoners in the United States. A rally after the demonstration pointed out Geronimo Pratt, a leader of the Black Panthers organization, has been in jail for 16 years now, suffering for his political views. He was imprisoned on a frame-up charge."

Radio Moscow noted that other "dissidents suppressed by the United States" include Leonard Peltier and black prison activist Johnny Harris, on Alabama's death row since 1975.

Pratt, a highly decorated Vietnam veteran, was railroaded to prison as a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) murder and disruption operation. He faces a parole board hearing in May and is fighting for a new trial. His 1971 conviction was orchestrated from the highest levels of government. It relied on the "testimony" of an LAPD agent and FBI informer who lied on the stand about his relationship to those agencies. Further, the FBI "lost" wiretaps proving Pratt was 500 miles away in Oakland at the time a Santa Monica schoolteacher (and antiwar activist) was murdered, the crime they framed him for. As former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen testified in 1985, "Pratt was set up."

Jeff Higgins of the Labor Black League declared at the rally, "Geronimo Pratt, unbowed and unbroken, still committed to the cause of the oppressed, is an inspiring model of dignity and determination for decent working people everywhere." Partisan Defense Committee speaker Janet McCullough John added that Geronimo Pratt's "freedom must be the cause of all who fight against oppression, not only because of the justice of his case and the crime of his continued imprisonment, but for the memory of his fallen comrades—like Bunchy Carter in Los Angeles, like Little Bobby Hutton, gunned down here in Oakland at the age of 15, not far from where we stand today.... Class-struggle defense means using the *power* of the working class. It means labor action."

WV Photos

Protesters demand freedom for Geronimo Pratt. Right, Alameda County Supervisor John George addresses rally outside Oakland City Hall.

Alameda County Supervisor John George brought the day's stormy weather to bear in his remarks to the rally: "Today is symbolic because the wind was out here today, but it is a wind of change. The rain will come down like justice and we've got to continue this struggle." Frenchie Alford, a vice president of the Oakland Education Association, emphasized the need to continue the fight, saying, "The time is now for the freedom of our brother Geronimo Pratt from the walls of confinement. We must press on to ensure that justice does prevail." Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary and Human Rights Chairman of Machinists Local 739, noted that Pratt's frame-up exposed the continuing injustices "perpetrated and manipulated by certain dregs in the dupe Reagan's administration, particularly when he's under sedation.... Each one of us here today could very well be the next victim of a frame-up."

Guillermo Bermúdez spoke for the Berkeley Young Spartacus Club. Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander stressed the need for "class-conscious workers to forge a class-struggle revolutionary leadership." He noted the Black Panther Party inspired black militants because of their rejection of craven "Uncle Tom" politics, but "as black nationalists, they despaired of mobilizing the tremendous social power of the organized, integrated labor movement, they were unable to link the struggle in the ghetto to the factories, to the power of the working class.... We, the Spartacist League, call for black liberation through socialist revolution."

For some who came out, the rally was an education. One 18-year-old black woman from the University of California told *WV*, "The first reason why I came to the rally is because I'm a fan of Malcolm X. I always have believed in the Black Panthers; I always was against Martin Luther King.... I came because it was about the Black Panthers and I would like to learn more about them." Others who braved the rain had experience of working-class struggles, from a Salvadoran phone worker to a Mexican farm worker from Watsonville, where cannery workers on strike for more than a year sent a solidarity greeting. A black ILWU member told *WV* he was in Iowa when the Panthers were active in Oakland and admired their work. He contrasted how the government treated the Ku Klux Klan and the Panthers: "They killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark back in Chicago. I know around Des Moines quite a few of the Panthers were busted on phony charges.... On the other hand you have the Ku Klux Klan, with a long history of killing and murdering innocent people. And yet today their leaders can walk around in perfect safety."

Keep Up the Fight!

The Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League, as well as endorsers like the Spartacist League, built heavily for the rally as part of an ongoing campaign to secure Geronimo Pratt's freedom. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed at union meetings and plant gates; pot luck dinners and parties were held to raise money to pay for the rally. The Communist Party U.S.A. and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression failed to endorse the rally, however. The John Brown Anti-Klan Network was absent as well, reportedly because the Spartacist League was involved. This sectarianism can only hurt efforts to free class-war prisoners like Pratt and many others still behind bars.

But support for Pratt's freedom is growing. At a February 27 press conference in Oakland, former Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale urged support for a letter-writing campaign demanding Pratt's freedom. More than 500 people have responded to the PDC's call to submit letters to the Court of Appeals and California Parole Board calling for his release. We urge our readers to take up this urgent cause. Speaking at the February 21 rally, Karen Allen, one of the demonstration's organizers, gave a moving report on her visit with Pratt in San Quentin the day before. When it's over, she said:

> "The guards come on the loudspeaker and say 'All prisoners to the rear—all visitors to the gate!' And they rip him away. In the last few moments, you see his eyes, knowing that he's locked up; you're leaving, but he's not. You finally walk out of that prison and you know that man has got to be free, he's got to be outside with us, organizing with us. So he thanks all of you for your efforts. Let's keep fighting!" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Panther Leader Behind Bars for 16 Years

Oakland Rally Demands: "Free Geronimo Pratt!"

OAKLAND—Demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!" over 200 union members and officials, black and Hispanic activists, students and socialists rallied Saturday, February 21 at Oakland's City Hall Plaza Park. Former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt has been imprisoned for over 16 years, *eight in solitary*, framed up for a crime he did not and could not have committed. From San Quentin prison this courageous fighter for black freedom sent greetings to the demonstration. "The fact of you coming together in workers' demands for Justice shows a degree of recognition that really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the worker.... My freedom would be a victory and a statement that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."

The rally brought an outpouring of support from coast to coast. Initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—the rally was endorsed by over 60 unions and labor officials. Congressman Ron Dellums and prominent black Bay Area officials Doris Ward and Wilson Riles

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WV Photos

United-front Oakland rally February 21 drew wide labor and black support. At podium, unionist Frenchie Alford.

"Pratt Fought for Us, Now We're Fighting for Him"

We print below excerpts from the remarks by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander at the February 21 Oakland rally for freedom for Geronimo Pratt:

I want to tell everybody here that I was sitting in that courtroom back in the early '70s when Geronimo Pratt was framed by the bourgeois state. I saw with my own eyes how happy the racist cops, the racist judge, the Los Angeles Police Department and the various other venal criminals that put Pratt away, how happy they were that day. Because what happened was that these wild beasts of U.S. imperialism, the Edwin Meeses and Ronald Reagans, put a militant fighter for the oppressed behind bars after they tried to kill him in 1969. For 16 years Pratt has been in jail, eight of them in solitary confinement, under conditions designed to break and destroy him. Over the years the Spartacist League, unlike the pro-Democratic Party left, has consistently called on the integrated labor movement and all anti-racist fighters to come to the defense of Geronimo Pratt and all class-war prisoners.

What really should happen, and what really would be justice, is if Edwin Meese and Ronald Reagan would be put in solitary confinement themselves for eight, ten years, and then shipped to El Salvador and be put into the hands of the Salvadoran workers and peasants who would place them on trial! The COINTELPRO program had one basic aim: to kill, to jail, to drive out of the country as many Panthers as they could. So when they attacked the Panthers' headquarters in Los Angeles, the cops there probably would have liked to have dropped a bomb on their headquarters like they did to MOVE in Philadelphia—except during that period of time U.S. imperialism was busy raining bombs down on the heads of Vietnamese workers and peasants who beat their butts and sent them packing.

WV Photo

"To be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."
—Geronimo Pratt

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 424 | 20 March 1987

As War-Mad Reagan Goes Down the Tubes...

Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism

Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!

Taylor/Sygma

Turnley/Newsweek

As Pentagon's first-strike missiles target USSR, Reagan and Gorbachev meet at Reykjavik last October.

The Tower Commission report officially told the American people what was always perfectly clear to everyone who had eyes to see, that Ronald Reagan is a moron and a liar. The victims of this vicious regime—workers who've had their unions gutted and broken, the black and Hispanic poor who've seen their children starved by the racist cutbacks—are now witnessing the sight of Reagan twisting slowly in the wind. But gloating over the downfall of the teflon president is not enough. Hard class struggle can turn this country around, galvanizing the sympathy of the ghetto poor and unemployed, farmers driven into bankruptcy, and all the intended victims of Ed Meese's thought and sex police. *Now is the time to strike back*, not only against the crippled Reagan government but the whole racist capitalist system.

Instead, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev holds out his hand to the rabid warmonger Reagan as a partner in securing "world peace." *Business Week* (16 March) breathed a sigh of relief: "Just as the Iran-*contra* scandal was laying waste to the Reagan Presidency, the leader of the 'evil empire' held out the promise of an arms-control breakthrough on medium-range weapons in Europe." Administration hardliner Kenneth Adelman crowed that the latest Soviet offer "shows that the Russians have not given up on President Reagan." Not only has Gorbachev not given up on Reagan, he has given in to him. The latest Soviet "arms control" proposal is the *very same* one Reagan made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, a first-strike weapon eight minutes flying time from Moscow.

Washington's so-called "zero option" was so one-sidedly advantageous to NATO forces, it was *designed to be rejected* by Moscow. And the Russians did reject it, then. They pointed out the "zero option," while calling for the removal of almost 500 Soviet missiles in exchange for a promise not to deploy U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles, did not touch the British and French missiles targeted at their cities, nor did it affect U.S. submarine-launched missiles in European waters. At the Reykjavik summit the Soviets insisted that a "Euromissile" deal depended on limiting Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme; now they have dropped even that condition. One of the U.S. negotiators who first proposed the "zero option," Spurgeon Keeny, says the latest Soviet offer "is a far better deal than anyone would have prophesied" (*New York Times*, 4 March).

But all these negotiating moves, the endless offers and counteroffers at Geneva or Reykjavik, in no way reduce the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind. "Arms control" is a hoax which in fact serves to stimulate the development of new weapons systems. The NATO powers will not give up or limit any weapons unless they can be replaced by comparable or more effective ones. The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever weapons it considers necessary without being encumbered by "arms control" agreements with its implacable imperialist enemy.

Look at the 1972 SALT I treaty, which the Kremlin bureaucracy holds up as a model "arms control" agreement. Visiting the U.S. not long after this treaty was signed, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev declared: "The quarter-century period of the Cold War is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West." Superficially, the SALT agreement froze the number of missiles on both sides. However, Nixon/Kissinger insisted on *exempting* the number of warheads which could be placed on a missile. In the decade following the SALT I treaty, the Pentagon simply multiplied the number of warheads per missile, increasing its nuclear arsenal to the tune of three a day! So much for arms control and détente.

America's Main Export: Counterrevolution

Rabid warmonger Richard Pipes, formerly Soviet "expert" for Reagan's National Security Council, recently wrote: "Even a good [missile] deal would be a mistake, for the root of the problem is not nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 10 October 1986). No, the root of the matter is revolution and counterrevolution. Pipes makes no secret of his goal to overthrow the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union—the product of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution—and restore "free market" capitalism. However, the Soviet Union is too strong militarily and the loyalty of its people too deep for Western imperialism to risk a direct assault. Instead the strategy is to attack on the periphery of Soviet power. In the 1950s John Foster Dulles called this "rollback." Today it's called the "Reagan doctrine" for exporting counterrevolution.

But the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union is bipartisan, including the Democrats as well as the Republicans. "Arms control" honcho Adelman summed up the immediate aims of the "Reagan doctrine": force Moscow to end "the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the continuation of military support of regimes in Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua" (*Washington Post*, 13 November 1986). In other words, the arms race is being used as a means of pressure on Russia to surrender Afghanistan to the CIA-armed Islamic fanatics, abandon the heroic Vietnamese people who inflicted upon American imperialism the greatest defeat in its history, let the racist butchers in South Africa take over Angola, and cut off support to Sandinista Nicaragua against Reagan's contras.

For the imperialists, a key test of Gorbachev's "desire for peace" is his willingness to abandon Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, to "freedom fighters" who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read. Gorbachev has called the war in Afghanistan a "bleeding wound" and repeatedly declared his intention to withdraw all Soviet troops in a relatively short time. Perhaps the Afghan army—trained by the Russians and bolstered by popular support for land to the tiller and other democratic measures—can mop up the *mujahedin* scum by itself. But there appears to be an increasing danger that the new Soviet leadership will sell

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Young Spartacus

Racist Terror on U.S. Campuses

Black Students Under Attack

See page 5

Detroit Auto Bosses Raped America

JAPAN INC. VS. WALL STREET

See page 6

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Labor Defense—Wherever the Class Struggle Rages

"The movement for non-partisan, unified working class defense is not only not confined to any one country, but is connected up in a strong ring of solidarity which embraces the entire world. Wherever the class struggle rages, and the capitalist class takes its victims from among the workers and farmers, the movement for labor defense grows up out of the struggle and into an arm for the masses" (*Labor Defender*, July 1927).

Last year South African workers at Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing downed tools in support of their brothers facing a shutdown of 3M's Freehold, New Jersey magnetic tape plant. Salvadoran phone workers struck in the face of death squad terror. The courageous struggles and solidarity of these brutally oppressed workers is an inspiration to their brothers and sisters throughout the world. In the belly of this largest imperialist beast, whose bloody hands terrorize workers and oppressed worldwide, U.S. workers have a special duty and capacity to assist our victimized brothers and sisters around the world. In recent months the Partisan Defense Committee has supported a number of cases of workers and oppressed facing state repression across the seas.

* * *

Mordechai Vanunu is the Israeli technician who disclosed Israel's arsenal of 100-200 nuclear bombs. For this elemental defense of all peoples by disclosing this danger of a thermonuclear holocaust, Vanunu was kidnapped by the Israeli secret police, Mossad, and faces the death penalty as he stands trial for treason. The PDC issued an urgent appeal for an international campaign of protest demanding that charges be dropped and Vanunu freed. In a telegram protest to the Israeli Embassy, we charged, "Death penalty threat recalls anti-Semitic McCarthyite murder of Rosenbergs."

* * *

Following the well-publicized student upheavals last December, which backed by the threat of labor strike action forced the withdrawal of the anti-working-class education "reform" bill, the Mitterrand/Chirac government was shaken when the workers hit the bricks for themselves. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), French section of the international Spartacist tendency, was authorized by the strikers to raise funds to assist rail workers and their families who lost wages during the strike. The PDC contributed $100 to express our solidarity with their struggle against years of anti-working-class austerity.

* * *

In South Asia, U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive fuels state terror and pogromist attacks against Sri Lanka's hideously oppressed Tamil minority. The capitalist powers such as Britain who arm and train the death squads of Jayewardene's reactionary regime close their borders to Tamil refugees. On February 18 the PDC cabled our protest of the Thatcher government's attempt to expel 58 Tamil refugees at London's Heathrow Airport and demanded full political asylum.

All Lankan workers face grinding exploitation to safeguard the profits of imperialist investors. In 1984 the PDC raised money for the mainly Sinhalese women textile workers striking at Magnum Garment. On 12 December 1986, a stop-work action was called against an attempt by Magnum bosses to take back bonuses, one of the gains of the 1984 strike. The bosses retaliated by sacking four founding members of the union who had led the stop-work, Leela Samarasinghe, Indrani Dayananda, Latha Gomes and Renuka. Once again we call on *WV* readers to dig deep for funds to aid our sisters in Lanka and their battle to win back their jobs.

* * *

Thirteen Puerto Rican independence fighters face FBI frame-up charges in Hartford, Connecticut. The use of dragnet raids, massive wiretaps, RICO conspiracy laws and preventive detention is part of the government's efforts to crush the "independentistas" and try out Meese's arsenal for criminalizing political opposition on the mainland. The PDC has donated $100 to their defense, which is crucial to all workers, oppressed and enemies of colonialism.

* * *

For 13 years Canadian abortion rights activist and concentration camp survivor Dr. Henry Morgentaler has been the target of vicious state prosecution and fanatical fundamentalist violence. The bible-thumping anti-Semites and abortion clinic bombers have in their sights not only women's rights but every working-class gain, from unions to the Russian Revolution. The PDC contributed $100 to Dr. Morgentaler's defense, and encourage *WV* readers to render much needed support. As Dr. Morgentaler wrote, "I wish to thank you for your contribution to cover expenses related to my struggle for reproductive freedom for women in Canada. It is a long, arduous and protracted battle. I appreciate your support and view it as an encouragement to continue in spite of all the difficulties." Send contributions to: Pro-Choice Defense Fund, 238 Davenport Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5R 1S6.

* * *

We urge *WV* readers to continue to help build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. For your contribution of $5 or more you will receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, newsletter of the PDC. For a single copy send $.75. Earmarked contributions to any of these and other vital cases we support may be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

Workers Revolution to Disarm the Imperialists

LENIN

Besieged by imperialism and civil war, the young Soviet republic appealed for revolutionary action by the international proletariat. In March 1919 the Third International was founded, and two weeks later the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a program drafted by Lenin which stated:

The resistance of the exploiters, which grows simultaneously with the intensification of the onslaught of the proletariat, and is particularly intensified by the victory of the proletariat in individual countries, and the international solidarity and organisation of the bourgeoisie inevitably cause the combination of civil war in individual countries and revolutionary wars between the proletarian countries and bourgeois countries fighting to retain the rule of capital. In view of the class character of such wars, the distinction drawn between defensive and offensive wars becomes utterly meaningless.

By and large, this development of international civil war, a process which has been taking place with exceptional rapidity before our very eyes since the end of 1918 is the legitimate product of the class struggle under capitalism and a legitimate step towards the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

For this reason, the R.C.P. emphatically rejects the hope of disarmament under capitalism as the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats, even though they call themselves socialists and Social-Democrats, and in opposition to this and all similar slogans which actually play into the hands of the bourgeoisie, it advances the slogan of arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, the slogan of completely and ruthlessly suppressing the resistance of the exploiters, the slogan of fighting until victory over the bourgeoisie of the whole world is achieved both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars.

—V. I. Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 424 **20 March 1987**

Feds Continue Vendetta

John Gotti Beats RICO Frame-Up

After a seven-month trial in Brooklyn, John Gotti was acquitted of federal charges under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) of engaging in a criminal conspiracy as a capo (and later head) of the Gambino Mafia "family." Before leaving the courthouse Gotti noted, "They'll be ready to frame us again in two weeks... just watch" (*New York Times*, 14 March). The very next day, the *Times* reported that Manhattan federal attorney Rudolph Giuliani has seized the case and is preparing a "new" case, based once again on RICO statutes, accusing Gotti and his six codefendants of running a "criminal enterprise"—the "Gambino crime family." So with Giuliani bucking for higher political office, the government vendetta continues. As liberal columnist Murray Kempton sarcastically observed before the verdict was in:

> "It is an article of faith for civics classes that no man can be tried twice for the same crime. We can thank RICO for liberating us from that prejudice...
>
> "John Gotti could be convicted and sent away for 40 years or more if the jury found that he had conspired to commit a 1975 homicide for which he had already served a prison term.... RICO arithmetic is the science that takes one felony already adjudicated, adds one misdemeanor and sums up the total as a multiplication of felonies.
>
> "It has been said that, if such things can be done to the Mafia, they can be done to us all. We would better say that they ought not to be done to anyone."
>
> —"If RICO Wins, We Lose," *Newsday*, 8 March

John Gotti Hemsey/Gamma-Liaison

The government's momentary defeat in the Gotti case came after a string of courtroom victories culminating in the conviction of 17 reputed Mafia leaders in the "Pizza Connection" trial earlier this month. This time, the intended victim Gotti was lucky enough to have a jury which wouldn't buy the bought testimony

continued on page 9

AFP

Israeli soldiers terrorize Arab youth on occupied West Bank.

Unholy Alliance of Israel, Syria, Shi'ite Amal

AFP

Shi'ite Amal slaughters Palestinians in West Beirut.

Palestinians Under Siege

For decades the Palestinian resistance has been hailed by Arab nationalists and their left cheerleaders around the world as the vanguard of the "Arab Revolution" against Zionism and imperialism. In reality, all the Arab governments—feudal monarchies or "radical" military regimes, pro-Western or Soviet client states—have betrayed the dispossessed Palestinian people and sought to crush their armed militants: the 1970 Black September massacre by Jordan's King Hussein; the 1976 siege of Tel Zaatar by Lebanese Christian Maronites backed by Ba'athist Syria; the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, when the entire Arab world stood by while the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) faced alone the full might of the Zionist war machine. Today, once again, the bloody events in both Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza highlight the unholy alliance of Western imperialism, Zionism and the Arab rulers *against the Palestinian people.*

During the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger gloated:

> "No Arab government has given more than verbal support to the embattled Palestinians, and even that lacked the traditional passion. Even Syria stood by passively until its own forces were directly attacked, and made a separate cease-fire while the PLO was being systematically destroyed."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 16 June 1982

However, the Palestinian forces in Lebanon have since managed to regroup and grow, in part due to the Zionist state's savage repression in the West Bank and Gaza and continuing expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland. An estimated half of the 12,000 PLO commandos driven out of Lebanon in 1982 have since slipped back. However, the Shi'ite Amal, the main beneficiary to date of the Israeli invasion and subsequent pullback, is determined to prevent the restoration of Palestinian armed force in Lebanon. As a result there has been the grotesque spectacle of Shi'ites pounding the Palestinian camps with artillery fire and trying to starve them out, while Israel bombs them from the air and sea. And now Syria has sent its army into West Beirut to break the power of the PLO.

AP

Palestinian camp of Shatila in West Beirut—scene of Zionist genocide in 1982—reduced to a few hundred square yards of rubble by Amal artillery.

Amid the squalid communalist bloodletting in Lebanon, the struggle of the Palestinians for national justice is the one continuing social struggle which can legitimately claim the support of the world proletariat. Revolutionaries must support the Palestinian fighters defending the besieged camps. But backing the Palestinian cause does *not* mean political support for the PLO, whose petty-bourgeois nationalism has produced defeat after defeat for the Palestinian people. During the Israeli siege of Beirut in 1982, Arafat even called on the imperialist elite guard—the U.S. Marines, French legionnaires and Italian commandos—to disarm and escort out of Lebanon the PLO's own fighters, leaving the Palestinian masses defenseless before the Israeli butchers and their Christian Maronite jackals. The Sabra/Shatila massacre, reminiscent of the Nazi Holocaust, was the direct result of Arafat's betrayal. Today, it is the Shi'ite Amal which is carrying on the Zionists' dirty work.

Kara/Sipa

Syrian army intervention in West Beirut targets PLO.

"War of the Camps" and "War of the Allies"

The "war of the camps" began last September when Amal renewed its siege of Rashadiyeh, a Palestinian camp near Tyre in southern Lebanon. The PLO fought back effectively, overrunning the Amal stronghold of Maghdusheh overlooking Sidon and carving out a six-square-mile "liberated zone" outside this strategic port of southern Lebanon, only 35 miles from the Israeli border. However, Amal, with its greater population base among Lebanon's 1.1 million Shi'ite Muslims, has placed a stranglehold around Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon and West Beirut. Besieged for five months, the 22,000 refugees at Rashadiyeh have been forced to eat cats, dogs, donkeys. Even the grass is gone. Young Palestinian children who try to slip out to pick green plants are killed by Amal militiamen.

In West Beirut, the Shatila camp—where in September 1982 the Israelis organized the massacre of thousands of Palestinians by their Christian Maronite henchmen—is now reduced to a few hundred square yards of rubble, its drinking water contaminated and typhoid running rampant. Amal's tanks stand near the mass grave where the victims of the earlier massacre are buried. Two-thirds of those killed and wounded are civilians. "The screaming of women and children is mixed with the moaning of the sick and wounded," exclaimed one Palestinian trapped in this camp of death. A woman who managed to flee the nearby Baraj al Barajinah camp recounted in horror:

> "Famine is ungodly and wicked. The children were constantly screaming for food. When there was shelling I prayed to God to take us so we would not feel our hunger anymore."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 11 February

Then, in mid-February, fighting broke out in Muslim West Beirut between Amal and the Lebanese Communist Party. The initial turf battle was followed by a wave of assassinations of top CPers (at least nine killed) and the kidnapping and murder of scores of party members. Shi'ite clerics reportedly issued religious edicts calling for the killing of all Communists in southern Lebanon. Lining up with the CP in the Beirut battles were the Druze militias of Walid Jumblatt and the pro-Khomeini Shi'ite Hezbollah (Party of God), which has itself gone after the CP in the past. This "war of the allies" pitted against each other forces which had fought together against the Maronite Christian Phalange in 1983—becoming one more episode in the endless, shifting communalist civil war among the kaleidoscopic sectarian forces of Lebanon.

The entry of the Syrian army, 7,000 strong, into West Beirut late last month will bring no respite for the starving Palestinian camps. On the contrary, while the declared purpose of the Syrian intervention was to stop the fighting between Amal and Druze forces, Damascus strongman Assad's real target is the PLO. For all his hardline rhetoric against Israel, from his 1976 Lebanese intervention (initially on the side of the Christian Maronites) to today, Assad's overriding aim has been to break up a "Fatahland" in Lebanon under the influence of PLO leader Arafat. As the astute Near East correspondent David Hirst wrote: "A new link-up between the besieged [Palestinian] camps and West Beirut was something that President Assad had to prevent at all costs" (London *Guardian*, 23 February).

For good reason the PLO (now

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Young Spartacus

Drive CIA Recruiters Off Campus!

Young Spartacus

300 Protest in Madison

MADISON—On February 25, 300 students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison rallied at the Memorial Union, demanding "CIA Off Campus!" The two-day demonstration, endorsed by the Spartacus Youth Club, the liberal Progressive Student Network (PSN), Community Action on Latin America (CALA, a CISPES affiliate), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), was also attended by 20 students from the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, where the CIA was successfully prevented from recruiting last month. The two demands of the united-front demonstration were "CIA Off Campus!" and "Drop All Charges Against the Anti-CIA Protesters!" Five students still face charges from an October 1985 anti-CIA demonstration where the campus cops attacked protesters, injuring one and arresting others on phony "disorderly conduct" charges.

As the demonstrators marched up Bascom Hill to where the CIA was recruiting, many picked up the Spartacus Youth Club's chant "Roach motels for the CIA—They check in and there they stay!" The SYC stood out as the bright red contingent in the march with placards reading, "Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!" "For Labor/Black Action to Stop Racist Terror!" "Free Abortion on Demand! Union Defense of Abortion Clinics!" "Hail Cuban Troops Defending Black Angola!" and "Communist Revolution is America's Last Best Hope!"

The marchers moved inside the building where the CIA was ensconced and held a teach-in in the corridor. Members of the PSN and CALA spoke about the CIA's crimes in Africa and Nicaragua, but avoided the issue of the Soviet Union—the main target of the U.S. war drive. Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Judith Preston made the connection:

> "What links together the CIA's crimes, U.S. support to South Africa, and the Contra International which the CIA finances and operates, is the bipartisan drive for war against the Soviet Union. And in order to regiment the population to go along with their war plans, social reaction at home means attacks on gays, abortion clinic bombings, the drug witchhunt, the defeat of school busing. From Howard Beach to Cumming, Georgia to Tampa, Florida, the racists and fascists are emboldened with their twice-endorsed favorite presidential 'Klandidate' in the White House. Internationally, U.S. imperialism sees the Soviet Union, homeland of the first successful workers revolution, behind every struggle of the oppressed, and sends their CIA dogs of war to crush it. Since the international workers victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917, the U.S. and other imperialist powers have made it their number one target in trying to get back that one-sixth of the earth for capitalist exploitation and profits."

The PSN consistently tries to duck these issues and limit opposition to the CIA to complaints that it's "not a legitimate employer" because it "violates the law." Thus in a statement printed in the *Daily Cardinal* (24 February), PSN spokesmen decry the CIA's crimes around the world while conceding its possible "value" as an "intelligence-gathering agency"! In a 26 February staff editorial the *Daily Cardinal* came out to the left of the PSN, noting "Sufficient opposition to the CIA presence may have a decisive effect in the agency's decision about whether recruitment here is worth its time and energy. But the CIA will continue to exist, because the U.S. government will continue to have as its goal the restructuring of global society to accord with the needs of U.S. capitalism. The goal of protesting the CIA's presence should be directed...so that we can challenge the foundations for the CIA's existence."

The protest continued into the night as students occupied the administration building. The PSN focused on trying to pressure the chancellor to ban CIA recruiters. SYC members participating in the all-night sit-in argued against any illusions in the administration, pointing out that universities are part of the capitalist system, training centers for the managers, technicians and ideologues who run it—and the administration's position was made clear at past anti-CIA demonstrations where anti-imperialist students were met with mace and billy clubs by the campus cops.

"State Department Socialists" See Red

The anti-Soviet ISO was caught with their political pants down during the two-day anti-CIA protests. Underhanded maneuvers to exclude the Soviet-defensist Spartacus Youth Club blew up in their face; they shrank from open political debate and did not even attempt to speak at the rallies. As SYC spokesman Richard Genova stated at the rally following the sit-in, "It would be pretty hard for the ISO to explain their positions, like how they hack the Afghan mullahs. Or to get up here and argue that they're against Soviet aid to Nicaragua, which is in fact their position. Or, you know, they would also have a real problem with the Cuban troops in Angola that are fighting South African apartheid." Unable to defend their politics, the ISO resorted to their fists in a cowardly attack on 5'2" SYC member Judith Preston as she was selling *Workers Vanguard* a few days after the demonstration. The violence of these "third camp" social democrats will be put to a stop. So far, the Madison SYC has distributed over 1,000 copies of an "Open Letter to Madison Students and Labor" exposing and condemning the ISO's thuggery.

The "workerist" ISO was feeling prickly about our comrades' condemnation of their role in producing a *scab* leaflet for the anti-CIA protest. This violated an agreement among the endorsers that the united-front leaflet would be printed by donated labor or at a union shop—a proud tradition of the workers movement. We challenged the ISO, as ostensible socialists, to join us in the fight for a union-printed leaflet. Not surprisingly, these "State Department socialists" would rather support counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the only "union" loved by Reagan, than real trade unions, and flatly refused. The SYC had the leaflet reprinted with a prominent union label (bug) and mobilized students to make announcements and leaflet classes, cafeterias and campus events to build for the demonstration.

Meanwhile a dozen ISO and PSN members attempted to purge the SYC from the united front due to our "divisive" and "uncomradely" insistence on the trade-union principle! But the students who sat in all night in the administration building voted two to one to have the SYC speak at the rally. So, the ISO (literally) got a bug up their ass, and antics by other anti-Soviet "leftists" also fell flat. A PSNer authored a sinister "Sparticus [sic] Rap" featuring the FBI's preferred misspelling of our name, which retailed sinister violence-baiting lies and ridiculed our slogan, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution." Some anti-communists intended to "rap" this ditty during our comrade's speech at the demonstration, but gave up when they saw the crowd wasn't interested in their trash.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club are proud to be known as partisans of the Russian Revolution. We are fighting to build an international party of the working class to finish the work begun by the Bolsheviks: abolishing capitalist exploitation, racism and all oppression, and establishing a planned economy and collectivized property. The Spartacus Youth Cluh fights to win young militants to defense of the gains of the working class internationally, and to a lifetime of commitment to the fight for a socialist future. Join us! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.
Next classes: March 28, April 11
See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin
For more information (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Racist Terror on U.S. Campuses

Black Students Under Attack

Racist terror in America is not confined to the mean streets of Howard Beach and Forsyth County. From the mob rampage against black students at UMass Amherst following the Red Sox loss in the World Series, to the KKK-style cross-burning in a black cadet's room at The Citadel, there has been an ominous surge of racist violence on campuses across the country. These attacks have evoked outrage by minority and anti-racist students who've organized large rallies and "racial awareness symposiums." In several instances, the racist punks have been identified and been let off with a slap on the wrist.

If even one of these bigots were nabbed and displayed with a yellow stripe painted down their naked back, it would do more to improve the "climate of opinion" than a thousand "consciousness-raising" sessions. Racist terror will not be stopped by moral suasion—it must be smashed by the social power of the working class, united with the intended victims of race-terror and all anti-racist fighters.

• At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, a former hotbed of radical student protest, racist flyers declaring the end of deer-hunting season and announcing "open season" on blacks were shoved under the door of a lounge where black women students were meeting. The scum responsible are feeling so emboldened that when several hundred students marched in protest of these threats, Klan outfits were hung

WV Photo

United front of labor and students, initiated by SL, drove Nazis out of Ann Arbor, March 1982.

from a dormitory along the march route. Racist graffiti is now commonplace in study carrels in the library; a book by Mark Twain was defaced with swastikas and pictures of lynched blacks hanging from trees. In early February the campus radio station was (temporarily) shut down and a "deejay" fired for broadcasting vile racist "jokes" complete with "laugh track."

• In Austin, Texas, two students, wearing Ronald Reagan masks and carrying a gun, cornered a prominent black student activist and tried to push him through a plate glass window.

• Just after midnight on February 18 at Tufts University near Boston, Ian Kremer, a student well known for his anti-racist views, was attacked by thugs who beat him to the ground screaming, "nigger lover," "pinko" and "Jew boy."

Carter/Chicago Tribune

Black Student Union at Northern Illinois U. led large, integrated protest against racist threats on March 5 after Nazi swastikas appeared on campus.

The next day, over 100 students who came out to protest this assault became the target of another attack as racists in a pickup truck tried to mow down the marchers. Another punk in a white Cadillac smashed the camera of a *Boston Globe* photographer. Outrageously *blaming the victim*, university officials are denying that the attack on Kremer (who was sent to a local emergency room from the school infirmary that night) ever occurred, claiming that the snow where Kremer was beaten showed no trace of a scuffle!

• At UMass Boston, liberal professors have received hate mail on university stationery and swastikas have been plastered on their office doors. Professor Kevin Whitfield, the faculty adviser for InCAR (Progressive Labor Party's "International Committee Against Racism") received a threat stating that his "case" has been assigned to the "werewolf section of the SS in Urbana, Illinois."

• The elite University of Chicago is no safe haven from menacing bigots who take their cues from the KKK/Nazi fascists who've targeted that city for attack. Stickers reading "Stop AIDS: Castrate Gays" appeared in the black neighborhoods around Hyde Park and on the campus. Gay and leftist student leaders received letters which were also sent to their parents, roommates and employers threatening "strong measures" against their "deviant" behavior—the return address was stamped "The Great White Brotherhood of the Iron Fist, Botha Boulevard."

• At UCLA, an outfit named the "White Student Alliance" posted flyers for a racist rally on minority professors' doors and in Campbell Hall where the affirmative action center is located. Student groups organized a rally against racism, drawing some 400 predominantly black and Hispanic students out to combat this threat. This mobilization kept the racists from rearing their ugly heads that day.

Campus administrators are tripping over themselves hurrying to "fix" the damage by avowing their commitment to "diversity" and attribute the "troubles" to the fact that youth are young (!) and haven't lived through the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. Since the 1930s political activism on American campuses has been predominantly liberal rather than right-wing. But as a petty-bourgeois strata, isolated from the reality of working-class struggle, students can swing pretty far to the right. In Germany in the '30s, the campuses were breeding grounds for the ideological storm troops of Hitler's Third Reich.

To some degree, the increase in racist violence on the campuses in this country today reflects the frenzy of the petty-bourgeoisie whose economic position has eroded with the rot of American industrial capacity. Yuppies grow up and become "dinks" ("double income, no kids"—'cause they can't afford them) and middle-class families finance college educations the way they'd buy a house, by going into massive debt.

The intensified racial polarization on the campuses is also a direct result of government policy. The fascist scum got their green light under Democratic president Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter with the 1979 slaughter of five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Klan-endorsed Republican president Ronald Reagan has continued state-sponsored terrorism against black people as a policy. The bombing of the black Philadelphia MOVE household, legally sanctioned cop murder of black people in the streets of New York City, gutting busing for school desegregation, banning "secular humanist" textbooks—these are the emblems of a willfully vicious ruling class.

Government slashing of financial aid has hit black families the hardest. Universities get whiter while the armed forces are disproportionately black and Hispanic. Union-busting attacks by the bosses have given rise to a two-tier wage system in this country where young workers employed at a lower pay scale are wielded as a club against the unions themselves. *Newsweek On Campus* (February 1987) reports that at "many 'integrated' colleges blacks are fast becoming missing persons.... In the 1984-85 school year...the proportion of blacks in college decreased 20 percent. And this happened even as the number of black high-school graduates was *rising*."

At Dartmouth, where officials boasted of the highest black enrollment in the Ivy League (a paltry 8 percent), minority admissions plunged 25 percent in one year after sledgehammer-wielding racists of the *Dartmouth Review* crowd leveled a shantytown, unable to tolerate even a symbolic gesture of solidarity with the black freedom struggle against apartheid. To eliminate the race and class privilege in higher education, the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand the nationalization of private universities. For open admissions and free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all!

What this country needs is some good old-fashioned class struggle—*now*, while the Reagan gang is widely despised as brutal, incompetent, war-crazed criminals. If labor flexed its muscles, the racist vermin crawling around the campuses would slink back to their holes, and frat rats now hoisting the Confederate flag of slavery wouldn't be whistling "Dixie." Impossible? Not at all. In 1982, the Spartacist League initiated a successful united front of labor, minorities and students which swept the Nazis off the streets of Ann Arbor.

On their own, students have no social power, but united with Detroit auto workers and other sections of the labor movement can beat back these racist

WV Photo

San Francisco, 1984: We tore down the Confederate flag of slavery!

attacks through militant action. What's lacking is a revolutionary leadership to get the unions off their knees and fighting in defense of their own class interest and that of all the oppressed. On the campuses and elsewhere, the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win anti-racist militants to the side of the working class, to fight for *revolutionary integrationism*. The racist oppression endemic to this society can only be eradicated by overthrowing the capitalist system which breeds it. We are dedicated to building the party to lead these struggles to finish the Civil War through socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist Class Series

Black History and the Class Struggle

Saturday, April 4, 1:00 p.m.
Blackburn Center, Room 150
Howard University

For more information (202) 636-3537

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

(Exco Course)
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next classes: March 31, April 14, 28
Wilder Hall, Room 212
Oberlin College

For more information: (216) 775-5858

OBERLIN

Detroit Auto Bosses Raped America

A Review:

The Reckoning
by David Halberstam
William Morrow & Company,
New York, 1986

PART ONE OF TWO

David Franklin

JAPAN INC. VS. WALL STREET

WV Photo

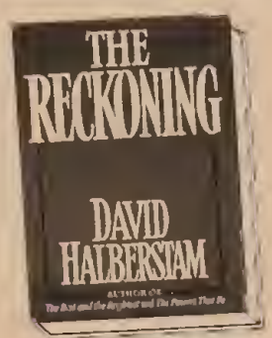
Modern Japanese manufacturing plants dominate world markets, Wall Street speculators drive American industry into the ground.

In the early 1970s a business friend told Lee Iacocca, then president of Ford, that he'd been offered a big Toyota dealership in Houston. "Don't take it," Iacocca advised him. "Why not?" he asked. "Because," the blowhard Detroit auto man declared, "we're going to kick their asses back into the Pacific Ocean." In the next decade it was the Japanese who kicked the asses of Iacocca and his colleagues back into the Great Lakes. So now the Chrysler chairman is selling cars with "Born in America" flag-waving...and Japanese imports. (Incidentally, Iacocca's friend took his advice and later said it was the worst business decision he ever made—cost him $10 million at least.)

Today the U.S. is running a whopping $170 billion annual trade deficit, half of it to Japan. Democrats threaten trade war by pushing protectionist bills in Congress while Reagan's Treasury Department wages currency war, trying to make the yen expensive and the dollar cheap. As auto bosses push their Japan-bashing "Buy American" ads, United Auto Workers (UAW) officials are bashing Toyotas, whipping up deadly chauvinism in the ranks of labor. Already one Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was beaten to death by a Chrysler foreman screaming about stealing American jobs. And now, as Japanese investment in the U.S. increases, the media are handing out advice on "Working for Japan Inc." "Keep your union card in your wallet," suggests *Newsweek* (2 February).

With U.S. industry increasingly "uncompetitive," turning out shoddy products while the companies sink billions into takeovers instead of productive investment, anti-Japanese protectionism has tied American workers to the bosses and the Democratic Party. Last year, AFL-CIO tops scheduled a chauvinist demonstration on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, demanding the hiring of more union labor in building a Toyota plant in Kentucky. And Democrat Mondale appealed for union support to his '84 presidential bid ranting, "If you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!" We denounced this war talk, and pointed out:

> "Japan was driven into [World War II] by protectionist barriers raised against its exports by the Western powers during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The attack on Pearl Harbor was a direct response to the American, British and Dutch embargo of oil shipments to Japan without which its economy could not survive. U.S. imperialism thus provoked Japan into war and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
>
> "The answer to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima is for the American and Japanese workers to unite and *wage class war* against their *own exploiters* on Wall Street and in Tokyo...."
>
> —"Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!"
> *WV* No. 416,
> 21 November 1986



Slick apology for givebacks, austerity.

An Apology for Giveback Unionism

The "secret" to Tokyo's economic success is a hot topic from corporate boardrooms to the shopfloor. So explaining Japan's evident industrial superiority has become a cottage industry for American academics and journalists of late. There's Ezra Vogel's *Japan as Number One*, Herman Kahn's *The Japanese Challenge*, etc. The most recent contribution to this literature is journalist David Halberstam's *The Reckoning*, which sets out to tell "the parallel stories of the Japanese ascent and the American malaise." He uses the device of parallel histories of Ford and Nissan, the number two auto makers in their respective countries. But this is not a narrow, dual corporate chronicle. *The Reckoning* ranges far and wide, from the politics of the postwar American occupation of Japan to the economics of OPEC.

At its core *The Reckoning* is a slick, ideological apology for economic austerity and giveback unionism. Halberstam blames Detroit's economic collapse on geology and the American national character, or rather lack of character. The American people, he maintains, became soft and spoiled by the easy prosperity of the 1950s-'60s based on cheap oil, making the U.S. unfit to compete in the leaner and meaner world of the 1980s: "America, facing competition from hungrier, more disciplined Asian nations, seemed unable to discipline itself." Basically Halberstam agrees with Nissan head Takashi Ishihara, who told the UAW's Doug Fraser a few years ago: "Your problem in America is of your own making. It is your work force—it is your whole American system. Nobody wants to work."

Such views have become fashionable in American intellectual and also business circles. The doyen of liberal economists, John Kenneth Galbraith, hails *The Reckoning* as an "impressive achievement" and endorses Halberstam's analysis. Critics of the American auto industry now apportion the blame more or less equally between the greed and shortsightedness of the Big Three executives and the UAW. Maverick John DeLorean, once a GM vice president, declares that "monopoly led to lavish overhead, including lavish union contracts and lavish salaries for management" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1986). Consider how lavish the life of a typical Detroit auto worker is compared to DeLorean's. One Christmas he gave his wife three sable coats of different lengths, one for every occasion.

Halberstam does not especially condemn the UAW leadership, though he does argue that the union pushed up wages to a point that damaged the industry's competitiveness. Still, he is deeply respectful toward Walter Reuther and his successors in Solidarity House: "If there was a certain nobility of purpose—a vision of a better and more just society—that drove the union, then much of that came from Walter Reuther." No, it is *the rank-and-file auto workers* Halberstam condemns for getting too much money for doing too little.

It isn't that Halberstam is blind to the present suffering of the Midwest's blue collar workers and their families. He paints a powerful and moving picture of Detroit in the early 1980s—skilled craftsmen pawning their tool kits, some worth $2,000 apiece; hundreds standing in the freezing cold all night to apply for a handful of jobs as department store clerks; the marked increase in broken homes and wife beatings as jobless men take their anger and frustration out on their families.

But for Halberstam, auto workers brought these terrible conditions down on themselves. Pointing to the breakdown of labor discipline in the early '70s—the rash of wildcat strikes, increased absenteeism—he retrospectively warns that "these alienated, complacent workers, whether they knew it or not, were under challenge from purposeful, disciplined workers around the world, and their jobs and their whole way of life were in the balance." Halberstam writes of Midwestern auto workers, a large number of them ghetto blacks, as if they were "me generation" yuppies into their BMWs, tennis lessons and aerobics classes. The fact that Detroit is a largely black town is barely mentioned in this 700-page study of the postwar American auto industry. While condemning auto worker militancy in the early 1970s, *The Reckoning* gives a glowing account of Nissan's new and *non-union* plant in Smyrna, Tennessee: "Morale was unusually high among the workers...it seemed as if fifty years of

Levin/Black Star

Flag-waving blowhard Lee Iacocca pushes protectionism...and Japanese imports.

labor-management bitterness had been wiped away."

The core of Halberstam's argument is taken over from Jimmy Carter's late '70s anti-OPEC hysteria: namely that the relative prosperity of the 1950s-'60s—the vaunted "American way of life"—was based on cheap oil, much of it by a happy accident of nature located under American soil:

> "The oil culture, with its easy affluence, was like an addiction. Americans had been rich for some sixty years, and several generations had become accustomed to prosperity.
>
> "The postwar years, the immense material strength and physical might, two generations of unrivaled prosperity—it had all lulled America into thinking it had attained an economic utopia, a kind of guaranteed national prosperity, like a concession won in some marathon bargaining session with God, a guaranteed annual increase in the standard of living. In those few postwar decades, America had taken a temporary historical accident and construed it as a permanent condition."

It is true that oil is a limited natural resource. But for now and the foreseeable future there is plenty available in the ground and it can be extracted for a *very small fraction* of the going price. It costs around *20 cents* for ARAMCO (the American oil consortium) to pump a barrel of oil out of Saudi Arabia, which has by far the world's biggest known reserves (Alessandro Roncaglia, *The International Oil Market* [1985]). That barrel sells for $19, almost *100 times* the cost of production! A few years ago during the manipulated "oil crisis" the price was twice that. While Halberstam takes Detroit's Big Three to task for artificially propping up automobile prices, he ignores the far more powerful and dangerous Seven Sisters—the American/British/Dutch oil cartel. In fact, he blames the oil-price explosion of the 1970s entirely on the Arabs (he also thinks Iranians are Arabs).

But all this is totally *irrelevant* to Japan's competitive superiority over American industry, especially since the U.S. produces some oil and much coal while Japan imports all its oil and scrapped most of its coal mines in the late 1950s. True, the oil shocks of the '70s first turned American consumers away from Detroit's big gas-guzzlers and toward smaller, more fuel-efficient cars which the Japanese produced well and cheaply. But the flood of Toyotas and Nissans into the American market was by no means based solely on size and price. The Japanese simply make better cars. By the late 1970s Hertz Rent-A-Cars' maintenance reports indicated that Japanese cars were *twice the quality* of comparable American models.

And what does the price of oil have to do with Japan's superiority in steel making, machine tools, consumer electronics, office equipment...? Japan has now overtaken the U.S. in high-tech, microchip-based electronics. A recent report by the CIA concluded: "We believe the U.S. semiconductor industry is at a crucial turning point in its history. It fundamentally cannot compete in its present form" (*New York Times*, 5 January). In short, Japan has a clear edge over the U.S. in every branch of manufacturing not directly related to the military, like aircraft. If, in Halberstam's words, by the late '70s "the entire American industrial core was vulnerable to relentless challenge from a confident, disciplined Japan," this had absolutely nothing to do with OPEC.

The Cold War and Japanese Company Unions

While Halberstam sees the American people spoiled during the era of cheap oil, he sees in the Japanese people models of every economic virtue. They are portrayed as combining the discipline and spirit of self-sacrifice of ancient Spartans with the intellectual rigor and intensity of nuclear physicists. The Japanese "were exceptionally well prepared for an industrial society." "Not only did these new workers have very good basic schooling, particularly in mathematics, on a level well above their counterparts in American industry, but they were much more driven by social ambition." Halberstam is impressed by the "cohesiveness" of Japanese society, the almost "familial" sense of national loyalty.

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator

Steel mills demolished in Midwest rust belt. Wall Street is deindustrializing America.

However, Halberstam's own narrative account of Nissan and early postwar Japan explodes these very myths which he otherwise perpetuates. This is the most valuable aspect of *The Reckoning*. In particular, it demonstrates the direct link between the creation of company unions in Japan and the Cold War alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet bloc.

That alliance came to defeated Japan a few years later than to defeated Germany. Almost as soon as Hitler's aides poured gasoline on his corpse, the U.S. set about rebuilding occupied western Germany as a bastion against Russia. "Denazification" was a joke. Apart from a handful of top figures like Göring and Goebbels, the masters of the Third Reich were co-opted en masse into the "free world." Reinhard Gehlen, chief of anti-Soviet intelligence for the Reichswehr, was recruited by the Americans with such dispatch that some of his agents never missed a payment.

The situation in the Far East after World War II (the "Pacific War" to the Japanese) was somewhat different. There, Chiang Kai-shek's China was America's main "free world" ally, and Washington viewed the resurgence of Japanese militarism as a potential threat to America's sphere of influence. Thus the American occupation under megalomaniac General Douglas MacArthur took certain measures to weaken the traditional Japanese elite, notably a land reform which created a class of middling peasant proprietors.

Steps were also taken to break up the *zaibatsu*, the big industrial monopolies like Mitsubishi and Mitsui. A goodly number of prewar Japanese politicians, military men and industrialists (including the founder of Nissan, Yoshisuke Ayukawa) were imprisoned for a time or otherwise barred from public life. The Japanese ruling class was demoralized by the foreign occupation of their country for the first time in history, blamed by the masses for the disastrous war and fearful of the intentions of the American victors.

Press Association

U.S. occupation forces under General MacArthur (with Emperor Hirohito) helped break combative Japanese labor movement.

At the same time, thousands of leftists and working-class militants were released from prison. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) emerged from the underground with great moral authority among advanced workers and radical intellectuals as the only political force which had opposed the militarists' drive toward war. Under these conditions Japan experienced an explosion of pent-up class struggle unique in its history. Within a year and a half after the surrender of August 1945, five million workers were enrolled in trade unions, more than *ten times* the prewar peak. The most militant union federation, Sanbetsu, was strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow JCP.

Federated Pictures

The workers were clearly on the offensive. An American liberal, who visited Japan in this period, wrote:

> "In the early days of the occupation most disputes were settled quickly, and usually with a victory for the union. Employers were stunned by the defeat, disorganized and uncertain, fearful of antagonizing the occupation forces, and in some cases, no doubt, apprehensive of revolutionary developments."
>
> —Miriam S. Farley, *Aspects of Japan's Labor Problems* (1950)

In addition to strikes, Farley reported that militant unions employed an effective tactic called "production control" in which the workers "take over the plant and run it until management meets their demands or a compromise is reached."

The rising line of class struggle culminated on 1 February 1947 in a call for a general strike not only around economic demands but also for the ouster of the right-wing Yoshida government. On the eve of the planned strike MacArthur ordered it banned. The Stalinist JCP, like its counterparts in West Europe, was unwilling and unprepared to fight for power. Such a fight meant taking on the American occupation army, the effective bourgeois state power in Japan. Instead the JCP obeyed MacArthur's orders and called off the general strike. By surrendering when they were strongest, leading the most militant elements of the Japanese workers movement, the Stalinists soon lost the position of strength that they had.

After the aborted February 1947 general strike, the American occupation switched to a "Reverse Course." In Halberstam's words, its earlier "New Deal liberalism" was scrapped. MacArthur organized a red purge of Japanese unions, enlisting for this purpose the fanatically anti-Communist bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor. A top official of the AFL, James Killen, was sent to Japan to set up "democratization leagues" which acted as anti-Communist cells within the militant labor movement. Today, when the AFL-CIO tops shriek about "unfair Japanese competition" due to Japan's compliant corporatist unions, American workers should know that the "labor" agents of U.S. imperialism helped split the Japanese unions and break their power. In 1948 MacArthur outlawed all strikes by government workers. This affected wide sectors of the economy, for example the state-owned railroads.

While the U.S. occupation forces moved against the left and workers movement from early 1947 onward, Washington was not yet prepared to restore Japanese imperialism as a full-fledged Cold War ally. That development was precipitated by a momentous and unexpected event on the other side of the Sea of Japan: the victory of Mao's Red Army over Chiang Kai-shek in early 1949. This immediately produced a reversal of alliances. Japan became America's "best friend" in Asia, Red China its demonic enemy. Halberstam summarizes U.S. imperialism's changed policy toward Japan:

Kyodo Photo Service

Striking workers surround Japan Broadcasting Co., 1946. Stalinist union leader Yashiro Ii (above) calls off planned general strike, 30 January 1947.

> "The policy changed not so much because of events in Japan but because of events in the world. The Cold War had intensified in Europe, the Communists were about to win in China, and Washington, which was already in the process of strengthening and reindustrializing West Germany, suddenly began to see Japan differently: It should become a free-world bastion in Asia. It should be industrialized. Its traditional business structure should be strengthened, not undermined. Assaults upon the zaibatsu were to stop."

Significantly, the Korean War, beginning in mid-1950—"a gift from the gods," prime minister Yoshida called it—both consolidated the new Washington/Tokyo axis and pulled Japan out of its prolonged postwar economic depression. The *zaibatsu* became MacArthur's quartermasters, supplying arms to the U.S. forces in Korea. Nissan produced jeeps and trucks for the American army.

Initially, however, the U.S. Reverse Course toward Japan was associated economically with the "Dodge Line." In early 1949 Joseph Dodge, a right-wing Detroit banker, designed an economic program for Japan similar to Milton Friedman's post-1973 "shock

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Japan Inc...

(continued from page 7)

treatment" for Pinochet's Chile. His declared aims: "increase in unemployment will in turn lead to increased efficiency of labor and a greater production.... Get the country into hard condition for the struggle in the export market." Government expenditure was cut to the bone while taxes were raised. Central bank credit was frozen while loans were called in. A third of small Japanese businesses went bankrupt; by mid-1950 industrial production had fallen to *less than a third* the level of 1931, at the depth of the Great Depression!

Hundreds of thousands of workers, almost 200,000 in the government sector alone, were thrown onto the streets. The mass layoffs greatly facilitated purging leftists from the workplace and breaking the power of the radical unions. Halberstam pinpoints the origin of Japan's company unions and submissive labor movement in the Dodge Line and red purge:

> "In 1949, with MacArthur's support, there was an all-out assault upon Communist leadership in the unions which became known as 'the Red Purge.' In union after union the Communists and some of their colleagues were simply arrested and removed from their jobs. As many as ten thousand workers were fired during these purges, and hundreds of thousands were pulled back from union membership. . .
>
> "As one radical union after another fell, the Japanese industrialists replaced them with unions that to Americans seemed company-sponsored. What was emerging were management-union (or, some would say, management-management) relations that Americans could not match, an advantage that American industrialists did not themselves enjoy."

Halberstam notes the historical irony that a Detroit banker helped create in Japan an economic power that three decades later would reduce the U.S. auto capital to an industrial ghost town.

The 1953 Nissan Strike: A Historical Turning Point

While the Dodge Line and red purge greatly weakened the radical unions, they were not decisively broken and replaced by company unions until after the Korean War. The 100-day Nissan strike in 1953 was a crucial event in postwar Japanese history. For at Nissan Japanese unionism was its most militant. Halberstam recounts that in the early postwar years, "There were strikes almost all the time. The union was stronger than the management, and management feared it." The company's president, Genshichi Asahara, literally hid from the union leaders rather than confront them!

The Nissan union was dominated by a radical intellectual, Tetsuo Masuda, a graduate of the elite Tokyo University (Todai). Masuda served as a medic in China during the Pacific War, where he contracted malaria. His mother and sister were killed in the American bombing raids. For this personal tragedy he blamed not the Americans but Japan's own rulers: "They ruined us, they ruined our lives. They left us with nothing." Masuda saw in the radicalized workers movement a weapon against the men who had ruined the lives of so many Japanese. Unusually for Japan in this period, Masuda was ideologically an anti-political syndicalist, rather hostile to the JCP as well as to the social democrats.

Masuda met his nemesis in Katsuji Kawamata, a functionary of the Industrial Bank of Japan. In 1947 Kawamata was assigned to Nissan's management by the bank to bring the troubled company into line. He first successfully challenged the union during the Dodge Line by laying off 2,000 workers. However, a decisive showdown was postponed for the duration of the Korean War boom. The company was finally making money, and the last thing management wanted was a long strike. The workers needed all the overtime they could get to keep up with the war-generated inflation. During the Korean War years the union remained strong and militant on the shopfloor. Abusive foremen were ground down by the *surihachi* (mortar and pestle) treatment. They were surrounded by angry workers, who harangued them for hours, not even letting them go to the bathroom.

With the end of the American occupation in 1952 and the Korean War winding down, the Japanese ruling class was determined to reestablish itself as unchallenged master in its own house. There would be no deals and compromises with labor radicals like Masuda. At stake at Nissan was not simply the fate of one medium-sized company but the shape of the postwar bourgeois order in Japan. Knowing the entire bourgeoisie was behind him, Kawamata prepared carefully to destroy the union. He borrowed his own strike fund from the banks of $1.5 million, an amount almost equal to the company's annual revenue. He extracted promises from Toyota and Isuzu, his major competitors, not to take Nissan's regular customers in case of a strike. He hired gangsters (*yakuza*) as strikebreakers. And, not least importantly, he conspired with Masuda's right-wing opponents in the union to split it and set up a pro-company union.

When it finally came in May 1953, the Nissan strike was, in Halberstam's words, "like a small war." Kawamata flat out refused to negotiate with Masuda. His demand was unconditional surrender, no compromises. As it became clear that Nissan was prepared to stay shut indefinitely, many workers became demoralized and defeatist. After nine weeks Kawamata made his move, launching a second, pro-company union and locking out Masuda's people.

> "It caught the union completely by surprise. The management put up barricades, and the union, perplexed, responded with force. Its people crashed through the barricades and, led by Masuda, poured onto the factory floor. There were fist fights everywhere between Masuda's people and the yakuza, and the police were called. The struggle went on day after day. The first barricade had been flimsy; the next barricade was stronger, and again Masuda's people charged it. Masuda was arrested."

In the end the union was defeated by a management, supported by the power of the state, that was determined to starve them into submission. By the end of September Masuda admitted he was beaten and advised his people to return to work to save their jobs.

Kyodo Photo Service

Right-wing Detroit banker Joseph Dodge (far left) drew up program for mass layoffs, red purges in postwar Japan.

AP

Victory of Chinese Revolution in 1949 cemented Washington-Tokyo axis.

Department of Defense

During Korean War Japan became supply base for U.S. imperialist army.

Could the Nissan strike have been won? Yes, but only by extending it beyond the confines of Nissan. *At the minimum* Toyota and Isuzu also had to be struck, thus crippling Japanese auto and truck production, some of which was still going to the American forces in Korea. But such a strategic blow to the Japanese economy would have been a *political* challenge to the Yoshida government, posing the question: who will rule Japan? Thus Masuda's syndicalist anti-political prejudices contributed to his undoing. Halberstam insists that Masuda was not just a militant unionist but a genuine radical fighting for a new democratic and egalitarian Japan. Douhtless he was. But he conducted that fight within the framework of militant unionism, and that is why he lost. In the final analysis he who controls the state also controls the shopfloor.

Still, one might argue, the unions in North America and West Europe are far from revolutionary but neither are they Japanese-style company unions. They defend the workers' interest to some degree; they have some independence from management. Since the mid-1950s union leaders in Japan have sat on the board of directors of their companies. The UAW did not descend to this level of class collaboration until 1979, when Fraser took a seat on the Chrysler board as part of the government bailout/give-back deal. Why was Japanese auto unionism totally broken by the companies in the early 1950s while a quarter of a century passed before the leaders of American auto unionism became open company cops?

First of all, the Japanese unions in the late 1940s were far more radical than anything seen in Detroit in the postwar era. Reuther's UAW negotiated work rules that in no way obstructed the effective exploitation of its membership by the auto bosses. From the time he became UAW president in 1946, Reuther advocated active class collaboration between the union, auto bosses and government. In the 1960s, for example, he proposed to the Johnson administration that it waive the anti-trust laws so that the Big Three could join forces to produce a small car to compete with the Germans and Japanese! So it's hardly surprising that the head of the Nissan *company union*, Ichiro Shioji, declared repeatedly that his *role model* was none other than Walter Reuther!

But more fundamentally, U.S. imperialism was top dog. In the early 1950s, Detroit dominated the world auto market and so could easily tolerate a strong but decidedly unmilitant union like the UAW. The far poorer Japanese auto industry, struggling to break into foreign markets, could not afford any kind of unionism. The advantage in labor costs Toyota and Nissan had over GM and Ford (and that has disappeared) was achieved not by "worker-management cooperation" and calisthenics but by old-fashioned strike-breaking. With the help of the American occupation forces, the Japanese capitalists were able to impose a higher rate of exploitation on their labor force.

Halberstam wholeheartedly agrees, and argues that the UAW pushed wages up to a point that did much to destroy Detroit's competitiveness. But let's look at the record. Between 1955 and 1983 real wages in the American auto industry increased about 50 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1985). Between 1955 (when Toyota and Nissan couldn't give away a car in the U.S.) and 1983, real wages in the Japanese auto industry increased over *300 percent* (*Japan Statistical Yearbook*, 1985). As Toyota and Nissan have sped past the American Big Three, the wages of Japanese auto workers have *risen sharply* relative to UAW rates.

The key to this seeming paradox is that over the past three decades industrial productivity in Japan has increased relatively rapidly, in the U.S. at a snail's pace. Why? Because Japan invests almost twice as much of its national output in new plant and equipment as does the U.S. The masters of Wall Street have systematically looted this country's industrial wealth and deindustrialized America. Detroit dominated the world auto market in the late 1940s-'50s for the same basic reason that the United States demolished Japan in the Pacific War: it enjoyed overwhelming superiority in industrial productivity. How and why American capitalism lost that superiority is key to understanding the ascendency of Japan Inc.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Tokyo, May Day 1953—Demonstrators demand U.S. troops out of Japan.

Watsonville...

(continued from page 12)

a company "offer" was rejected *800 to 1* at a tumultuous union meeting. When a government labor board "certification" vote was held after a year on strike, workers came back from as far away as Mexico to defeat scab votes and save the union.

Suffering hundreds of arrests and brutal attacks by the cops, Watsonville strikers tried repeatedly to stop the scabs brought in from surrounding towns. Amador Betancourt, a striker and husband of Strikers' Committee president Gloria Betancourt, was jailed for eight months for defending the picket lines. Even now the capitalist courts are threatening to imprison Amador again, for supposed "violations" of draconian probation terms. Scandalously, the Teamster bureaucrats did nothing to defend Betancourt, even cutting off his strike benefits while he was in jail!

Strikers' Committee member Chavelo Moreno, who along with Carlos Hernández faces trumped-up charges from a picket line arrest on February 17, spoke of the strikers' experience with capitalist "justice" in a solidarity message to the February 21 Oakland rally demanding freedom for imprisoned Black Panther Geronimo Pratt: "I know the injustices that the law and the police have against the workers, and how they work for the bosses." Drop the charges against Betancourt, Moreno, Hernández, and all victimized strikers now!

The election of the Strikers' Committee was a crucial factor in mobilizing pickets and defending the strike against the capitalist cops and courts, and their lackeys in the labor bureaucracy. But workers were unable to wrest control of the strike from the "official" leadership, although at the end of the strike Committee members were brought onto the union bargaining committee. The Watsonville strike showed the burning necessity of politically defeating and ousting the labor traitors—class battles can't be won with the bosses' agents at the head of the strike.

The reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union, a prominent opposition during the strike, provided no alternative to the class collaboration of the Teamster tops. The TDU bases its strategy on appealing to the same bosses' courts that imprison strikers to "clean up" the union. Scandalously, in Watsonville the TDU *sued the union* under the notoriously anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act. Labor must clean its own house! The precondition for union democracy and militant class struggle is complete independence of the workers movement from the bosses' state.

After months on strike the "peaceful, legal, play by the bosses' rules" line of the Teamster fat cats and the utter defeatism of the fake-left strike "supporters" took their toll. Instead of labor action to hot-cargo the scab produce, strikers were sent on far-flung pickets of Wells Fargo banks in Northern California, in an impotent attempt at a consumer boycott of the cannery's biggest creditor. The Wells Fargo campaign was the brain child of UFW head Cesar Chavez, who pushed it to cover his own strikebreaking refusal to stop harvesting the crops for the plant. The last days of the strike saw a desperate hunger strike and a Chavez-style "pilgrimage" of workers on their knees to a local church.

In the end, the plant was sold to a consortium of growers, Norcal Frozen Foods, in February. The new owners, who retained most of the old hated managers, were under pressure to settle. Instead of squeezing when it would hurt, the Teamster tops conspired with Norcal to present a "final" offer that would have deferred medical benefits for up to three years. Local 912 head Sergio López tried to pass off this sellout with the line that it's "much easier to fight from the inside than from the outside." Gloria Betancourt told *WV* the strikers' sentiment:

> "Eighty-six percent of the workers in this cannery are women, the majority single women with four or six children in the family to support. So at $5.85 an hour without medical benefits we won't be able to live."

The Teamsters even cut off the workers' $55 weekly strike pay! López

WV Photo

November 1985 rally for Watsonville strikers. SL banner in Spanish: "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!"

was aided in his betrayal by the fake-left League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) and their newspaper *Unity*. Even *after* the strikers refused to buy López' "final" offer, the LRS supporters at a March 9 strike rally told the crowd it would be a "victory" to "get it over" and go back to work *without medical benefits*. The pro-Peking and anti-Soviet LRS's "unity" has always been with the labor tops and the racist, capitalist Democratic Party politicians, like Jesse Jackson, who made two grandstanding appearances in Watsonville.

Jackson, like the rest of the Democratic Party, pushes racist protectionism to "save American industry," by directing the hatred of U.S. workers at their class brothers and sisters abroad. The Teamster brass fought tooth and nail to stop Spanish translation at union meetings and "pledged that the union would work with Norcal 'to save the frozen food industry in California. Together we will stave off foreign competition'" (*California AFL-CIO News*, 6 March). This despicable class collaboration is particularly dangerous for the Hispanic women at Watsonville, who face the terror of "La Migra" and the bipartisan racist Simpson-Mazzoli immigration law. From Chavez' calls to deport undocumented non-union farm workers, to the UAW company cops and their "yellow peril" war cries against the Japanese, this protectionism is dangerous poison.

Racist terror has gone hand in hand with union-busting in Watsonville throughout this century; the 1930s saw a wave of anti-Filipino and anti-Mexican riots and deportations, mass trials of union organizers and red scares. It was the Communists who first organized the cannery and field workers long scorned by the imperialist-bribed labor lieutenants of capital. A vital part of a class-struggle program is the fight for *full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers* and their families. Many Watsonville workers migrate to Mexico during the off-season at the canneries, underlining the need and potential for militant, internationalist labor organizations *on both sides of the border*.

Build a Workers Party to Lead the Oppressed to Victory!

Since Reagan smashed the PATCO air traffic controllers strike in 1981, bringing the anti-Soviet war drive home with stepped-up union-busting and racist terror, millions of workers have been looking for a victory, a chance to break the cycle of defeats and betrayals. Like the Morenci copper miners and Hormel meatpackers, an isolated cannery workers union in a small company town was left to fight alone. This testifies to the utter bankruptcy of the leadership of the powerful industrial unions—auto, steel, longshore, transport, mine workers.

Today the American government is in disarray as a political crisis racks their imperial presidency. To seize this opportunity, and strike back at the labor-hating racist criminals who rule America, requires a revolutionary leadership forged in the fight for a workers party to lead all the oppressed to victory. A workers government will expropriate the factories and fields, ending the criminal rule of the capitalists who coin their millions from the sweat and blood of the working people. ■

RICO Frame-Up...

(continued from page 2)

of so-called witnesses—described by Gotti's lawyer Bruce Cutler as "paid Government informants who lie, who use drugs, who kill people"...and who got reduced sentences or even new identities in return for fingering the "dapper don." A master of understatement, Cutler told the jury, "I never said my client was a saint." But the federal prosecutors are hardly interested in wiping out crime. Otherwise they could go after a really big-time criminal conspiracy, Reagan's Iran/contra guns, drugs and murder operation.

What Reagan, his top cop Ed Meese and the feds are after is expanding their laws of repression, to be used against the working class, minorities and political opponents. As we wrote a year ago:

> "But this crackdown doesn't have much to do with justice: they are actually trying to *frame* the Mob. The RICO... 'conspiracy' dragnet lets the G-men pick and choose who they feel like setting up and when; they don't need evidence of any actual crime. The Reaganites want to institutionalize the frame-up principle, and what easier target for a frame job than vicious parasites like gangsters?
>
> "Why are we Marxists commenting on these mobster trials? For one thing, we don't believe justice is only for the innocent."
>
> —"Feds Frame Up Mob," *WV* No. 400, 28 March 1986

In the RICO racket the victim is snared not for committing a crime but for "patterns of racketeering activities" and participation in a "criminal enterprise"—nebulous categories which have been applied against leftist and working-class organizations. Then they seize your assets as "proceeds of crime" *before* the trial has taken place, to ensure you can't defend yourself!

A recent article in the *Washington Times*' publication *Insight* (16 February) lauding the "new" (post-Watergate) FBI crowed that under William Webster the agency doubled its budget, doubled its wiretaps and doubled its undercover operations to become "once again a confident and vigorous national police force." The mouthpiece of the ultra-right Sun Myung Moon sect singled out

no credit

The Star Chamber, in Britain's Westminster Palace, where arbitrary royal "justice" was meted out. It was abolished by the Puritan Revolution in 1641.

RICO as "by far the most powerful weapon in the FBI's drive." This catchall "conspiracy" law is of a piece with the rest of the feds' "legal" paraphernalia, including entrapment operations (which netted one Senator and five Congressmen in the late '70s) and preventive detention (now before the Supreme Court in the case of Tony Salerno, reputed boss of the Genovese family). Add to this Meese's determination to get rid of the Miranda prisoners' rights ruling and decree a federal death penalty, and you get a blueprint for a police state.

Naturally, "organized crime" is equated with "organized labor." The Moonie profile declared, "This year, the FBI will take aim at labor racketeering." Already in 1986, the government used a civil provision of RICO to take direct control of Teamsters Local 560 in New Jersey. And although the Teamsters were one of the few unions to endorse Reagan, the feds are going after IBT president Jackie Presser, himself an FBI informant, even while admitting that Presser's alleged payroll padding was sanctioned by his FBI controller. Meanwhile, the U.S. Labor Department has embarked on a wholesale attempt to "discipline" the labor movement through criminal investigations, as a recent legal study noted (David Elbaor and Laurence Gold, "The Criminalization of Union Activity," 1985). One federal prosecutor drooled over the possibility of putting "the entire Teamsters union into receivership" (*Newsday*, 20 June 1986).

As always, leftists are also high on the government's hit list. Former FBI fink Reagan (informer code number T-10) wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (12 January 1986) that his experience in running a red purge of the Screen Actors Guild taught him that "the tactics used by mobsters and totalitarian ideologues have a lot in common." Following the McCarthyite witchhunts of the 1950s, in the '60s FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover launched the COINTEL program which was responsible for the murder of Black Panther leaders. Reagan/Meese have gone a long way in openly reinstating such police-state tactics. One Frank Varelli, an ex-FBI informer currently testifying before Congress about his infiltration of the CISPES solidarity group in Dallas, has stated that between breaking into offices, electronic surveillance, taping meetings and compiling hit lists, the government's repressive campaign now includes "everything Cointelpro covered before" (*Nation*, 7 March).

The feds' attempt to frame John Gotti failed—and that's a good thing, just like when in 1984 a Los Angeles jury found former auto magnate John DeLorean innocent of a federal drug "sting." Gotti returned to his home in Howard Beach, Queens, the same community where a black man, Michael Griffith, was lynched by a racist mob of white youth last December. But the feds aren't interested in pursuing *that* heinous crime. After all, in the 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, all levels of the government, from the local police and black Democratic mayor right up to the FBI and Meese himself, were involved in a horrific racist mass murder. They did it simply because they *wanted* to. That is perhaps the most damning indictment of capitalist "justice" in Reagan's America. ■

Gorbachev's Pipe Dream...

(continued from page 1)

out Afghanistan for the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. After a meeting with Gorbachev last month, Henry Kissinger wrote:

> "I had arrived in Moscow persuaded that the Soviet Union would never permit the overthrow of a regime established by Soviet power.... I am no longer so sure. Our Soviet hosts emphasized their desire for total withdrawal. They also affirmed the goal of a government of national reconciliation that would include representatives of the guerrilla groups."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 2 March

We Trotskyists say: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan peoples!

DPA

Haqiqat Engeleb Sawer

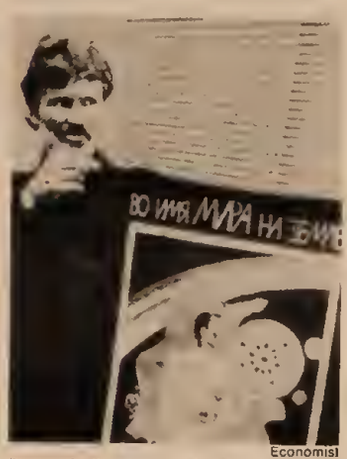
CIA-armed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read (left). At right: Soviet soldiers in Kabul. Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend Social Gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples!

Gorbachev, Sakharov and the Glitterati

The Kremlin bureaucracy has preached and tried to practice "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism ever since Stalin, with his reactionary, nationalist theory of "socialism in one country." And the Gorbachev regime has played this theme over and over. Addressing the assembled celebrities at the "no nuke" extravaganza in Moscow last month, the new Soviet leader declared:

> "Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country."
>
> —*Moscow News*, 1 March

Der Spiegel



Economist

Gorbachev (left) addresses glitterati at "no nuke" extravaganza in Moscow. Participants included actor Kris Kristofferson (right), star of demented anti-Soviet soap opera Amerika.

For the last decade, U.S. imperialism has tried to browbeat, threaten or trick the Soviet Union into retreating from the international scene. No wonder this statement was greeted by Washington.

While Gorbachev certainly hasn't given up on Reagan, he is also appealing to out-of-office Western politicians, capitalists and media stars (the "glitterati"). His effort to sponsor a global popular front for "peace" was launched in mid-February with a "Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity." There were 250 businessmen, 215 clergymen, hundreds of scientists and a slew of retired NATO generals. Returning the compliment, retired high-ranking military officers in the USSR have formed a new group, Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament.

For a few days this winter Moscow was the "in" place to be for the jet set. Former Canadian prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, leading West German Social Democrat Egon Bahr, liberal American economist John Kenneth Galbraith rubbed elbows with Norman Mailer, Claudia Cardinale and Yoko Ono. Actor Kris Kristofferson, fresh from starring in the vile anti-Soviet soap opera *Amerika*, was there, too. The atmosphere was that of a political rock festival. David Aaron, a former high official in the Carter administration, wanted to get into a crowded session featuring Andrei Sakharov. When he pulled strings in order to hear in person the Soviet dissident, an aide to Gary Hart quipped his efforts had all the dignity of trying to get backstage at a Rolling Stones concert.

Aside from Gorbachev, the other superstar at this "peace" confab was Sakharov, a man who had urged the U.S. to deploy the MX missile (an acknowledged first-strike weapon) and to economically blackmail the Soviet Union into withdrawing from Afghanistan. Before releasing Sakharov from comfortable internal exile in Gorky last December, Gorbachev may have managed to turn him from his patrons in Washington. At the Moscow conference Sakharov spoke out against Reagan's "Star Wars" and applauded the new Soviet leader. However, he also spoke for Soviet collaboration with imperialism to maintain the global status quo:

> "There must be a settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of compromise and restoration of stability wherever it has been disrupted. Support for destabilizing and extremist forces and all terrorist groups should be ended."
>
> —*Time*, 16 March

"Terrorist groups" are what Reagan and his racist allies call national liberation movements around the world. The white supremacist rulers of South Africa label the African National Congress a "terrorist group"; the Zionists say the same of the Palestine Liberation Organization. To its credit, the Soviet Union has provided arms for the ANC and PLO. Sakharov's talk of "regional stability" means abandoning South African blacks and Palestinian Arabs in order to restore the stability of two of the most murderous, racist states on earth.

Sakharov's latest pronouncements wouldn't be all that important except they converge with Gorbachev's line. In his biography of the new Soviet leader, liberal Soviet dissident Zhores Medvedev notes that the Brezhnev regime played up its international successes, from the U.S. defeat in Vietnam to aiding nationalist regimes in Africa and revolutionary movements in Latin America. By contrast, Medvedev writes approvingly: "if Gorbachev's foreign policy intentions are to be judged by the new Party programme, there will be less ideological expansion of the USSR in future, compared to what was promised in previous programmes.... The programme promises solidarity and cooperation with the 'Newly-Free Countries,' but no new substantive help" (*Gorbachev* [1986]).

Not all Soviet actions abroad in the name of "socialist solidarity" serve the cause of social progress and national justice. In particular, we strongly condemn the Kremlin's support to Ethiopia's Haile Miriam Mengistu, a left-talking Idi Amin who has crushed the nascent workers movement, exterminated an entire generation of radical intellectuals and committed genocidal terror against the Eritreans and other national minorities. But the NATO capitals are not much concerned about the Moscow-Addis Ahaba connection. The imperialists *are* concerned about stopping the limited Soviet support to revolutionary and national liberation struggles from Southeast Asia to Central America.

The Specfre of Trotskyism

Gorbachev's "peace offensive" is not a cynical ploy to gain the favor of Western public opinion, nor is it motivated simply by a desire to free up economic resources now expended on the arms race. The Soviet bureaucracy is genuinely frightened of nuclear war, and rightly so. They also reflect the mass sentiment of the people of the Soviet Union in a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. But there is also a sense among elements in the Soviet officialdom, intelligentsia and working people that appeasement, capitulating to the "Reagan doctrine," or allowing U.S. imperialism to isolate and starve heroic Vietnam and take over Afghanistan are *not* the road to peace. In a broadcast from Moscow last month, TV talk-show host Phil Donahue had a wide-ranging discussion with scores of Soviet youth on god, Communism, nuclear war—and couldn't get a single one to condemn Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as unjust.

Gorbachev sees Trotskyism behind any opposition to his headlong drive for "peaceful coexistence" with Reagan. At the Communist Party congress in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary wars" as a "Trotskyite" heresy and went on: "Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New Times*, 10 March 1986). The wars now being fought by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea, the Soviet army in Afghanistan, the Cubans in Angola and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are resistance to the export of *counterrevolution*. There probably are people in the Soviet hierarchy who are less willing than Gorbachev to sell out Vietnam or Afghanistan for the sake of better relations with Washington. However, the answer to Gorbachev's version of "peaceful coexistence" is not support to more hardline elements in the Kremlin, who will betray and weaken the defense of the Soviet Union in other ways.

The answer is the organization of the workers of the world by an international revolutionary party to overthrow the war-driven capitalist system. And here the spectre of Trotskyism really does haunt the Soviet bureaucracy. Witness a revealing article by one Nikolai Vasetski in the Moscow-based *América Latina* (No. 3, 1986) which polemicizes against an article in *Workers Vanguard* ("Carter/Reagan Nuclear War Fever," *WV* No. 264, 19 September 1980):

> "On the cardinal question of the day—defense of the USSR against imperialist aggression—the Trotskyists of the United States consider that Trotskyism is distinguished both from petty-bourgeois pacifism as well as reformism and centrism, because it recognizes the fact that the 'Euromissiles' are aimed at the Soviet Union.
>
> "But after recognizing this obvious fact, they draw the following conclusion: in order to defend the USSR it is necessary to carry out a permanent world revolution. The American Trotskyists are against all disarmament that isn't undertaken by the workers themselves. In their press organ they say that 'the

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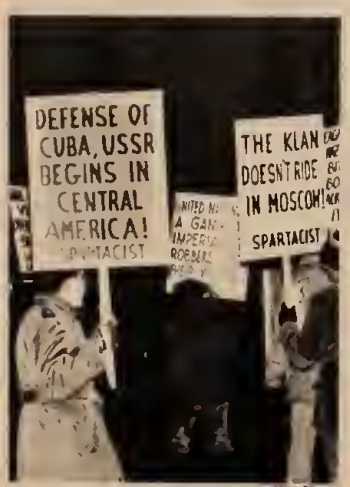
possible destruction of the world by the missiles and other components of the imperialist war machine can only be averted by the worldwide victory of the working class'....

"'Disarmament' Trotskyist-style is a fig leaf to cover very different objectives for the Trotskyist leaders: to present Trotskyism as the far left pole of the antiwar movement (opposed to the supposedly reformist program of the Communists) in order to attract those workers whose class consciousness doesn't suffice to quickly understand the Trotskyist ideology."

It is perhaps no accident that a Stalinist polemic which admits that Trotskyism can attract revolutionary-minded workers appears in a publication directed at Latin America. For in this part of the world hatred for Yankee imperialism runs very deep and is near universal. "Peaceful coexistence" with Washington means Pinochet's torture chambers, Central American death squads and Citibank sucking the life-blood of the workers and peasants. At the same time, a victory for U.S. imperialism in its "backyard" would spur on the war drive against the Soviet Union. Truly, as we have proclaimed, "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" And a socialist revolution in Latin America would send massive shock waves to the imperialist colossus to the North, panicking Wall Street and electrifying the millions of Hispanic workers in America's factories and farms.

While Reagan is on the rocks, the thermonuclear-armed ruling class he represents is still in the saddle. The fate of the homeland of the October Revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed and toiling masses, and the very survival of humanity are inseparably bound to working-class revolution in the dominant imperialist countries, above all the United States. World revolution is no utopia but the only reality which can disarm the Pentagon. Lenin himself authored the plank of the 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which denounced "disarmament under capitalism" as a "reactionary philistine illusion of the petty-bourgeois democrats," calling instead for "arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie" and achieving victory over the capitalists "both in civil



WV Photo

Spartacists protest ABC's Cold War mega-series Amerika in Washington, D.C., February 15.

wars at home and in international revolutionary wars."

What Trotsky wrote in 1940, when Stalin was trying to appease Nazi Germany, retains its full force today as imperialism is preparing a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union:

> "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle.... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brainchild of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 3)

headquartered in Baghdad, Iraq) denounced the Syrian move "since Syria is a basic party to the blockade of Palestinian refugee camps and the annihilation and starvation of thousands of our people there" (*New York Times*, 23 February). This was verified immediately when the first major move of the Syrian army in Beirut was to attack the Hezbollah, which for its own reasons had provided a certain buffer for the PLO camps. The only "peace" that the Syrian army will bring to Beirut is the peace of the dead. Only last December the Syrian army organized the massacre of the Sunni fundamentalist Tawhid sect (a PLO ally of the moment), in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli. Today, after 12 years of all-sided communalist slaughter, a full-scale Israeli blitzkrieg and direct imperialist military intervention, Lebanon's cities look like they've experienced a small-scale nuclear war.

The Lebanese Cockpit

The slaughterhouse called Lebanon is a classic product of colonial divide-and-rule policies. France, which along with Britain carved up the Ottoman Empire in the Near East after World War I, created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support among the Maronite Christian community which feared incorporation into a predominantly Muslim Greater Syria. The 1943 National Covenant imposed upon Lebanon a government in which the spoils were allotted along religious/communal lines with Christian Maronites on top and Muslims, especially Shi'ites, on the bottom. Adding fuel to the Lebanese tinderbox were the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who fled the Zionist terror by which the state of Israel was consolidated in 1948. Tens of thousands more poured into Lebanon after the 1970 Black September massacre in Jordan.

In the mid-'70s all the pressures from below finally blew apart the fragile Lebanese system, a bankers' republic whose rulers gorged themselves on oil money while keeping the masses in grinding poverty. Growing out of a series of strikes, and initially fueled by legitimate grievances over Maronite domination, the brewing social explosion was *transformed into a squalid communalist civil war* by the traditional leaders of the Muslim camp, such as the hereditary chieftain of the Druze sect, Kamal Jumblatt. Had a revolutionary Marxist party stood at the head of the Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian toilers, it would have put forward a program capable of attracting the have-nots in the Christian community, splitting and weakening the base of the fascistic Phalange and other reactionary Maronite forces. But a genuine communist party does not exist in Lebanon.

The Lebanese CP is one of the oldest and relatively largest Communist parties in the Arab world. With a heavily Christian leadership and Shi'ite base, the Lebanese CP is uniquely placed to cut across the sectarian/communalist divide. It is just about the only movement spanning the largely Shi'ite south Lebanon and the Christian/Sunni north, leading the trade-union movement and dominating several Christian towns before 1976. However, because of its Stalinist politics the Lebanese CP has tailed after the bourgeoisie for more than half a century, from abandoning the struggle for independence in the late 1930s and '40s to getting caught up in the maelstrom of communalism in the '70s and '80s. In the 1975-76 civil war it subordinated itself to Muslim confessionalists like Jumblatt (who masquerades as the "Progressive Socialist Party") through the so-called Lebanese National Movement. And while it is the target of a Shi'ite murder campaign in Beirut and the south, in Tripoli the CP participated in the recent Syrian-engineered massacre of the Sunni Tawhid sect (which itself massacred scores of CPers three years ago).

The politics of the pro-Moscow Lebanese CP reflect the orientation of the rulers of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Repudiating and fearing proletarian revolution in the Near East (as elsewhere), the Kremlin backs Arab nationalist regimes and movements who invariably end up at one another's throats. In fact, all of the combatants in the recent fighting in Beirut are armed with Soviet weapons! And while Moscow proclaims undying support to the Palestinian cause, it has publicly endorsed the entry of the Syrian army into West Beirut, designed to break the PLO.

For Proletarian Revolution in the Near East!

While Amal militiamen try to starve out Palestinian camps in Lebanon, the Zionist state is escalating its reign of terror both in the Occupied Territories, seized by Israel in the 1967 war, and within Israel itself. In the West Bank last December Israeli soldiers opened fire on 200 students conducting a nonviolent protest. Two students were killed and at least eleven wounded. The following day the occupation troops struck again, murdering a 14-year-old boy, allegedly for throwing stones. A few days later a 12-year-old boy was found murdered, either by soldiers or clerical-fascist Israeli "settlers" who are issued automatic weapons by the army. The shootings were so viciously cold-blooded and obviously state-sponsored that even the UN Security Council condemned them 14-0 with the U.S. abstaining.

West Bank protests soon spread to the occupied Gaza Strip where 550,000 Palestinians, half under the age of 15, live in an area 27 miles wide and five miles long. Here also Israeli soldiers and their "settler" auxiliaries fired at unarmed Palestinian youths, wounding many, but this did nothing to quell the spirited protests. The Palestinians in Gaza and the 700,000 on the West Bank are disenfranchised in their own land, like blacks under South African apartheid except that they have even fewer "rights." As the Zionist rulers have sought to transform Israel into a garrison state where the main industry is armaments, the "dirty" (i.e., productive) work of construction, agriculture and transport is increasingly allocated to Palestinians, especially superexploited labor from the Occupied Territories.

Tens of thousands of workers are trucked in daily from these Zionist bantustans since they are not allowed to stay overnight in the "Jewish state." They pay income tax and social security, but receive no benefits—their payments go toward the costs of the military occupation! At least another 50,000, often mere children, are paid a pittance and are kept in locked huts overnight. Israeli civil rights fighter Israel Shahak, a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen death camp, noted that these Palestinian laborers are given cooked marrow to eat—the same food given to Jews in the Nazi concentration camps in the last year of the Third Reich! In an act of courageous working-class defiance of Israel's draconian martial law, in late February Gaza Palestinian carpenters (supported by Israeli unionists and civil rights fighters) formed a 400-strong union.

As Iran/Contragate investigations show, Israel has placed itself in the forefront of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, doing its dirty work in the Third World. In return Israel gets $3 billion a year from Uncle Sam, two-thirds of it in direct military grants. The revelation by Mordechai Vanunu that Israel has *100-200* nuclear warheads means that the Zionist rulers want the capacity to nuke not only every Arab capital but also Moscow and Leningrad. To justify itself and "unify" the nation, a garrison state like Israel must ever be on the brink of war. And the most likely Zionist target is Soviet-backed Syria. Meanwhile, Reagan has the U.S. Sixth Fleet sitting off the coast of Lebanon and would very much like a military diversion. A war between Israel and Syria could rapidly escalate into nuclear world war, especially given Israel's sizable nuclear arsenal, urgently posing defense of the Soviet Union and the social gains of the October Revolution.

WV Photo

San Francisco—SL contingent in protest against Zionist fascist Meir Kahane, October 1985.

The Zionist state, carved out of the living body of the Palestinian Arab people, offers Jews not a haven but a deathtrap. Many Israelis do not want to live in a permanent armed camp ever on the brink of war...and not all of them can emigrate to drive taxicabs in New York City. Recently, a number of joint Palestinian Arab and Hebrew demonstrations have taken place despite increased repression on the part of the Israeli rulers. Defense of the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East requires a revolutionary struggle, with the working class and its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, that would smash the Zionist state, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and sweep away the Hashemite kingdom in Jordan and bloody Ba'athist bonapartes in Syria. The right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, if it is to lead to genuine national emancipation and social progress, can only be realized in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Defiant Cannery Workers Go Back

Watsonville: Hard 18-Month Strike

WATSONVILLE—After 18 months of bitter class struggle, the Watsonville cannery strike ended March 11. The strike of 1,000 mainly Mexican women frozen-food workers against the arrogant agribusiness bosses of this company town became a symbol of resistance to the union-busting and give-backs of the Reagan years. It was the strikers' hard-bitten tenacity on the picket lines that beat back the bosses' attempt to crush the strike outright and destroy the union. In a dramatic eleventh-hour effort, the strikers stunned the company, Teamster brass and media by defeating a "final offer" that would have robbed the workers of medical benefits for up to three years.

The Watsonville strikers were attacked by the cops, betrayed by the bureaucracy of their union, Teamsters Local 912, and isolated by California labor officialdom that preached "solidarity" and practiced betrayal. Yet the workers hung tough, finally driving out the labor-hating boss and forcing the new owner to restore benefits. The strike ended with a concession contract which slashes wages to $5.85 per hour—from the already miserable pre-strike wage of $6.66—and cuts the workforce by a third. But unlike the Hormel strike in Austin, Minnesota, where the meatpackers' local was ripped up and the membership fired, the Watsonville strikers' militancy and determination saved their union.

WV Photo

Militant cannery workers, predominantly Mexican women, march through Watsonville, California, November 1985.

The Watsonville strike could have been won. Strike rallies and marches drew hundreds of members of powerful unions in the San Francisco Bay Area, two hours drive from Watsonville. The presence of Farmworkers (UFW) unionists who pick the vegetables frozen in Watsonville was significant, given the history of vicious raiding by the Teamsters against the UFW. Early in the strike, we put forward a program of militant labor action to bring cannery owner and Reagan buddy Mort Console to his knees:

> "*All* the canneries must be brought out on strike—6,000 Local 912 members are *still* working without a contract at five other canneries. . . . What is needed is daily *mass pickets* of area unionists to stop the scabs and turn the strikebreaking injunctions into worthless scraps of paper. And unionists must go after the employers' weak spot: their product is seasonal and highly perishable. This means a strategy of *labor boycott*, not impotent consumer boycotts. . . . Teamster drivers, railway workers, warehousemen and retail clerks must *hot-cargo* (refuse to handle) the scab produce."
>
> —"Victory to the Watsonville Cannery Strike!" *WV* No. 389, 18 October 1985

At the beginning of the strike, a group of women workers put forward a motion for a "general strike of all the canneries," and in January 1986 strikers passed a motion demanding the Teamster tops stop the vegetables pouring into the struck plant. But Local 912 leaders declared the strikers' motion a dead letter, bowing before the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law "illegalizing" secondary boycotts. The Teamster tops' sabotage was so blatant that they kept the plant's own "waterhouse" freezer operators on the job—"because they're under a separate contract"—while Teamster drivers and warehousemen continued to ship and store frozen food produced by the scabs in the plant!

Fed up with this backstabbing, an assembly of 500 workers elected a Strikers' Committee. They demonstrated their determination time and again: *in 18 months not one striker crossed the picket lines.* Two months into the strike

continued on page 9

British Ferry Tragedy

Free Enterprise Sinks Free Enterprise

In the worst marine disaster in British peacetime history since the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912, some 134 crew members and passengers went down with the car ferry *Herald of Free Enterprise* when it capsized on March 6 just outside Belgium's Zeebrugge harbor.

A catastrophe—but no accident. Rather it was the horrible outcome of utilizing a notoriously unsafe ship design and then disregarding one of the most elementary procedures of maritime safety: ship openings and ports must be secured watertight before leaving dockside. Early on the shipowner, Townsend Thorensen, tried to claim that "somehow" the bow-loading "doors burst open." But as survivors have testified and a preliminary inquiry affirmed, the ferry accelerated across the outer harbor before the crew on the lower vehicle deck could close the apparently jammed doors. The ship became a giant scoop and rapidly destabilized as water poured in and surged to the port side. Within a minute the vessel capsized, making it impossible to launch life rafts. After the fact, port officials have acknowledged that leaving the docks without securing loading doors is *standard operating procedure* for companies out to make a faster buck by cutting turnaround times.

According to one report the Zeebrugge docks are among the lowest in the Channel; water is pumped into the forward ballast tanks to facilitate loading cars and trucks. The inquiry confirmed that the ferry left "slightly trimmed down by the bow, which would accentuate the scooping effect of the bow." That more people weren't killed is testimony to the heroic rescue efforts of the crew. Half of the 84 crew members perished, many because of overexposure. As one seaman interviewed at the headquarters of the National Union of Seamen in Dover noted: "It was the cold water that killed them. . . . They died because they stayed behind to help others" (London *Guardian*, 11 March).

Ferry Herald of Free Enterprise capsizes, March 6, plunging hundreds into icy waters off Belgian port. Passengers and crew members were killed by decrepit British capitalism.

Within a day of the disaster marine engineers confirmed what is widely known: the ferry design, utilized for faster loading—i.e., to cut costs—is notoriously unsafe. Incredibly, as one British paper observed, they have the same fatal design flaw as the *Titanic*:

> "It is right that we should recall the worst and most famous mercantile disaster of them all now, because it was that which imposed a fundamental principle on steel-ship construction: that watertight bulkheads (steel walls) should extend crosswise at intervals from the bottom of the hull to the upper deck. The 'unsinkable' Titanic had such bulkheads, but they did not rise high enough. Roll-on, roll-off (ro-ro) ships are the first major commercial type to ignore this axiom. If water ever penetrates these box-like compartments in any quantity, it can cause a fatal list and the ro-ro rolls over in a few moments."
>
> —London *Guardian*, 9 March

A 1980 report by the UN's International Maritime Council noted that these ro-ro vessels suffer twice the number of losses as other ships; over the last twenty years, 35 of them have capsized.

So why are ships launched with construction decidedly worse than that which was proven deadly dangerous and unseaworthy almost 75 years ago? The answer is encapsulated in the names of Townsend Thorensen's major ferries: the *Herald of Free Enterprise*, *Spirit of Free Enterprise* and *Pride of Free Enterprise*. And now the British government has come up with a new and macabre use for the ro-ro's: to refit them as prison ships to pen black and Asian immigrants refused entry into the country. Such is the private profit motive and the decaying system of capitalism.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 425 | 3 April 1987

Drive Out Reagan with Labor Action!

U.S. War Maneuvers Target Nicaragua

WV Photo

U.S. Navy

Nicaraguan masses vow to defend the Revolution (left) as U.S. rehearses invasion.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The crisis of the Reagan administration is producing a chain reaction in Central America. For several years the war-torn region has been locked in a stalemate. In El Salvador: a standoff between leftist rebels and the government army, despite more than a billion dollars in U.S. aid to Duarte's death squad "democracy." In Nicaragua: the CIA's counterrevolutionary mercenaries, only capable of slaughtering defenseless peasants, holed up in their Honduran base camps under relentless pounding by the Sandinista Army. But things are shifting rapidly. Now that the Iran/Contragate scandal threatens to turn off the spigot of "dollars of death" from their Yankee godfathers, the contras are coming apart. And in El Salvador, as we go to press the largest guerrilla action in years is reported, killing hundreds of government soldiers and a U.S. military adviser. And ominously, despite the disarray in the White House, the warmongers in Washington are preparing military action that threatens a *direct U.S. assault on Sandinista Nicaragua.*

From Day One, this administration vowed to "roll back Communism" in Central America and overthrow the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. They were looking for an easy win to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and get the anti-Soviet war drive rolling: "draw the line" in El Salvador, knock off Nicaragua, reconquer Cuba, restore capitalism in Poland and then on to "the source"—the Soviet Union. Reagan ordered the CIA to put together a secret army of former members of Somoza's National Guard. This became a "Reagan Doctrine" of global counterrevolution on the cheap, using Third World "surrogates" against Soviet-supported regimes from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan and Cambodia. But the gang that couldn't keep the bloody Somozaist dictatorship in power was impotent against the armed masses determined to defend their revolution. And in more than six years in office, the Reagan regime has been unable to win over sectors of the bourgeoisie—much less build a base of popular support—for sending in American troops to smash a Third World revolution.

So the Reaganauts have been stymied. Their overt/covert operations run out of the White House basement grew increasingly desperate and bizarre until they were exposed in the Iran/Contragate scandal. And now that the Reagan ship of state is foundering, the rats are going overboard. CIA stooge Arturo Cruz quit as one of the contras' figurehead "leaders" the day before the House of Representatives approved a motion to postpone delivery of further contra aid. The Senate, now controlled by the Democrats, refused to block the $40 million. But even Republicans on Capitol Hill agreed that this was the

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Sex, Drugs and Money

Gospelgate

AP

TV evangelists Tammy and Jim Bakker. Praise the Lord, and pass the loot!

To err is human, but a juicy scandal is divine—especially when it's a classic American tale of religious hysteria and hypocrisy, sex and money. TV evangelist Jim Bakker's Florida motel room tryst six years ago with a 21-year-old secretary in his Pentecostal ministry has blossomed into a real mudslinging "holy war" on the religious right. TV preachers hurl stones and scriptures at each other while scrambling for control of Jim and Tammy's "Heritage USA" evangelical Disneyland and their PTL (Praise the Lord) ministry, also known as "Pass the Loot," and lately, "Pay the Lady." Enter Ronald Reagan's minister of morals, fundamentalist bigot Jerry Falwell, to save the plunging PTL stock from a "hostile takeover" by the forces of satan in the guise of fellow soul-saver Jimmy Swaggart. For secular humanists, we have to say the whole spectacle seems positively un-Christian. But more importantly, as Reagan is sinking, the religious right wing, apostles of the Moral Majority bigots and abortion clinic bombers, are in rough water.

The "Bible belle" from Babylon, L.I., Jessica Hahn, claims she was given a glass of "drugged wine" and thus couldn't "firmly resist" the reverend when he entered her motel room clad in a white terrycloth bathing suit. She also couldn't resist the $265,000 in hush money from PTL, though we assume she was praying all the way to the bank. Hahn's attorney is wealthy California businessman Paul Roper, who founded "Operation Anti-Christ" to expose corrupt TV preachers who fleece their followers and live like

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U.S. Concentration Camps for Palestinians

Stop FBI/INS Witchhunt!

The seven Palestinians and a Kenyan arrested in Gestapo-style raids on their homes by federal agents in Southern California January 26 are being made a test case for the Reagan government's plans for a vicious anti-Arab witchhunt. The eight, all well-established businessmen, students and working people, were shackled hand and foot and charged under the 1952 McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating world communism." They were accused of espousing the views of the radical/nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, simply on the basis of having literature that is publicly sold (see "Stop the FBI/INS Witchhunt of Palestinians!" *WV* No. 421, 6 February). In fact, this charge was the result of the *failure* of a ten-month investigation to reveal *any* proof of a supposed "terrorist" connection.

Held in solitary confinement for three weeks, all eight were released, five on their own recognizance, on February 17 by a U.S. immigration judge. The judge was enraged by the refusal of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to publicly present evidence for holding the eight without bail. Now the feds are appealing this decision, trying to railroad these victims of the FBI/INS vendetta back into the slammer until their deportation hearing on April 28.

Owns/LA Times

Los Angeles, February 17: Palestinian victims of anti-Arab witchhunt released from Terminal Island prison.

The purpose of this relentless persecution was revealed a few days after the eight were arrested in a story leaked to ABC News by an undisclosed source inside the INS. On February 18, ABC's *Nightline* show reported on an INS document, entitled "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan," disclosing plans to round up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. and herd them into an already prepared 100-acre reserve adjacent to the Oakland Alien Detention Center in southwestern Louisiana. According to ABC reporter Marshall Frady, the "contingency plan was drawn up last year, reportedly after U.S. air strikes in Libya last spring." The document calls for seizing and holding without bond for secret deportation proceedings "alien undesirables and suspected terrorists of certain nationalities," mainly Arabs. Frady added that the site in Louisiana to "deposit Arab-born detainees" was designed to "house up to 5,000 aliens" and "can be activated in two to four weeks."

Concentration camps are by no means unique to Nazi Germany. They are integral to every imperialist war drive, especially in the U.S. During and immediately after WW I, thousands of German Americans, antiwar socialists and anarchists were rounded up and imprisoned. Foreign-born radicals were deported. In World War II, 120,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps. Thousands of conscientious objectors as well as 18 leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and unionists were victims of the "thought crimes" Smith Act. The Cold War McCarran Act also provides for the mass roundup and detention of leftists, unionists, black militants, homosexuals and other "undesirables."

Today Reagan and his top cop Edwin Meese seek to regiment the American people for war by attempting to criminalize any political opposition to their anti-Soviet war drive abroad and all-sided social reaction at home. The INS contingency plan to round up Arab immigrants is part of the current war plans of America's *state* terrorists. The FBI/INS et al. are out to pick off and imprison any immigrants in the U.S. who are from countries targeted as "Soviet surrogates." One of the revelations to come out of Iran/Contragate was Reagan, Meese & Co.'s plan to round up and imprison 400,000 "illegal aliens" upon a U.S. invasion of Central America. National Security Decision Directive 52, signed by Reagan in April 1984, authorizes a secret nationwide "readiness exercise" called "REX-84" for the arrest and detention of Central Americans.

The Reaganites' phony "anti-terrorism" scare has fueled genuine terror, from the bombing of Libya to the hideous October 1985 murder in Los Angeles of Alex Odeh, a leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination

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Lenin's "April Theses"

TROTSKY

LENIN

The February 1917 Revolution in Russia overthrew the tsar and gave rise to soviets, organs of workers political power. But the reformist and liberal leadership of the soviets turned power over to the Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov, which was committed to continuing the imperialist war. Many Bolsheviks, including Stalin, gave support to this capitalist government "in so far as" it would carry out its phony promises. To break his comrades from the dogma that the Russian Revolution must be exclusively bourgeois-democratic, upon his return to Russia, Lenin proclaimed his famous "April Theses," rearming the Bolshevik Party for the October Revolution which changed the course of history.

1) In our attitude towards the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to "revolutionary defencism" is permissible....

3) No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear, particularly of those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding "demand" that *this* government, a government of capitalists, should *cease* to be an imperialist government....

5) Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.

The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker....

10) A new International.

We must take the initiative in creating a revolutionary International, an International against the *social-chauvinists* and against the "Centre".

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (April 1917)

Return Dr. Mehdi's Passport!

U.S. Holds Arab American Hostage

The Reagangate debacle comes in the context of an anti-Arab witchhunt in the U.S. as the government attempts to whip up support for new war moves in the Near East. For violating a ban on travel to Lebanon, where he had gone to negotiate the release of American hostages, Dr. M.T. Mehdi, secretary general of the National Council on Islamic Affairs, was stripped of his passport. Customs officers also seized his personal notes and papers. The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram to protest this McCarthyite deprivation of a basic attribute of citizenship.

22 March 1987

George Shultz
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

For humanitarian mission to free American hostages from Lebanon Dr. M.T. Mehdi is made hostage by State Department seizure of his passport. Government's anti-Arab racism deprives distinguished Arab American of citizenship rights. Demand unrestricted right of travel and return of all Dr. Mehdi's personal papers.

Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

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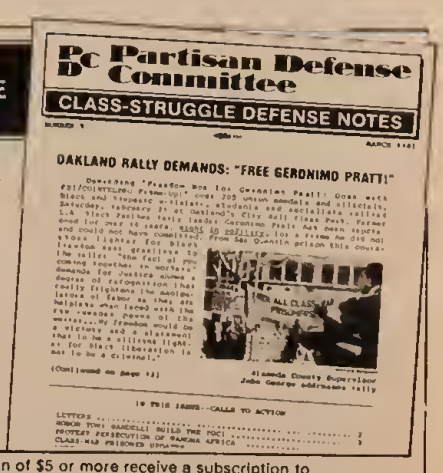

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Young Spartacus

Students: Ally with Labor to Stop the Racists!

Mass Protest Against Racist Attack at Columbia

An unprecedented wave of vicious race-hatred and violence has erupted on the campuses in Reagan's America. Klan-inspired cross-burnings at Southern colleges, Nazi swastikas in Chicago-area schools, and a full-scale race riot by a white mob at UMass Amherst are but a few shocking examples. This has produced justified wrath and large student protests. On March 22, a racist riot instigated by white Columbia University football players and fraternity members outraged this New York City campus. Four days later, over 1,000 Columbia students and others, including trade unionists and Harlem residents, joined in a mass, integrated anti-racist demonstration.

This kind of militant response to racist attacks is what's needed where racist scum have raised their heads on college campuses. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club participated in the March 26 demonstration, and in a mass meeting of anti-racist students held two days earlier. Black, white and Hispanic transit workers and students from City College joined our contingent, the largest at the demonstration. Alongside photographs of Frederick Douglass, and Union generals William Tecumseh Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, a Spartacist sign proclaimed: "Finish the Civil War!" Other signs proclaimed, "Students: Ally with Labor to Stop Racist Attacks!"

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Young Spartacus Photos

Columbia students, campus workers, Harlem residents protest Ivy League racists on March 26. Left: SL honors Sherman, Grant, Douglass—Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!

Anger Over Racist Killing by S.F. Cops

Police Radio Taped Execution

SAN FRANCISCO—Last May 10 two white undercover cops murdered Larry Lumpkin, a young black man, in San Francisco's Ingleside/Oceanview district. Yelling racial epithets, the cops just blew Lumpkin away in cold blood as he was trying to surrender. The racist killers were exonerated by the police chief, the district attorney and the so-called Office of Citizen Complaints (OCC), whose whitewash report released last January, and finally approved on March 26, has refueled black outrage over the atrocity. But the cover-up was botched—a series of leaks in recent months are exposing the bloody hand of the capitalist state. And in this city of racist Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, the trail of blood leads to the top.

Not only were there witnesses; the killers inadvertently *broadcast and taped* their crime, leaving their radio transmitting to police communications, where such calls are routinely recorded. This damning evidence was leaked, causing an outcry in predominantly black, working-class Ingleside. The cops—Brian Olcomendy, son of a local judge, and James Miller, son of a police captain—claimed Lumpkin tried to run them over as they were arresting him on purse snatching charges. But witnesses and the telltale tape exposed their lies. The cops, out of uniform and in an unmarked car, pulled up behind Lumpkin's car in an Ingleside parking lot and jumped out, brandishing their guns. "They never identified themselves as police," said Lumpkin's sister Shirley Henry (*San Francisco Examiner*, 30 January). The unarmed Lumpkin tried to drive away, but was blocked.

The tape records Lumpkin's desperate plea: "OK, OK, I'm cool, I'm cool," shortly before a cop's voice can be heard saying, "Nigger, you're dead," followed by gunshots. Lumpkin was killed instantly by a bullet in the back of the head, while still strapped in his seat belt.

This was a *Klan-style execution* by cops in a city police force crawling with bigots. When we exposed SF cops for displaying a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at an anti-apartheid demonstration in August 1985, Feinstein said this racist provocation was "stupid" but "minor." Lumpkin's murder and the subsequent cover-up comes at a time of similar police atrocities throughout the Bay Area. The killing of a black man by three drunk off-duty Richmond cops was ruled "justifiable" by a county D.A. in early February, and in January a federal judge threw out key parts of a years-long lawsuit against racist police brutality in Oakland.

It took a petition signed by 1,000 Ingleside residents before the "watchdog" Office of Citizen Complaints would even look at the Lumpkin murder. Local TV station KRON exposed the OCC's pressure on two of its own investigators whose draft report found Lumpkin's killing was "unjustifiable." One, Joan Kabouta, was removed from the case; the other was "sent back" to change the report's conclusion. Copies of the draft were destroyed. Even the Police Commission was reluctant to endorse such a crass whitewash, and delayed approving the final report until March 26 when the body split 3-2 in "conditionally accepting" it.

The FBI opened an investigation into the case in mid-March on the request of the Lumpkin family lawyer, who has filed a $10 million lawsuit over the killing. The Black United Front and ACLU both called for an "investigation" by the state attorney general, and BUF co-chairman Larry Johnson-Redd earlier called for Feinstein to appoint a special prosecutor. That's police groupie "Dixie Dianne," who flew the KKK Confederate flag in front of her city hall until former Spartacist candidate for Board of Supervisors and Labor Black League activist Richard Bradley tore it down three years ago! And the FBI? That's the federal political police, the racist executioners of the Black Panthers, run by the sinister Edwin Meese III.

Like the hoax of a "civilian review board" to "control" the racists in blue, "special prosecutors" acting for the state equivalent of Meese are a *diversion* meant to channel outrage against racist terror into empty schemes to "reform" Feinstein's stormtroopers. It will mean *more* black victims on the streets. As a "suspected purse snatcher," Lumpkin in the eyes of Reagan/Meese/Feinstein's cops "deserved to die." Black skin means you're guilty in racist America.

KRON-TV

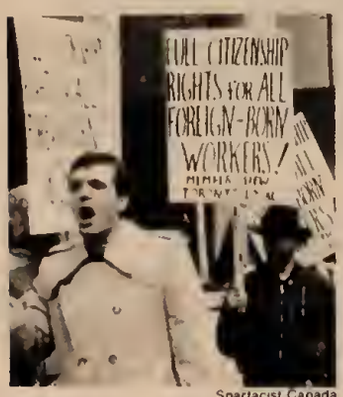
Larry Lumpkin: gunned down in cold blood by racist cops.

The racist terrorists in and out of uniform must be stopped with labor/black mobilizations! Put the killer cops in San Quentin and throw away the key! The heavily black longshore union that just shut down San Francisco Bay ports, the integrated ranks of the Muni transit drivers—this is where the power is to stop the racist killers. For a class-struggle workers party to organize proletarian power to stop the racist terrorists in their tracks! ■

Toronto Protest Demands:
"Asylum for Refugees from Death Squad Terror!"

TORONTO, March 25—Forty people came out today to a protest called by the Trotskyist League of Canada demanding "Political Asylum for Refugees from Death Squad Terror! Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!" In February, Canada's borders were closed to desperate Latin Americans trying to escape deportation from the U.S. under new immigration laws targeting "illegal aliens." Arrogantly referred to as "bus people," thousands of refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala are being held in detention camps and hostels in U.S. border towns. Now Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa have come down with reactionary legislation aimed at keeping them out for good. The new immigration laws are a continuation of the racist hysteria whipped up against the 155 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who risked their lives in a nightmare voyage last August in the hope of finding refuge in Canada.

Demonstrators at the TLC-initiated



Spartacist Canada

Labor must fight racist immigration laws!

protest chanted: "Asylum now for Tamil refugees! Smash Cold War racism!" "No deportations to death squad terror!" and "Down with racist immigration laws!" A member of the Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), whose first vice president Andre Kolompar had endorsed the protest, carried a placard calling: "For International Labor Action to Stop Racist Deportations!" The demonstration was also endorsed by union officials from the Canadian

Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League-initiated demonstration in Toronto protests Canadian government's racist anti-immigration crackdown.

Union of Public Employees Local 2191 and the CUPW Vancouver local as well as prominent Canadian civil liberties lawyer Clayton Ruby. A letter of solidarity from Herman Stewart, manager of the Toronto District Council of the garment workers union which represents hundreds of minority workers, read: "The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) supports political asylum for the refugees from death squad terror. We demand full citizenship rights for all foreign born workers." Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a concentration camp survivor who has courageously fought in defense of women's abortion rights against vicious state persecution, also supported the demand for political asylum.

At a rally following the demonstration messages of solidarity from British mine workers and members of the Amalgated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 in Chicago were greeted with warm appreciation and applause. From the coal fields of South Wales, National Union of Mineworkers member Howard Hopkins telegraphed: "We in the trade union movement stand alongside Tamils who are now suffering the same victimization as we suffer." Organized labor must defend its foreign-born brothers and sisters against the capitalists' racist immigration laws. The British miners strike, a bitter 12-month battle in which blacks and East Indians were among the miners' foremost allies, demonstrated that class struggle is the road to uniting workers across racial and national lines.

Church groups, civil libertarians and others have protested the Tory government's racist crackdown against refugees from Central and South America. Over 700 people came out to a pro-asylum rally in Toronto, March 8. At the same time Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney has hit an all-time popularity low of 22 points in the Gallup Poll, putting him behind even Reagan who is foundering in the biggest crisis of the "imperial presidency" since Watergate.

Simultaneously there has been a growing racist reaction against the refugees. As one radio host commented after an open line program on the issue: "Amongst us, I fear, there are many Archie Bunkers and Ku Klux Klanners. I'm hearing people say they want to keep Canada white" ([Toronto] *Globe and Mail*, 6 March). The "official" racism emanating from the halls of Canadian Parliament has fueled fascist terror. Last summer a former leader of the now defunct white-supremacist, paramilitary Western Guard mobilized a demonstration against Tamil refugees. Now, the government-appointed Deschenes Commission assigned to "investigate" the thousands of Nazi war criminals who have found safe haven in Canada has come out with a whitewash report exonerating, among others, 600 members of the Ukrainian "Galicia Division," which served as part of the Nazi Waffen SS, who are living in Canada.

As the Trotskyist League said in its special supplement to *Spartacist Canada*: "Labor has the muscle to spike the government's murderous anti-immigration laws and stop racist terror. But bringing this power to bear means breaking the stranglehold of the chauvinist misleaders of the union movement and the Cold War racists of the New Democratic Party." Sowing protectionist poison, the NDP social democrats' call for tougher immigration policies to "save" jobs only undermines any united *class struggle* against the racist, union-busting, strikebreaking bosses. This is echoed by "progressive" labor bureaucrats, "left" NDPers and liberals who rail against so-called "economic abuse" of refugee status.

Working-class militants must oppose the attempts to victimize foreign-born workers who are brought in to be superexploited during "boom" periods only to be thrown out when the capitalist economy slumps. Labor's task is to defend *all* the working people. Those who have made it into the U.S. or Canada should have the right to stay there—full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! And deport the Nazi war criminals and other counter-revolutionary scum who have been welcomed by Canadian and U.S. governments alike.

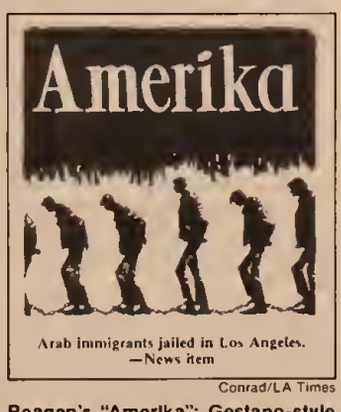
The demand for full citizenship rights is not to be confused with the utopian demand, raised from time to time by liberals and fake-leftists, to "open the borders." There is no such thing as a "fair" or "non-racist" immigration policy under capitalism. On the contrary, the call for open borders, if exercised in unlimited massive immigration, can come into direct conflict with the democratic right of nations to self-determination. The creation of Israel is a case in point. Born of the Nazi Holocaust and the closing of borders by the imperialist "democracies" to Jewish immigration, the Zionist state was carved out of the living body of the Palestinian people who were driven from their homeland by terror and mass population transfer. At the same time the call for open borders is an invitation to unrestricted imperialist expansionism. For example, an "open" U.S./Mexico border would enable well-financed American "colonists" to buy up Mexican enterprises and real estate.

As Marxist revolutionaries we are the foremost opponents of the imperialists' racist immigration policies. Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers will be one of the fundamental laws of a revolutionary workers state as it was in Lenin and Trotsky's Russia. But we also understand that the destruction of national borders will only become a reality with the achievement of socialism, as a result of the elimination of material scarcity. As Trotskyist League spokesman Jane Clancy concluded in her remarks to protesters: "The question of immigration and getting rid of racist immigration policies will finally be solved when the working people take power under the leadership of a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia.... Under socialism all they will call you is not 'deportee' but comrade."■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 2)

Committee. James Zogby, director of the Arab American Institute, put Reagan/Meese's anti-Arab witchhunt in the context of their new McCarthyism: "Singling out Arabs, in effect, mutes criticism from those in the civil liberties community who don't want to be seen as soft on Arab terrorism." But organizations like the Arab American Institute and the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee rely almost exclusively on this "community" and bourgeois state agencies. Meese's "Justice" Department and the FBI have not made a single arrest in the Odeh case. Instead, the Meese police are in the forefront of the repression of minorities, immigrants, labor and the left, as is graphically demonstrated in the vendetta against the Palestinians in Los Angeles.



Conrad/LA Times

Reagan's "Amerika": Gestapo-style raids, concentration camps readied for Arabs and Latins.

Defense of democratic rights is indivisible. The Spartacist League, assisted by the Partisan Defense Committee, won a modest but significant victory against the new McCarthyism. In a suit against Reagan/Meese's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," we compelled the FBI to concede that Marxist political principle and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or criminal enterprise. Above all, what contributed to this rare victory in the years of Reagan reaction was our Marxist understanding that the capitalist state, its cops and courts, cannot be reformed, and our forthright political stands, not least our opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive and "anti-terrorism" scare. In the labor movement the Spartacist League, almost uniquely, has struggled against the chauvinist poison of protectionism and fought for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers.

To fight the anti-Arab witchhunt, the latest manifestation of Reagan/Meese state terrorism, we appeal to the supreme court of the working masses who hold the destiny of all the persecuted and oppressed in their hands. Drop the charges—Stop the FBI/INS witchhunt! Down with the McCarran-Walter Act!■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Gospelgate...

(continued from page 1)

kings (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 March). Bakker, who resigned from PTL, charged he was caught in a honey trap manipulated by "treacherous former friends" and that Hahn was "very professional for 21...she knew all the tricks of the trade." (How does he know?) Meanwhile, *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione offered the lady 350 grand for a photo story, saying, "She's been doing God's work long enough, now we are asking her to do work for all humankind."

The Bakkers are currently hiding out at their palatial estate in Palm Springs, California, one of five around the country, while Tammy undergoes treatment for addiction to prescription drugs at the nearby Betty Ford clinic. As the scandal broke, Bakker's lawyer Norman Grutman charged that fellow Assembly of God TV preacher Jimmy Swaggart was trying to take over Bakker's empire, and began a list of Swaggart's misdeeds. Grutman threatened on ABC's *Nightline* (23 March) that if Swaggart didn't stop, "We're going to be compelled to show that there's smellier laundry in his hamper than the laundry he thought was Reverend Bakker's." Swaggart went on *Nightline* two days later, dodging and weaving and sounding like Reagan, shooting himself in the foot while it was in his mouth. Hypocrisy, thy name is televangelism.

Sharks Circling—"Let Us Prey"

Jim and Tammy Bakker's TV empire looked ripe for a takeover. Among the more high-living gospel circuit TV stars, their lifestyle included matching Rolls-Royces and gold-plated plumbing in their expensive homes. "Why should I apologize because God throws in chandeliers, mahogany floors and the finest construction in the world?" he once said (*Houston Post*, 21 March). Yet in 1978 he nearly went under with massive debt, partly from construction costs for his $100 million "Heritage USA" complex. Internal Revenue and FCC investigations of financing—to the tune of $13 million in unaccounted PTL funds—were brushed off by Bakker with the suggestion that "the devil got into the computer." (Maybe Ollie North could try that one too.) Well, now we know where *some* of the money went.

In fact, mesmerizing ostentation was the essence of the Bakkers' feelgood "health and wealth" ministry. Tammy would appear on the set bedecked in jewels; she had her own cosmetics line, "Tammy Faye pantyhose," country record albums, etc. Other evangelical paraphernalia include "Firm Up With Jesus" aerobics videos ("One, Two, Leg up, Praise the Lord"). All that Marabel Morgan "Total Woman" business is the pathetic underside of fundamentalist dogma seeking to drive women back into domestic subservience. Poor Tammy, she was just about to publish a book called *Christian Wives*, with sex tips to keep husbands interested. "Jim has very seldom seen me without makeup and hardly ever in my life without my eyelashes," she wrote. But it didn't work. Turns out Jim Bakker was praying, as Janis Joplin's song goes, "Oh Lord, won't you buy me a night on the town?"

AP

Suau/Black Star

"God's hostage" Oral Roberts (left) rescued by Florida dog-track mogul. On right, Jimmy Swaggart, televangelism's hostile takeover artist?

Whether you call it "Gospelgate," "Godgate," "Heaven's Gate" or "Pearlygate," the bottom line is money. As columnist William Safire laid out the scenario (*New York Times*, 26 March):

> "Jimmy Swaggart as Ivan Boesky, secretly to buy up the shares of PTL. The PTL management, with no time for a poison-pill defense, seeks a white knight in Falwell ministries but the junk-bond takeover crowd drives up the price with a warning that Falwell management might throw out the PTL board at the next triple witching hour."

The moral: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's mailing lists," Safire admonished. At week's end, Falwell and the hastily reassembled PTL board (including former Interior Secretary James Watt, axed by Nancy after he refused to let the "decadent" Beach Boys play at her Fourth of July bash) announced that PTL was doing just fine, with a good cash flow and a strong credit history, and they were negotiating refinancing. It sounded for all the world like a bunch of brokers announcing a new stock offering.

UPI

Reagan with White House minister of morals, "ayatollah" Jerry Falwell. Moral Majority targets everyone.

PTL is not alone in its troubles. Veteran Tulsa, Oklahoma evangelist Oral Roberts, one of the granddaddies of the gospel circuit, climbed his prayer tower to tell the faithful that god had personally told him he'd be "called home" if he didn't raise $8 million quick. "God's hostage" Roberts got his dough (with a last-minute million from a Florida dog-track owner), but then said he needed even more for the operating expenses of his multimillion-dollar hospital complex (which has only a few score of its hundreds of beds occupied by paying patients).

The "electronic church" (including radio stations) still takes in over two billion bucks a year in small donations, all tax deductible. But their Nielsen ratings are slipping; from a high of just under 21 million viewers in 1974, they've fallen by about a million over the last three years. And their social program—subordination of the state to the revivalist Christian church—has been frustrated, because many Americans cherish the separation of church and state. Moreover, evangelism, like the pyramid games these shows resemble, is based on a proposition of continual growth—a sort of supply-side economics applied to religion. And their accountants are no doubt telling them that the marginal returns on sending computer-typed Letters to Corinthians are negative when thousands come back addressed "Return to Sender."

Falwell, Pat Robertson and the State

The religious right is played out on many fronts, and its declining fortunes are intricately bound up with the "time of troubles" in the White House. Not only are the TV preachers' operations linked to the big conservative PACs (political action committees) like Richard Viguerie and Carl Channell's, they've had a direct line to the White House. Lt. Col. Oliver North is a fervent evangelical, attending the Church of the Apostle in Fairfax, Virginia, where they reportedly speak in tongues (in North's case, forked). It was his bright idea to present the Reagan Bible to the ayatollahs in Teheran (he even picked out the verse), perhaps figuring that Christian and Islamic fundamentalists have a lot in common. North, in linking Contragate to Gospelgate, managed the singular feat of extending the unholy anti-Soviet alliance from Pentecostal anti-Semites to neo-McCarthyite Ronald Radosh and professional Zionist Elie Wiesel. Lately, Reagan's "national hero" has become a cult hero of the religious right. Christian Broadcasting Network mogul Pat Robertson calls him a "sacrificial lamb" and prays for North frequently on his "700 Club."

The sinister Pat Robertson may be a main and intended casualty of this affair. For powers in the Republican Party are worried about his bid for the presidency and want to stop him before he fouls up things for '88. Despite his minuscule poll ratings, Robertson has already seized control of the Michigan Republican Party. He's a dangerous demagogue who in Hitlerite fashion declares abortion "racial suicide," declares South Africa is not ready for democracy, praises Salvadoran death squad leader D'Aubuisson as a "very nice fellow" and has funneled more than $3 million to the Nicaraguan contra terrorists through his "Operation Blessing." His program, in the words of the *New York Times* (29 March), is "not containing Communism but eradicating it." But his call for a theocratic dictatorship spells doom at the polls for the Republicans. Robertson is trying to let the winds of Gospelgate blow over his ducked head.

The one ray of gloom in this otherwise delightful exposé of fundamentalist greed and hypocrisy is that Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, appears to have expanded his influence and financial base with this takeover. Falwell is a dyed-in-the-wool anti-Semite who poses arm in arm with Israeli premier Shamir; he's a racist who redbaited Martin Luther King and whose church in Lynchburg, Virginia is a "white church and will always be that way," according to his assistant minister at the Thomas Road Baptist Church (*New Yorker*, 18 May 1981). A decade ago it would have been inconceivable for someone like Falwell, a fundamentalist who insists on a literal reading of the Bible, to pick up a charismatic Pentecostal ministry stressing faith healing and miracles. It just goes to show politics is thicker than religion.

These New Right fundamentalist politicos are not like the Jehovah's Witnesses or the Amish in Pennsylvania who are very sincere in their religious beliefs and genuinely persecuted for it. The religious ultras are driven by a dangerous political program and they *use* religion to try to enforce reactionary conformity throughout the fabric of society. Their "holy terror" is intended to instill fear and ignorance and unquestioning loyalty in their war against "godless communism" and what they (including the president of the United States) call the Soviet "evil empire." Their program is for Armageddon in our time.

The holier-than-thou televangelists drip with cynical sanctimony: Falwell said on *Nightline* that "there's never been a moral episode in my life" (that's for sure). But history has seen this kind of thing before. The Nazis were big on purity, too, but things kept surfacing. There were those numerous dalliances of Reich propaganda minister Goebbels, including a not-so-Aryan lady; Hitler raged that Luftwaffe chief Göring was "corrupt and a drug addict," and complained that the atmosphere of debauchery around S.A. stormtroopers' chief Röhm wasn't exactly according to the diktats of *Mein Kampf*.

And while we're at it, we'd just like to recall Vicki Morgan, the beautiful mistress of Al Bloomingdale, husband of Nancy Reagan's best friend Betsy. Vicki was mysteriously murdered several years ago, and the reported tapes of her having sex with high-level Reagan appointees seem to have disappeared. Do the Meese police know where they are?

So, back to fundamentals: Charles Darwin and Karl Marx. ■

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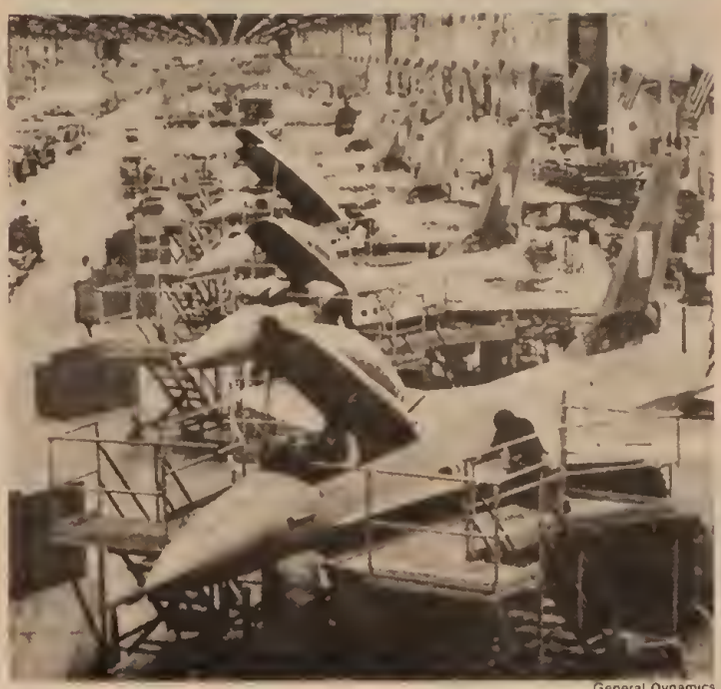
Detroit Auto Bosses Raped America

JAPAN INC. VS. WALL STREET

Washington and Tokyo are on the brink of trade war. On March 27, the U.S. government dramatically raised duties on Japanese electronic products. The pretext: Japan's alleged breaking of a cartel arrangement to keep the price of computer chips high enough for U.S. manufacturers to compete. The administration's sanctions followed unanimous Senate and House resolutions calling for retaliation over "semiconductor dumping." It was the first unilateral American tariff action against Japan since World War II, and there are presently dozens of bills before Congress for further protectionist measures. In response, Japan recalled its ambassador to Tokyo for consultations, complaining that the United States is "unilaterally and unreasonably bashing and bullying Japan."

As U.S. industry goes down the tubes, Reagan has gone on the warpath to enhance "competitiveness" through increased exploitation. The response of the labor bureaucrats and Democrats is to scream for more protectionism and trade war, setting American and Japanese workers at each other's throats. Part I of "Japan Inc. vs. Wall Street" (*WV* No. 424, 20 March) exposed David Halberstam's recent book *The Reckoning* as a slick ideological apology for giveback unionism, and recounted how under postwar U.S. occupation, Cold War anti-Communism led to smashing the militant Japanese workers movement. As the capitalists and their labor lieutenants gird for trade war, Marxists call on American and Japanese workers to unite in revolutionary struggle to expropriate the masters of the two most powerful imperialist countries of the world.

PART TWO OF TWO



General Dynamics

F-16 fighters in production at General Dynamics plant. U.S. rulers' anti-Soviet war budget is wrecking American economy.

Why have vast sections of the Midwest been turned into a gigantic "rust bowl," as the hosses dynamite steel blast furnaces and raze auto plants, eliminating hundreds of thousands of jobs? One of the central themes of Halberstam's parallel history of Ford Motor Co. and Nissan is the ascendency within Ford of the finance people over the manufacturing people, the men who actually made the cars and in many cases sought to make them better. Repeatedly, their requests to retool and modernize the plants were shot down and scaled back by the all-powerful finance boys, a bunch of glorified accountants. This is no isolated case. The rise of the business school-trained finance man over the plant manager occurred not only at Ford but throughout industrial America.

There was no lack of *potential* technological innovation. Halberstam recounts how in the late '50s Ford engineers developed a superior anti-rust painting technique called the E-coat process. It was immediately introduced into Ford's European operations, which faced stiffer competition and were always more innovative. GM, Toyota and Nissan all purchased licenses from Ford to use the new painting technique. But the E-coat process was *not* introduced into most of Ford's North American plants until the late '70s. The finance department argued that the quality improvement was not worth the additional outlay—that is, not until Japanese cars, noted for their superior paint jobs, started flooding the American market.

This attitude, shared by GM and Chrysler, accounts for the stagnant quality and productivity of American auto makers. In fact, it took Detroit slightly *more* labor time to produce a car in 1981 than in 1970 (215 man-hours as against 205). In this same period the Japanese cut their production time almost in half, from 255 to 140 man-hours (Alan Altshuler et al., *The Future of the Automobile* [1985]). Japanese auto and other plants are noted for the introduction of industrial robots. Yet such robots were *first developed* in the United States but have hardly been used here.

Sygma

Workers on Honda assembly line, Suzuka, Japan. While U.S. bosses plundered auto industry, Japanese capitalists invested in modern plant and equipment.

The Decay of American Industry

Halberstam describes the domination of the penny-pinching accountant in the American auto industry but cannot explain why. Ford's finance department always argued that a major capital investment program would reduce the value of the corporation's stock on Wall Street and threaten its AAA bond rating. This argument always carried the day with Henry Ford II, for Hank the Deuce measured his wealth not in the number of cars his plants produced but in the value of his stock holdings. *The Reckoning* points out how this preoccupation with stocks led old-line companies to make short-range decisions at the expense of the future. "Research and development were chopped back because they were expensive and cut into profits and hurt the way the company looked on its books."

But why should plant modernization *reduce* the value of a corporation in the capital market? Because, replied the Ford finance department, even if the new model were successful the additional profit may not offset the increased capital outlay. Although Halberstam is certainly unaware of it, he is describing here the basic contradiction of capitalism expounded by Karl Marx over a century ago, the law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit:

> "The rate of profit, being the goad of capitalist production (just as self-expansion of capital is its only purpose), its fall checks the formation of new independent capitals and thus appears as a threat to the development of the capitalist production process. It breeds over-production, speculation, crises, and surplus-capital alongside surplus-population."
>
> —*Capital*, Vol. 3

This is certainly a description of Detroit today with its half-used, dilapidated auto plants alongside a desperate mass of jobless workers.

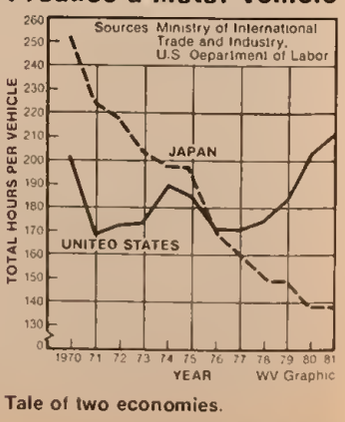
But Japan, too, is a capitalist country. Doesn't the law of the falling rate of profit operate there also? Yes, but for the past half century the pattern of capital accumulation has been very different in the two countries. And this is key to understanding what Halberstam calls "the parallel stories of the Japanese ascent and the American malaise." During the decade of the Great Depression (1929-1939) American capitalism underwent a major *dis*investment. Many factories were shut down and never reopened; machinery became hopelessly antiquated. It was only the onset of World War II, initially through orders for the rearming of Britain, that pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. World War II marked the greatest period of industrial construction in the history of American capitalism:

> "Between 1940 and 1944 the total output of manufactured goods increased 300 per cent and that of raw materials by about 60 per cent. Investment in new plant and equipment, much of it direct investment by the government, is estimated to have increased the productive capacity of the economy by as much as 50 per cent."
>
> —Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Society 1939-1945* (1977)

American industrialists emerged from the war with enormous profits which were ploughed back into their businesses. And when this wave of investment was exhausted with the sharp 1949 recession, the U.S. economy got a booster shot from the Korean War. By the mid-1950s the United States had one of the most modern industrial plants and highest ratios of capital per worker of any country in the world. Additional investment thus yielded relatively smaller returns. In other words, the rate of profit fell.

In the U.S. the Korean War boom marked the *end* of a major cycle of capital construction; in Japan it marked the *beginning*. The Pacific War (World War II) totally devastated the Japanese economy. The American naval blockade starved industry for raw materials while strategic bombing raids leveled factory after factory. In 1946 manufacturing output in Japan was *less than 30 percent* the level of the mid-1930s, in the middle of the world depression (N.S. Roberts, *Economic and Commercial Conditions in Japan* [1952]). The weak postwar recovery was stopped short and reversed in 1949 by the Dodge Line—a savage austerity program imposed by the American occupation authorities. In

Total Hours of Labor to Produce a Motor Vehicle



Tale of two economies.

mid-1950, on the eve of the Korean War, industrial production in Japan was barely a third of what it had been in 1931.

The Korean War had an impact on the Japanese economy comparable to World War II on the American:

> "The outbreak of the Korean War produced a sudden change in the situation Japan became a supply base. As orders were concentrated in special procurements and munitions, exports grew rapidly along with worldwide military expansion. Markets boomed, inventory backlogs were sold out, and mining and manufacturing production also grew at a fast tempo from early autumn of that year [1950], for an increase of about 50% in the year after the war began."
>
> —Yutaka Kasai, *The Era of High-Speed Growth* (1986)

Given Japan's relatively primitive and antiquated capital stock in the early 1950s, every million yen in new investment yielded very large returns. Between 1960 and 1983 Japan invested 30 percent of its gross national product (GNP) in new plant and equipment; the U.S. only 18 percent. Two decades of very rapid capital accumulation took its toll on the rate of profit in Japan just as it had earlier in the U.S. The annual growth in productivity plunged from 8.5 percent in 1960-73 to a mere 3.5 percent during the next decade (Jon Woronoff, *The Japan Syndrome* [1986]).

So how did Japanese industry wallop its American competitor in a period of *decelerating* productivity growth? Because American productivity growth, an anemic 2 percent a year in 1960-73, has been dead in the water, *less than half a percent*, over the past decade! While Japan Inc. has lost its former dynamism, American industry has committed suicide.

Kyodo

China Photos

State-sponsored chauvinism in Japan: (left) racist prime minister Nakasone visits Shinto war shrine 15 August 1985 glorifying imperial Japan's rape of China, including slaughter of 100,000 in Nanking, 1937 (right).

Arms and the Economy

Does the different pattern of capital accumulation and its effect on the rate of profit adequately explain Japan's competitive superiority over the U.S.? Not entirely. The other major and striking difference in the two economies is the burden of military spending: 7 percent of GNP for the U.S. as against 1 percent for Japan. While World War II and the Korean War boosted industrial construction in the U.S., since then the huge Pentagon budgets have drained American industry of productive resources.

A careful study by liberal economist Lloyd Dumas estimates that from 25 to 30 percent of all U.S. scientists and engineers are employed in the military sector (*The Overburdened Economy* [1986]). And although Japan has about half the population of the U.S. (120 million compared to 220 million), in the early '80s its schools produced *10 percent more* engineers. Thus Japanese civilian industry employs over 50 percent more technological cadre than its American competitor. Halberstam notes that in the 1950s:

> "Because Japan had no defense industry...and not even an airplane industry, the best engineers of a generation were being funneled into other, seemingly more prosaic sectors, like automobiles, for example, and steel. These industries, which in America were having increasing difficulty competing for top engineers, were getting the absolute cream in Japan."

The war drive has not only starved American industry of brainpower but also of capital to retool. In 1982, a year combining the Reagan war buildup with economic depression, Pentagon investment in plant equipment was almost 38 percent of the combined plant investment of all U.S. manufacturers. By 1983, Lloyd Dumas estimates, "the book value of the stock of physical capital preempted by the noncontributive military sector was *more than 46 percent* the value of the combined stock of physical capital owned by *all manufacturing establishments in the United States!*"

The arms industry constitutes a huge protected market for American capitalists. Winning Pentagon contracts has little, if anything, to do with economic efficiency and much to do with personal connections and outright corruption. The arms industry provides a gigantic retirement village for this country's generals and admirals. Naturally, "competing" for Pentagon contracts is a lot easier for U.S. manufacturers than competing against the Japanese in the civilian market.

So the Cold War against the Soviet Union has helped lose the trade war with Japan. In fact, Japan now subsidizes the Pentagon. As a direct result of Reaganomics—cutting taxes to finance the biggest arms buildup in peacetime U.S. history—the United States has in the space of a few years gone from being the world's biggest creditor to its biggest debtor, with Japan Inc. taking over Wall Street's former role. As one liberal Reagan critic put it: "supply-side economics" means foreigners supply the goods, foreigners supply the capital. And three-quarters of the $200 billion U.S. foreign debt is owned by Japanese capitalists, most of it in Treasury bonds and bills.

In the final analysis, however, Japan's access to the American market and the associated export of capital depends not on its competitive efficiency but on state power, that is, on arms. The Japanese ruling class, far more than its American counterpart, is acutely aware of the connection between trade war and the shooting kind. That connection was burned into the memory of the Japanese people with the nuclear heat of Hiroshima.

U.S. Army

USAAF

U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (above) came after Japanese offer to surrender. This was the opening shot in anti-Soviet Cold War.

One of Halberstam's heroes, Naohiro Amaya, a former top planner and trade negotiator for the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), has long argued that Japanese industry must accept some increased American protectionism for the sake of peaceful relations. "The alternative," Halberstam paraphrases Amaya, "was to become a samurai nation again, which would entail a huge defense bill that could threaten much of its prosperity." When a few years ago Amaya was trying to convince Nissan head Takashi Ishihara to go along with "voluntary" restraints on exports to the U.S., he warned the auto manufacturer: do not be like Yosuke Matsuoka. Matsuoka led Japan out of the League of Nations in the mid-1930s, an important symbolic step toward the Pacific War.

Amaya's line is pacifist utopianism. American and West European capitalism cannot and will not tolerate continuing huge Japanese trade surpluses, and Japanese capitalism cannot accept sharp cutbacks in its export markets. Something has to give. And in fact it already has. Published only last fall, *The Reckoning* is dated. Japan Inc. is today—right now—reeling under American protectionism, and Japan has already gone a long way to becoming once again a samurai nation.

Resharpening the Samurai Sword

The competitive devaluation of the dollar against the yen engineered by the Reagan administration—over 50 percent in the past year and a half—has the impact of a dozen protectionist trade bills in Congress. According to the Industrial Bank of Japan, at the current dollar-yen exchange rate Japanese manufacturing wages are the highest in the world (about $10.50 an hour compared to $9.50 in the U.S.). Japan is being deliberately priced out of world markets.

The "yen shock" has shaken Japan's famous "lifetime employment" system. While this applies to only 15 percent of the labor force, socially it is very important for it embraces the big companies—Nippon Steel, Mitsubishi, Matsushita, Nissan—the Japanese equivalent of the Fortune 500. But now Japan Inc. is scrapping "lifetime employment" with the battered steel and shipbuilding industries leading the way. A few months ago the *Wall Street Journal* (6 November 1986) reported:

> "Nearly every day, there is some disturbing announcement about loss of wages or jobs. Shipbuilders are closing down yards. Steelmakers are experimenting with 'rotational' layoffs. Japan's remaining coal mines are closing. The weaker auto makers are shunting workers into obscure affiliates or turning them into car dealers."

A spokesman for the Keidanren big-business federation, Kazuo Nukazawa, is worried that "company loyalty will be lost" if mass layoffs continue. It will indeed.

The economic crisis caused by the "yen shock" has been intensified by a government austerity program combined with a feverish military buildup. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is a Japanese-speaking Ronald Reagan. A former naval officer during the Pacific War, he is a rabid militarist and also a racist pig. As one critical observer put it, "the overweening desire of the [Nakasone] government is to boost the defense budget to the detriment of everything else" (Woronoff, *The Japan Syndrome*).

While military spending has been increasing at a Reagan-like 6 to 7 percent a year, social welfare, health, education and public works have all been cut back. To help pay for the arms bonanza Nakasone is auctioning off the state-owned railroads and telephone company to private hands. And, as in Reagan's America, in Nakasone's Japan runaway military spending is retarding technological progress. For example, the government-financed "Superspeed Project" to build the world's fastest computer is now foundering, in large measure due to the budget cutbacks.

Early this year Japan breached the symbolic 1 percent barrier of GNP for military spending. A number of economists maintain that Japan already spends more than that; they've just cooked the national account books to show less. The important thing, however, is that the Japanese economy is of such a size that even 1 percent of it has built up the seventh largest military establishment in the world and the fifth largest navy. That navy is now committed to policing the sea lanes up to 1,000 nautical miles from Japan.

Who is resurgent Japanese militarism directed against? The conventional answer in both Tokyo and Washington, and also Moscow, is the Russians. Certainly, the Japanese ruling class is fiercely anti-Soviet, claiming the Kuril Islands which the Russians occupied in the last days of World War II. Japanese revanchism toward the Kurils has been a basic obstacle to a peace treaty between Tokyo and Moscow, which would formally end the state of war between

continued on page 8

AP

Kokuro union members march in September 1986 against sale of state-owned Japan National Railways to finance Nakasone's war budget.

Japan Inc...

(continued from page 7)

the two countries. However, the revival of Japanese military power is not directed solely against the Soviet Union.

A New "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"?

"We never thought they would come back," exclaimed an elderly Filipino construction worker building a Japanese factory near Manila. In his youth he and his entire village were rounded up at gunpoint by Japanese troops and forced to build a bridge for them. The *zaibatsu* (big Japanese monopolies) are certainly back in Southeast Asia, though for the present without their army. However, as a leftist Philippine historian, Renato Constantino, warned:

> "We should be aware of the long-term implications of increasing Japanese economic penetration—the specter of Japanese militarism which may spearhead another invasion if Japanese interests in this part of the world are threatened."
>
> —quoted in Jon Woronoff, *Japan's Commercial Empire* (1984)

Japanese interests amount to one-third of all foreign investment in that part of the world. Japan Inc. is the number one foreign investor in Indonesia and Thailand, number two in the Philippines and Malaysia. Well-known Japanese products which flood world markets are made *not* in Japan but rather in its East Asian neocolonies. Matsushita produces many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South Korea, and so on.

Burton Holmes

Port Arthur, 1905: Japanese officers view scuttling of Russian fleet. Tsarist defeat in Russo-Japanese War led to 1905 Revolution in Russia, Japan's emergence as a leading imperialist power.

The present "yen shock"—a form of American protectionism—will spur additional Japanese investment in low-wage East Asia. Purely as a result of exchange-rate shifts, in the past year relative wages in Taiwan have fallen from one-fifth to one-seventh the Japanese level. Halberstam totally miscomprehends and misrepresents Japan's economic relation to the so-called newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia. He views them as Japan's rivals, not its neocolonies. In particular, Halberstam singles out South Korea as doing to Japan what Japan did to the United States:

> "Because the Japanese—through ambition, desire and discipline—had triumphed over wealthier and presumably lazier societies, they dreaded that the same thing would be done to them. As they had pursued the Americans, so other Asian nations now pursued them, using the same formula."

Because he views global economics as a contest of national wills, Halberstam cannot get it through his head that the interests of Japanese capitalists are not the same as the interests of Japanese society. Likewise with the U.S. The decay of industry in America is *not at all synonymous* with the decline of American industrial capital. While the U.S. share of world manufacturing exports fell from 23 to 14 percent between 1957 and 1983, in this same period the share of the *foreign subsidiaries of American multinationals* rose from 6 to 10 percent.

Contrary to Halberstam, South Korea is not Japan's Japan. Economically speaking, it is more like Japan's Mexico: the main haven for the runaway shop. Significantly, 15 percent of South Korea's Hyundai Motors, which recently launched its cars into the American market, is owned by the foremost of Japanese *zaibatsu*, Mitsubishi. However, unlike Yankee imperialism in Mexico, Japan *shares* its South Korea neocolony with another imperialist power. American industrialists also have runaway shops in South Korea, not to mention the 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there. When two imperialist powers both have interests in the same backward country, the stage is set for conflict and war.

The struggle for Korea has played a special role in the history of Japanese imperialism. Japan fought its first imperialist war, against China in 1894-95, to detach Korea from the decadent Manchu dynasty. A decade later it fought its second imperialist war, against tsarist Russia, to defend its Korean sphere of influence from Russian designs. The destruction of the tsarist navy at the battle of Tsushima Straits marked Japan's arrival as a major imperialist power, and touched off the Russian Revolution of 1905. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910, its first colony on the Asian mainland. And it was from Korea that Japanese troops invaded Manchuria in 1931, setting down the path to the Pacific War with the United States a decade later. Korea and Manchuria became major sources of raw materials and arenas for investment by the *zaibatsu*. As Lenin wrote in his work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917):

> "Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*."

The Great Depression triggered a wave of trade protectionism (e.g., the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff in the U.S.) which cut off Japanese exports to Western markets. Japan responded to this trade war by seeking to penetrate and ultimately take over the Asian colonies of the Western imperialists (British India and Burma, French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, the American Philippines). In addition to military and economic means, the Japanese rulers also appealed to anti-colonial Asian nationalism. To counter Japanese expansionism, the Western imperialist powers first resorted to intensified economic warfare. In July 1941 the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies without which it could not survive. Still the Japanese rulers did not want war with the U.S.:

> "Japan was, on the whole, eager to reach a settlement and offered considerable concessions to this end. America could certainly have reached a temporary settlement within the framework of an imperialist carve-up which gave Japan slightly more than it had been granted at Washington in 1921-22. It was America which turned down the Japanese proposal for a summit meeting between Premier Konoe and Roosevelt in autumn 1941."
>
> —Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (1975)

Top: Wallis/JB Pictures. Map: New Times, Moscow

Japanese ruling class seeks to take strategic Kuril Islands, vital to Soviet defense, from USSR.

The Japanese attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was not a prelude to an invasion of North America. Tojo and his fellow militarists were not that crazy. By a punishing military blow against the U.S. in the Pacific, they hoped to force Washington to accept Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan's rulers woefully underestimated not only the industrial power of American capitalism but also the appetite of its rulers—above all Franklin Roosevelt—to control the entire globe. Having provoked Japan into the Pacific War through the oil embargo, U.S. imperialism ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Reckoning to Come

Japan has certainly come a long way back from the irradiated rubble of Hiroshima, but the U.S. is now blocking the path to further ascendency. Many would argue that a new Pacific War between Japan and the U.S. is unthinkable despite sharp and increasing economic tensions. The Japanese ruling class, they reason, especially with its claim on the Kurils, is just too anti-Soviet to act as anything but a partner of the Pentagon. However, imperialist alliances and enmities are not permanent; they change as the balance of forces and perceived interests change.

Consider U.S. imperialism and Red China. In the 1950s-60s Washington viewed Communist China as the ultimate "evil empire," worse than Russia. For its part, the Mao regime denounced Khrushchev as soft on U.S. imperialism. However, already in 1969, after a bloody border clash between Russian and Chinese troops, the Spartacist League wrote: "we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9). Two and a half years later Nixon and Mao embraced as U.S. warplanes bombed North Vietnam.

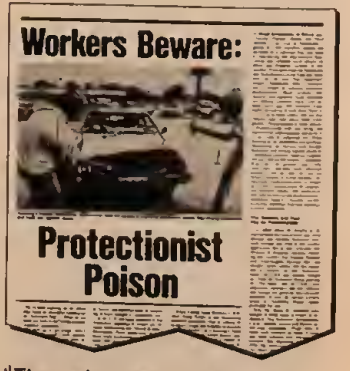
Likewise, some ideologues of Japanese imperialism would like to strike a deal with the Soviet Union, even talking of "joint development" of Siberia. In his July 1986 Vladivostok speech, Gorbachev held out the prospect of "open links" with the capitalist states of the Asia-Pacific region. However, Moscow is acutely aware of resurgent Japanese militarism. The collectivized economy that was the historic achievement of the October Revolution is just as antithetical to Japan Inc. as to Wall Street. And indeed, all the evidence indicates that the KAL 007 spy plane provocation against the Soviet Union, which brought us to the brink of WWIII, was a joint U.S./Japanese/Korean operation.

Whether expressed in resurgent militarism or "yen power," there is no question that Japan's ruling elite is in an aggressive and self-confident mood. Witness the ominous revival of state-sponsored chauvinism directed against Japan's victims in the Pacific War. A new history text for high schools, authored by ultrarightists, whitewashes the crimes of Japanese militarism in Asia. Korea is said to have "agreed" to its annexation by Japan in 1910; the killing of 100,000 Chinese by Japanese troops in Nanking in 1937 is referred to as the "so-called Nanking massacre." On a state visit to Peking a few years ago, Nakasone enraged Chinese students by honoring the Japanese war dead killed during Japan's rape of China in the 1930s and '40s.

This government-sponsored revival of national chauvinism is not directed solely at Russia and the colonial victims of the former Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Addressing a study group of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party last September, Nakasone praised the high intelligence level of the Japanese and then went on to a disgusting racist remark that "the level in the United States is lower because of a considerable number of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans." At the same time, a best-selling Japanese writer, Masami Uno, declares that "America is a Jewish nation" and that Jewish-dominated interests have begun "a targeted hashing of Japan" such as the recent surge of the yen against the dollar (*New York Times*, 12 March). Uno is no isolated crank either. Over 80 anti-Semitic books are reportedly now in circulation in Japan!

Behind these racist attacks is the growing resentment and antagonism of Japanese ruling circles toward their American rival. Last summer the Hong Kong-based business journal *Asian Finance* (15 August 1986) wrote: "For the first time since World War II, there is in Japan today a phenomenal swell of anger against US economic policy and its implications for the rest of the world. No matter whether Washington notices it or ignores it, Tokyo's mounting resentment is as unprecedented as it is potentially dangerous."

A counterpart to the growing anti-American sentiment within Japanese ruling circles is the far more virulent and widespread anti-Japanese hysteria in the United States. This hysteria is fueled above all by the union bureaucracy and "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. Last month Democratic Senator and declared presidential candidate Joseph Biden told the AFL-CIO executive committee: "If I were President today, I would be saying to the Japanese ...we're not going to start a new round of protectionist wars, but the dollar's going to continue to fall. It's going to continue to fall until it breaks your



"The main enemy is at home!" —WV No. 315, 15 October 1982.

back." (If the dollar continues to fall, it will trigger a flight of foreign capital, most of it Japanese, that will also break the back of the American economy.)

Yet the situation now confronting the working class in the U.S. and Japan is strikingly similar. Both face far-right governments committed to militarism, economic austerity and union-busting. Nakasone, by privatizing the Japan National Railways, is out to break the railwaymen's union, Kokuro, one of the strongest, most militant and left-wing unions in postwar Japan. For example, in 1960 Kokuro stopped the trains in a nationwide protest against renewal of the military treaty between Tokyo and Washington. Now Kokuro militants who oppose privatization are being victimized (forced to clean toilets and pull weeds in railyards). A number of these workers have committed suicide. But the desperation could well spark an explosion of class struggle in Japan, especially with the mass layoffs in basic industries such as steel and shipbuilding.

In the U.S., the AFL-CIO fat cats whip up protectionist frenzy, primarily against Japanese workers, precisely to *prevent* explosive class struggles that would drive them out of their Bal Harbour, Florida golf carts. Anti-Asian race-hatred has been a constant theme of American labor fakers since Chinese workers slaved on the railroads in the 19th century. And the bourgeoisie has used jingoist calls for tariffs, embargoes and trade war to bind the proletariat to its class enemy in preparation for imperialist war, while fostering racist terror against foreign-born workers at home. In 1864, the first workers International, the International Workingmen's Association, was founded in a fight against such social-chauvinism. As Karl Marx noted in his inaugural address:

> "Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."

no credit

Members of the Eastern Bureau at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, 1922. Front row: Sen Katayama (center); Ho Chi Minh (left). Back row, center: M.N. Roy.

Today, the United Auto Workers (UAW) tops have hired themselves out as company cops, spewing protectionist poison over the airwaves with TV ads to "keep America strong" with an "Active Trade Policy" (*UAW Solidarity*, February 1987). And the reformist left tags along. In response to a wave of plant closings by GM, the Communist Party USA calls on Congress "to take emergency action to halt the continuing export of capital and jobs" (*People's Daily World*, 12 February). In stark contrast, the genuine communists—Trotskyists—have a proud record of opposing chauvinist class-collaboration. Against the Toyota-bashing and Pearl Harbor Day anti-Japanese demos by the AFL-CIO, we proclaimed: "Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986).

For PR purposes, the labor fakers and their "left" water boys occasionally talk of international labor action. What they mean is a bunch of bureaucrats sitting down to a dinner in Amsterdam and passing empty resolutions. Real solidarity is joint *action*. Thus during last fall's East Coast dock strike, the Spartacist League/U.S. sent a telegram to Korean and Japanese steel unions declaring:

> "International labor solidarity can be key to victory in U.S. longshore strike. Oppose protectionist hysteria setting Japanese and American workers at each other's throats. Steel workers and dock workers must act together against union-busters from Wall Street to Tokyo. Japanese, Korean unions: don't increase steel exports to United States during ILA strike."
>
> —*WV* supplement, 2 October 1986

Just as the UAW tops seek to protect "our market," the reformist fake-lefts side with "their" bourgeoisie in trade war and imperialist war. Thus in World War II, the Stalinist Communist Party in the U.S. *cheered* the imprisonment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps, and *expelled* their own members of Japanese descent. The then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, however, courageously came to the defense of the horribly persecuted Japanese Americans. Today the Spartacist League continues the Trotskyist tradition of revolutionary internationalism (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977).

The First International was founded upon not only common workers action against the employers, but defense of the Polish insurrection of 1863 against tsarist autocracy, and the mobilization of English labor in support of a Union victory in the American Civil War against the slavocracy. That the black question is key to revolution in the U.S. was well understood by the pioneer of Japanese working-class socialism and communism, Sen Katayama. Katayama came to the United States in 1884, where he lived for eleven years, working his way through college. He attended Fisk University, a black school in Nashville. Katayama was a founder of the Communist International, and at the Comintern's Fourth Congress (1922) he aggressively championed black freedom. Claude McKay, the radical black intellectual, wrote in his 1923 essay "Soviet Russia and the Negro":

> "When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia."
>
> —Wayne Cooper, ed., *The Passion of Claude McKay* (1973)

The fight against imperialist war is at the heart of the struggle for workers revolution. At the 1904 Amsterdam Congress of the Second International, held in the year of the Russo-Japanese War, the delegates elected Sen Katayama and Plekhanov as their joint presidents. It was a moving demonstration of socialist internationalism as the representatives of the two warring countries clasped hands on the platform. The continuity of Marx's international proletarian solidarity exists today in revolutionary Trotskyism. Urgently required is a world party of socialist revolution, the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the working class to victory against the capitalist exploiters on both sides of the Pacific. ■

Bitter Fruits of Betrayal

The Carter/Reagan years have been characterized by an all-sided assault on blacks and labor. From the mass firing of PATCO to the hideous massacre of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, the racist rulers of this country get off on crushing minorities, poor and working people. The long list of isolated and defeated strikes—Arizona copper miners, Hormel meatpackers, TWA flight attendants—can be laid on the doorstep of the labor bureaucrats atop the mass industrial unions. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1985 and 1986 there have been only 52 and 65 major strikes (of more than 1,000 workers) respectively, the lowest level since World War II. And the working class is paying a horrible price:

- Union-busting two-tier contracts were imposed on almost one million workers in the last two years.
- COLA was terminated or suspended for 372,000 union members in 1986.
- Medical benefits were reduced for 700,000 workers in 1985, and another 425,000 in 1986.
- Industrywide contracts were destroyed in auto, steel, longshore, canning and forest products.
- In the last ten years the number of workers under major union contracts in private industry has fallen by *3.5 million*.

This tells the story for only the *unionized* working class. The unorganized, disproportionately minorities and women, face far more brutal exploitation. This is the price of playing by the bosses' rules. The enormous power of the American working class can be unleashed—by driving out the labor traitors and forging a leadership for hard class struggle.

GM...

(continued from page 12)

Fraser joined the Chrysler board of directors in the 1979-80 givebacks, almost a third of the union membership has been slashed. And the business press eagerly predicts another 25 percent of the UAW, 170,000 workers, will go in the next three years (*Business Week*, 1 December 1986). The new Honda and Nissan assembly plants are *non-union*, and black Detroit has been decimated—after the planned GM closings only *two* assembly plants will remain in the city.

Local unions have been whipsawed against one another in competition for a shrinking pool of jobs, as the auto makers impose "team production" and new "work rules"—better known on the line as brutal speedup. GM/Toyota's Fremont, California plant grinds out 50 percent more cars per man-hour than the industry average—not because of high technology but through pure sweat and blood. At the new Flatrock, Michigan Mazda plant (formerly Ford's Michigan Casting foundry) over 100,000 applicants are being "screened" to see if they are "suitable for the team" for an expected 3,500 jobs. And UAW chief Bieber, loyal successor to company cop Fraser, is destroying tens of thousands of his members' jobs as he whips up support for the American bourgeoisie's trade war.

Tailing the UAW bureaucrats at the March 21 rally were a host of fake socialists, from the red, white and blue protectionists of the Stalinist Communist Party to a clot of grouplets who try to pass off anti-Sovietism as Trotskyism. The dubious David North's Workers League passed out a leaflet (no union bug) with paper criticisms of the UAW officialdom while calling on auto workers to attend this protectionist, pro-Democratic Party event. A featured speaker was former UAW International hack Victor Reuther. Brother of longtime union president Walter Reuther and infamous as the UAW's European representative and CIA bag man during the 1950s, Victor Reuther was an *architect* of the class collaboration which led directly to the union-busting givebacks, beginning with Dodge Main in 1979, that have devastated the UAW and the entire labor movement. What an indictment of the reformist left that they are arm in arm with this professional anti-communist labor traitor!

Reuther is the broker for the "New Directions" lash-up of out-of-office bureaucrats like Jerry Tucker of the St. Louis-based Region 5, who are capitalizing on auto workers' anger at the UAW tops' wholesale givebacks in local agreements, where locals are set against each other in obscene bidding wars for jobs. Chief among these is the infamous "Saturn Agreement," in which GM demanded and got massive concessions from the Bieber gang before the company even broke ground on a new "Japanese-style" plant. But Tucker and Reuther are every bit as protectionist and loyal to the Democratic Party as the current Solidarity House regime.

Auto workers have been ground down under the vicious anti-labor offensive of the Reagan years. With Reagan down the tubes, workers throughout the industry have a chance to strike back in defense of their jobs—but only through a fight *against* the company cops in Solidarity House. While the U.S. and Japanese bourgeoisies unite in joint ventures to squeeze the shrinking UAW membership, the UAW misleaders push the racist poison that Japanese auto workers are the enemy! And under the banner of "Buy American," Reagan, to the applause of Democrats and bureaucrats, is going to price color TVs and VCRs out of a worker's home.

Instead of begging in the halls of Congress and all this protectionist crap, auto workers need fighting international solidarity! As we wrote when GM announced its plant closings last fall, at the same time it fired the striking workforce at its Port Elizabeth, South Africa plant and sent the brutal apartheid cops against them:

> "A class-struggle leadership in the UAW would shut down the entire GM chain with militant strike action and plant occupations in solidarity with the courageous South African auto workers and in defense of the jobs of American workers. Such a leadership would oppose import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a strike. But such a perspective requires a militant, internationalist leadership...."
>
> —*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986

And instead of Midwest auto workers just walking away from their jobs when GM padlocks the gates, a solid plant occupation could galvanize an industry-wide fight to take back the givebacks. It took sitdowns to build the UAW—it will take sharp class struggle to save it. Above all, what's needed is forging a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government to end the criminal insanity of capitalist production—where hundreds of thousands of workers are thrown on the scrap heap in order to pad profits—and replace it with an internationally planned socialist economy. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

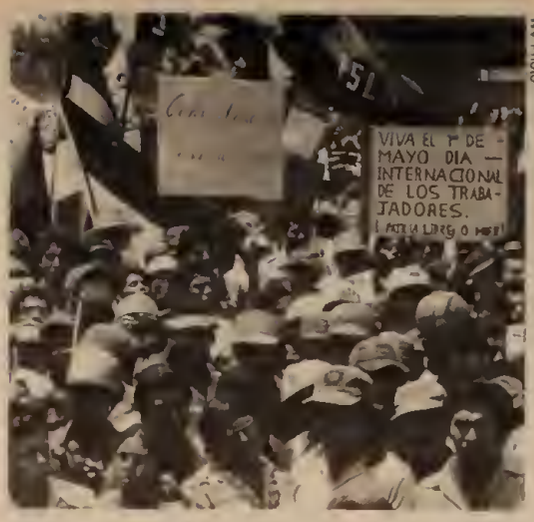
"last dollar" for the contras unless something changed dramatically in Nicaragua. And with the Tower Report behind them, with "moderate" Howard Baker installed as prime minister, the administration seems hell-bent on doing just that. Because for them, time is running out.

So in late March, Pentagon officers announced a mammoth military exercise, code-named Solid Shield, deploying 50,000 troops in the southern U.S. and throughout the Caribbean and Central America. The maneuvers, by far the largest ever held in the region, are scheduled for May as a "show of force" in conjunction with a contra "spring offensive," and "to simulate an American response to a request from Honduras to help fight Nicaraguan forces," according to the *New York Times* (22 March). Included will be paratrooper battalions from the 82nd Airborne at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; helicopter troops from the 101st Airborne at Fort Campbell, Kentucky; and Marine amphibious units from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina

Even more ominous are the naval "maneuvers." Not only will Coast Guard units be put under Navy command by presidential order, for the first time there will be a "simulated evacuation" of the garrison at Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base in Cuba. Why an evacuation? Clearly what's involved here is setting up for a *naval blockade of Cuba*, whether for practice or for real. And the number of 50,000 military personnel leaves out a lot of units that are *already deployed*. There are more than 20,000 American soldiers between Panama and Honduras, including a dozen units around the canal and eight U.S.-built airfields in Honduras. Army engineers in Costa Rica have just completed Bailey bridges providing a coastal highway for rapid access from Panama to the Nicaraguan border. The U.S. battleship *Iowa* has been patrolling off Nicaragua's eastern coast and numerous state National Guard units have been maneuvering in Honduras.

There has been an endless succession of training maneuvers over the last five years. Clearly, one of their main purposes has been psychological warfare, to rattle the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leadership. But this time, with upwards of 75,000 American troops involved, all the forces will be there for a full-scale U.S. assault on Central America. These are the same units mentioned in a detailed *Los Angeles Weekly* article last December that laid out extensive U.S. plans for an invasion of Nicaragua which "prior to the current White House troubles... would likely have occurred—and may still occur—by April" of 1987. A high-ranking Green Beret officer said that the preferred invasion scenario was "coming off a training exercise." And as the *New York Times* (19 February) commented about the last airborne maneuver, "Had the paratroopers flown on for about an hour more, they could have parachuted into Managua."

Will they do it? The Joint Chiefs of Staff, gun-shy after U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Indochinese, are on record against a U.S. invasion. But that does not exhaust the administration's "options." One possibility would be a rerun of the U.S.' April 1986 attack on Libya: a bombing run over a Nicaraguan military airfield, to claim destruction of a "Soviet base," along with terror bombing of Managua—and with no ground troops involved they force the Democrats to take a position. The National Security Council is also studying a naval blockade of Nicaragua, a move called for by Democrat Mondale in the '84 election campaign. But if the war-crazy Reagan regime does try an assault, it could backfire big-time. This won't be a Grenada: the Nicaraguans will fight, block by block, producing high casualties.



WV Photo

May Day, 1984: Nicaraguan workers urgently need a Bolshevik party to lead fight for power.

Above all, the consequences inside the U.S. could be explosive. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well—the American working people are deeply hostile to another Third World military adventure against a popular revolution. Consistently throughout the Reagan years, polls have shown a 2-to-1 majority against contra aid, and four out of five Americans opposed to sending U.S. troops to Central America. Yet today, even after Reagangate, a sizable majority think it is likely or highly likely that "their" government will send in the Marines. The racist labor-haters in power, who for the last six years have gloried in busting unions and taking food out of black babies' mouths, are in turmoil and vulnerable. There is mass revulsion against the U.S.' dirty war against Nicaragua, but the organizers of the April 25 peace crawl want to channel this into pressuring the Democratic-controlled "contra Congress." Defense of Nicaragua means driving out Reagan through sharp class struggle!

Sandinistas Conciliate Counterrevolution

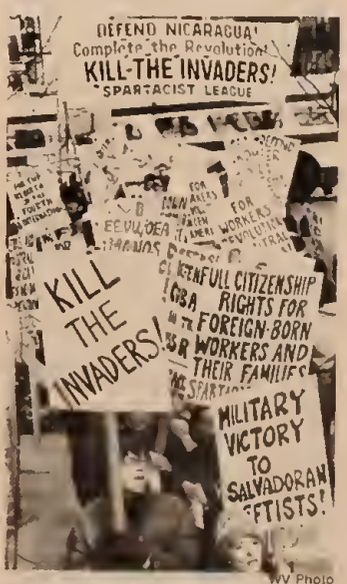
As Reagan's Nicaragua policy collapses, saner elements among the imperialists are looking around for another way to strangle social revolution in Central America. Their ploy is the "peace" initiative named after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias. This is the current embodiment of the "Contadora" proposals, attempts by Latin American rulers to disarm Nicaragua by diplomatic means. Last month, the U.S. Senate went on record supporting the plan by a vote of 97 to 1, and the Democrats have made this the centerpiece of their neo-"containment" alternative to Reagan's failed "rollback" policy. Dangerously, the FSLN leadership has shown interest in the Arias plan which calls for "broad dialogue" with the political opposition, i.e., the internal counterrevolution. It would also require "disarmament of the irregular forces," such as Salvadoran guerrillas and Nicaraguan militias, 300,000 peasants and workers, men and women under arms.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas are moving to patch things up with the elements of the bourgeois opposition. Ortega sought reconciliation with the church hierarchy, holding talks with Cardinal Obando y Bravo last September. In November, the FSLN greeted a Catholic eucharistic congress while the government transported and housed thousands of peasants, and publicized the event. Under orders from the Vatican, the "contra cardinal" is keeping a low profile and the papal nuncio has taken over. In response to the Arias plan Sandinista interior minister Tomás Borge said that the reactionary, U.S.-financed *La Prensa* could reopen if there were a cease-fire, even if this voice for the internal contras "would still be a spokesman for the United States." And the Spanish weekly *Cambio 16* (2 March) reports that Sandinista representatives have met in Mexico City with top contra leaders Cruz and Arturo Robelo.

Ever since coming to power at the head of the popular uprising that overthrew the tyrant Somoza in 1979, the FSLN has sought "peaceful coexistence" not only with Yankee imperialism internationally but also with its local agents, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. This policy is expressed in the Sandinista trinity of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment" which was just consecrated in the Nicaraguan constitution that was signed into law January 9. Calling for "national unity," the FSLN made a number of concessions to the reactionaries in order to gain a consensus. And in fact the constitution was adopted with the support of a majority of the bourgeois opposition, including right-wing Conservatives. On the left, only the small Marxist-Leninist Party voted against.

The constitution reflects the contradictory character of the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime itself. Thus the Preamble calls for "the institutionalization of the achievements of the Revolution and the construction of a new society that eliminates all forms of exploitation and achieves economic, political and social equality among Nicaraguans...." Yet the Fundamental Principles assure the continuation of exploitation, not to mention inequality, by guaranteeing private property—i.e., capitalist ownership of the means of production. Thus most of the constitution's promises are pie in the sky; its guarantees to the capitalists mean it could be the legal framework for the consolidation of a bourgeois state.

While revealing the appetites of the Sandinista leaders, these developments are hardly decisive. Nicaragua is under siege, militarily and economically, by implacably hostile U.S. imperialism. All of the FSLN's offers to cut a deal are rejected. Moreover, Daniel Ortega mentioned in his speech at the constitution rally a fundamental obstacle to counterrevolution: "The people have hundreds of thousands of rifles. If the people don't want this government, they can do away with it. What better proof of democracy?" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 January). Yet while the masses have guns, the bosses have economic power. The only way to abolish exploitation is through achieving the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The urgent need in Nicaragua today is to complete, defend and extend the Revolution.



WV Photo

Spartacist League demonstrates in New York: "Crush the Contras!"

For a Workers and Peasants Government!

When the Sandinista Army marched into Managua on 19 July 1979 following a bloody weeks-long popular insurrection, it marked the destruction of the existing capitalist state. The National Guard, the pillar of the Somozaist regime, fled in terror. The initial governing junta included leaders of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, including the widow Chamorro and future contra leader Robelo. But the guns were in the hands of the FSLN, and that was decisive. This petty-bourgeois, radical-nationalist regime was not committed to defending either bourgeois private property or the collectivized property of proletarian rule. However, as bonapartists, they were committed to defending their monopoly of armed force, and they quickly disarmed the urban militias.

The economic structure of Sandinista Nicaragua was established almost instantly. The only significant nationalizations were of the properties of Somoza and his cronies. Since it was a one-family state, however, this represented about 40 percent of the entire economy. From 1979 to 1984, the Nicaraguan economy had the highest growth rate in Central America, due to international aid and the recovery from the tremendous destruction left by Somoza's "razed earth" war against the people. But the toll of U.S. imperialism's economic war on Sandinista Nicaragua, the CIA's contra war and Reagan's 1985 trade embargo has dramatically escalated. As a result, agricultural exports fell, manufacturing production fell, consumer imports fell, inflation skyrocketed to 700 percent a year, and workers' incomes fell to the point where Nicaragua today has a "survival economy."

The most important economic fact about Nicaragua today is the spiraling growth of a black market. Speculation and hoarding have become so prevalent that they threaten to overwhelm the "official" economy. Tens of thousands of people are involved, from street vendors to managers siphoning off products of their own factories and institutions. Salaries are so low that many enterprises pay in kind, with a few yards of cloth or a pair of shoes every month, which are then sold on the black market. When one Managua textile factory abandoned payments in kind, a fifth of the workforce quit because they couldn't live on their wages. The governor of Managua, Carlos Carrión, told the London *Guardian* (18 February) that the deformities are so severe "they could lead to the disappearance of the working class, the decomposition of our social base and, eventually, impede the very development of the revolution."

The economy has become the Achilles' heel of the Revolution. The FSLN seeks to keep the wheels of their "mixed economy" turning by bribing the remaining capitalists with dollar incentives and investment credits. But the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie refuses to invest, squirrels its profits (and sons) abroad, and uses its dollar subsidies to fuel the black market. With its social base endangered, the Sandinistas in 1985 adopted a "New Economic Policy"

favoring the peasantry. Previously land reform had been limited to setting up cooperatives and state farms on estates seized from the Somozaists, and encouraging export production. Now the FSLN started handing out parcels to peasant families: more than twice as many individual allotments were granted in the last six months of 1985 as in the previous six years. By the end of 1986 nearly 80,000 peasant families had received land, not by expropriating the big landlords, for the most part, but by breaking up state farms.

In 1984 the contras were getting support from land-starved peasants who couldn't sell their produce at a profit; by 1987 all observers agree that the countryside has become a bastion of support for the Sandinistas. But in the cities, the workers are reduced to pursuing *bisnes* (moonlighting) in the black market to make ends meet, while absenteeism soars and productivity plummets in the factories. The 1987 Sandinista economic plan vows to "reduce differences between the city and the countryside," certainly a strategic revolutionary objective. But in the absence of a collective economy, the only way this can be accomplished is by reducing the working class to total penury. The balance sheet of the capitalist "mixed economy" is subsidies for the rich, massive scarcity, inflation and unemployment for the workers. It is a fatal contradiction threatening the survival of the Revolution.

One of Washington's main objectives is to "bleed" Nicaragua to the point that—they hope—after an invasion, the populace would not rise up against a U.S. occupying force and puppet government. The imperialists grievously miscalculate the reaction of the Nicaraguan masses. But the danger of demoralization is real. The way to finish off the contras is to expropriate the capitalists, the internal fifth column, who are the bankrollers and the social base of the counterrevolution. The mouthpiece for Yankee war propaganda known by the workers and poor of Nicaragua as "*La PrenCIA*" must be seized by the workers. This requires a Bolshevik vanguard that fights to politically break the masses from the Sandinista holy trinity that ties them to their exploiters. A Nicaraguan Trotskyist party forged on the program of permanent revolution, fighting for a workers and peasants government and for the international extension of the Revolution, is the key to victory.

As the Reagan regime goes down, as the war increasingly engulfs all of Central America, both the possibility and urgency of building such an internationalist leadership are heightened. Even in the quintessential banana republic of Honduras, today transformed into a "landlocked aircraft carrier" for the Pentagon, there have been workers' marches demanding contras and U.S. bases out. Next door in El Salvador, the Duarte regime is hanging by a thread, opposed by both big business and a militant labor movement, while the FMLN guerrillas are again on the offensive, proclaiming: "Duarte is weaker than ever.... Everyone to battle." The battle for Central America extends far beyond the narrow strategic isthmus. Mexico is already seething, with hundreds of thousands of students on the march and workers' strikes mushrooming. And in the U.S. itself, the Reagan administration may find out that not all wars push up presidential polls.

Labor, blacks, students: U.S. war moves in Central America must be fought, not by begging the Democrats, but through militant class protest, including political labor strikes against a Yankee invasion. Reagan is already down, but he is a wounded and dangerous beast. Now is the hour to strike, to take back the givebacks and cutbacks, to drive out this viciously racist labor-hating regime with sharp class struggle! ■

Columbia...

(continued from page 3)

"Transit Workers Demand Labor/Black Action to Stop Racist Terror!" and "The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow!" The Spartacist banner read, "From Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror!"

As the campus discotheque closed its doors at 2:00 a.m. on March 22, black Columbia student Mike Jones was assaulted by a white football player who had subjected him to physical intimidation and racist verbal harassment on several previous occasions. This was the signal for a racist riot, as white jocks and frat rats set upon and beat any black male they could get their hands on. The bourgeois press (including the campus *Spectator*) portrayed the attack as a "brawl," but a black woman who witnessed the scene described what happened: "There were about 20 white students. They were crazy. There were only about eight blacks. Mike was getting stomped into the concrete and mud. Those white students were out for blood. We were sure someone would get killed." Black Columbia security guards who attempted to intervene were themselves attacked by the racists. Mike Jones had to be treated at a hospital for injuries to his legs and arms.

Black student leaders responded immediately, organizing a demonstration of 200 students that marched through "Fraternity Row" that afternoon. Four days later, demonstrators chanting "No justice, no peace!" again rallied in front of the Sigma Chi Alpha fraternity house, home of two ringleaders of the racist mob. Black student leader Tanaquil Jones explained some of the history of this racist frat:

> "Their Southern affiliates burn crosses on college campuses. A few years ago, members of this fraternity beat a homosexual student with a 2x4, and fractured his skull...[in 1983] they held a woman here, tied her down against her will, and sexually molested her."

Jocks and frat rats threw water and eggs at the demonstrators from windows up above, emboldened by the protection of a large contingent of police. Tanaquil Jones noted that the police "are never on the side of the oppressed—never. Their job is to protect the state, and racists.... That's what they get paid to do." Indeed, the NYC cops play an active role as *perpetrators* of racist murder, as illustrated by the cop murders of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs, covered up by the city administration and given legal sanction by the courts.

The Ivy League race-terrorists at Columbia don't know where they are—this university is in the middle of *Harlem*. Black student leaders have stressed this connection, as well as Columbia's role as slumlord of the community. Recently the university attempted to evict a Hispanic woman Columbia employee from her university-owned apartment; as compensation, university president Michael Sovern (who is a member of Mayor Koch's homeless task force) offered her a list of homeless shelters! Black students have also sought out and won the support of campus workers organized by AFSCME Local 1199 and UAW District 65, as well as other student organizations and community organizations in Harlem.

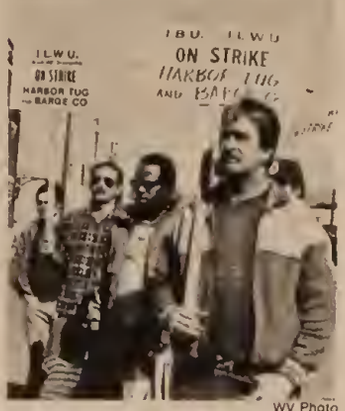
On April 4, anti-racists will again assemble at Columbia, this time for a march through Harlem. The militant, integrated protest in response to the racist attack at Columbia comes at a time when cop bonapartism and lynch mob terror have put New York City on the razor's edge, and Koch's police commissioner is already threatening a long, hot summer. During the prolonged divestment blockade in the spring of 1985, a march through Harlem was diverted to a church for an electoral rally for black Democrat C. Vernon Mason. Cynical manipulation of anti-racist outrage by aspiring black capitalist politicos can only postpone the day when the *racially integrated labor movement*, in alliance with the ghetto, will mete out richly deserved justice to race-terrorist scum, from the ivied walls of Columbia to Howard Beach, Queens. At a mass meeting of over 500 students on March 24, Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Cheri James was applauded when she said: "The response to acts of racist terror like this should be to shut down the campus! These racists are the same people who will be trying to break up the picket lines of union 1199 when they go out on strike.... It's the working class which has the power to smash racist terror." ■

West Coast Dockers...

(continued from page 12)

scabs rushed into a company van and crashed through a gate to flee the scene. Several vehicles had their tires flattened and the workers then withdrew in good order. The dock was shut down.

Though company officials rushed to the bosses' court to get an injunction limiting pickets, and a port arbitrator labeled the walkout "illegal," the workers had carried the day. As we go to press, the Operating Engineers—having discovered that strikebreaking can be hazardous to your health—have said they will not cross the IBU picket lines again. The barges remain unloaded and longshoremen say they will shut the port again if Crowley tries it.



WV Photo

Waterfront unions rally in defense of boatmen's strike, Port of Oakland, February 22.

The Bay Area port shutdown is *exactly* the kind of action needed to win the IBU strike and spike the ongoing offensive against all waterfront workers. The IBU struck Crowley February 6 when the employer refused to accept union concession offers of up to 27 percent in wages, benefits and manning scales, demanded the elimination of the union hiring hall and set out to break the union. Crowley staffed its tugs with strikebreakers including members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. The shippers have been circumventing the strike by calling in non-Crowley tugs when IBU pickets show up or ILWU members refuse to work. Shipping has not been markedly reduced.

In the March 20 port strike members were acting in solidarity with their IBU union brothers and letting the bosses know they will not tolerate this threat to their union. The PMA bosses have never reconciled themselves to the gains of the 1934 general strike, which firmly established the ILWU on the West Coast and was one of the three key class battles which paved the way for the industrial unions of the CIO. In recent months the shippers have greedily watched developments in the southern Atlantic and Gulf ports, where the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has accepted massive erosion of its jurisdiction and wages due to the growth of non-union operations. In last year's ILA strike from Maine to Virginia, the militancy of the ranks was betrayed when the ILA leadership accepted a two-tier wage agreement. PMA president William Coday threatens that management has "a firm determination that there must be similar changes in direction on our own coast" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). The ILWU itself has made significant concessions to scab operators on the West Coast: in the Seattle and Puget Sound ports Alaskan cargo is now handled by non-ILWU and non-union workers. And just as the ILA tops' collaboration with the bosses paved the way for substandard contracts, former ILWU president Harry Bridges accepted the destruction of thousands of longshore jobs with his "mechanization and modernization" contracts in the early '60s.

Now the PMA is gunning for the union hiring hall. The *Chronicle* article quotes a "labor-management" study which "called into question the equal sharing of jobs. It recommends more permanent positions for longshoremen and less dispatching from hiring halls—issues that may bring to mind the strike of 1934." The membership of the ILWU correctly understands that they will have to fight to preserve their jobs. But the ILWU leadership of Jimmy Herman & Co. do not want to shut the ports down. They *fear* a major confrontation with the shipowners and the government, even when the U.S. president who ushered in the recent era of union-bashing can barely remember he's still in the White House. One ILWU official said, "Should we take on the whole country? What if it fails?" (*Chronicle*, 31 March).

What about some real class struggle and *winning* for a change? It took reds to organize the general strikes of '34—SF, Toledo and Minneapolis. The "downtown" Democratic politicians are *enemies* of labor. We need a class-struggle workers party today. Labor should sock it to Reagan, and the ILWU's port shutdown showed it can inspire a Bay Area labor counteroffensive against years of concessions and givebacks: Shut down maritime! Screw the injunctions—For mass picketing! Make the waterfront 100 percent union! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Win West Coast Tug Strike—Shut Down the Ports!

1,000 Dockers Run Off Scabs

ILWU Action Sparks Shipyard Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, March 31—The six-week-old strike of 600 tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), exploded here March 20 when hundreds of longshoremen stormed a dock to run off strikebreakers and shut down every port on San Francisco Bay. Inspired by the militant action of members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), yesterday 300 plumbers at Todd and other shipyards in San Francisco struck to the cheers of 1,500 other yard workers who observed their picket lines. "We ain't going through. This is what we need to get the unions back together," a union official said (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). The ILWU action bloodied the maritime bosses in a test of strength on the waterfront, with the ILWU's contract with the Pacific Maritime Association expiring June 30. Longshoremen must *extend* this action by shutting down the ports! For a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike! IBU, longshore, seamen, shipyard workers—all out together! Link up with Teamsters, railroad and airline workers—nothing moves!

Fink/Times Tribune

ILWU pickets rout scabs at Redwood City port, March 20.

Crowley Maritime, one of the largest tugboat and shipping companies in the country, upped the ante in its drive to crush the IBU. Late on the night of March 19, it had three barges belonging to a subsidiary, Hawaii Marine Lines, towed under cover of darkness from an Oakland pier to the less used Port of Redwood City. The barges had sat in Oakland for over a week as longshoremen refused to unload them. Monitoring ship movements with picket boats and by radio, the IBU (affiliated to the ILWU) called on their union brothers.

Early the next morning, pickets began gathering at the Redwood City pier. Anger grew as the scabs of the Operating Engineers Union, hired by Crowley to replace the ILWUers who normally work the overhead cranes, began unloading the $5 million cargo of canned pineapple and automobiles. At 11 a.m., some 1,700 ILWU members walked off the job, shutting down all longshore work in the Bay, and nearly 1,000 of these gathered in Redwood City. Sixty cops from seven different Bay Area jurisdictions, some clad in riot gear, were called in to protect the strikebreakers. But militant longshoremen weren't having it. About 2 p.m., 200 workers, some carrying 2x4s, stormed the front gate and headed for the wharf. A dozen

continued on page 11

UAW Tops Beg Democrats, Push Protectionism

GM Job Massacre

For Industrywide Strike Action!

Nine thousand members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 594 struck GM's Pontiac Truck and Bus plant on March 26. Over 3,000 local members are among the 30,000 GM workers being thrown on the street in the next year, as the auto giant closes eleven plants in Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Illinois. Incredibly, the Local 594 officials didn't even mention the mass layoffs, limiting "negotiations" to disputes over "strikeable" issues—which doesn't include the wholesale elimination of jobs! Though the strike was touted as the first "showdown" of the auto contract period, the UAW bureaucrats called it off after two days. The bosses' press applauded the settlement, but nothing is settled for Truck and Bus workers, and tens of thousands of others facing plant closings and mass layoffs. What's needed is industrywide strike action coupled with plant occupations to defend their jobs now!

Prior to the strike in Pontiac, 3,000 UAW members attended a "Stop Plant Closings" rally in Detroit on March 21. The mainly black workers came from threatened plants throughout the Midwest, looking for answers to the mass layoffs at GM. The crowd was fed a rehashed Solidarity House diet of begging the Democrats for legislation and bashing the Japanese. Organized by bureaucrats from Fleetwood UAW Local 15 (which GM will start closing in June) and supporters of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), the rally didn't even have a *pretense* of militant labor struggle. The Marcyites pleaded with Reagan (!) and Congress to declare a "moratorium" on plant closings. Featured speakers were black Democrats Jesse Jackson and Congressman John Conyers, who sits on the WWP's popular-front "A Job Is a Right" campaign. Jackson obscenely dismissed the wave of racist terror from Howard Beach to colleges across the country, with the incredible assertion that since racist violence was "illegal" he wasn't worried about it.

Since UAW president Owen Bieber was busy once again crawling to Washington, Region 1-A director Ernest Lofton spoke for Solidarity House. He pleaded with the capitalist politicians that "workers have a right to be informed" when they are going to be thrown on the street. His "America first" chauvinism was loud and clear: "We need protection for American workers in America, and then we start worrying about the rest of the world." This is the chauvinist poison that killed Chinese American Vincent Chin on the streets of Detroit five years ago, when a racist Chrysler foreman bludgeoned him to death screaming, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work."

Hartley/Detroit Free Press

Strikers picket Pontiac, Michigan, GM plant March 26.

Workers at GM and throughout auto are taking a pounding as the 1987 contract negotiations approach. Since the industrywide contract was ripped up and former UAW president Doug

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 426 17 April 1987

Democrats Prop Up Reagan Reaction

Labor, Blacks: Now's the Time to Fight Back!

Forge a Workers Party!

WV Photo

Lynn GE strikers, March 1986: Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

A lot of angry people have been looking for a chance to fight back against the vicious, lying moron in the White House and this government driven by limitless greed and lusting for war. The M.O. of the criminals running the country is to slam everyone up against the wall and bully them into submission. Last year Washington was crowing about "having the Soviets on the run"; the Nicaraguan Sandinistas would have to "cry uncle," or else. The warped Meese police have been getting high examining people's urine and snooping in their bedrooms. Now the Reagan administration has been caught with its pants down over the Iran/Contragate affair. With an embarrassed administration, there is an opening for the independent mobilization of the workers and oppressed in defense of their rights. Now is the time for the working people, minorities and all the victims of the American empire to strike back with hard class struggle. If we fail to do so, the crisis-ridden capitalist system will continue to lurch toward imperialist war.

The Reagan gang targeted just about everybody. The elite, white PATCO air controllers had their union smashed, the entire workforce fired and their leaders hauled away in chains. The message to black America was the firebombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people including babies, and turning a neighborhood into ashes. In Los Angeles, Palestinians are rounded up in pre-dawn Gestapo raids. Concentration camps are set up for "illegal aliens," as the U.S. prepares for mass deportations. It's all the domestic side of U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union and those labeled its "surrogates," a crusade in which contra terrorists are called "freedom fighters" and death squads equal "democracy." This is a government of war at home and abroad. But in Washington today there are two war parties, Democrats and Republicans, the partner parties of racist American capitalism.

The Democrats approved the $1.5 trillion military budget, and regularly voted for contra aid except when they were embarrassed over CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors. They had no quarrel when Reaganite bullying of the world's peoples seemed to work okay, like the invasion of tiny black Grenada. They cheered when the U.S. bombed Libya in "retaliation" for a terrorist crime which they all knew probably had nothing to do with Libya. Even when the Reaganauts tripped up with their bizarre Teheran cakewalk that exposed the overt/covert wars run out of the White House basement, the bipartisan watchword was "damage control" to protect the imperial presidency. After Democrats took the Senate in November, majority leader Byrd called for coalition government, offering "to cooperate with the President.... I don't think the American people want confrontation." And today the Senate votes up $40 million for the contras, Reagan carries out the Democrats' demand for

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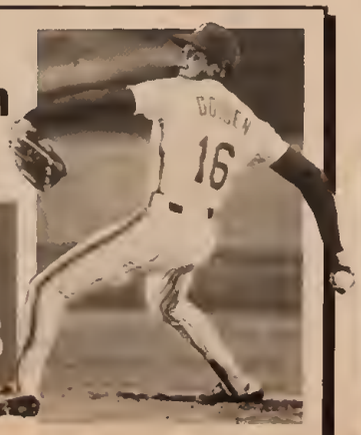


Let Dwight Gooden Play Ball!

Racism in Sports

SEE PAGE SEVEN

Guerrilla Attack Stuns Death Squad Regime

Military Victory to Salvadoran Rebels!

SEE PAGE FIVE

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Beat AIA McCarthyite Libel!

The PDC is supporting the Spartacist League libel suit against the notorious right-wing "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." (AIA), its contra-loving executive director Laszlo Csorba III and McCarthyite witchhunter Reed Irvine, mastermind behind the Reaganite soap opera *Amerika* and the founder and Chairman of the Board of AIA.

The SL is seeking damages over AIA's publication in its pamphlet, entitled "Appeasing the Censors, A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," of a false and deadly libel. The AIA pamphlet had the following sentence about the SL: "Their publications (*Workers' Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge 'military victory' for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers." The AIA's attempt to equate the SL's forthright Marxist politics with terrorism is a conscious and deadly smear—a libel that kills. Police have a way of eliminating people tagged as "cop killers."

AIA seeks to sterilize the campuses against even modest political opposition. It also stands squarely behind the racist marauders running rampant on campuses, like the staff of the conservative *Dartmouth Review* who leveled a shantytown occupied by students opposing apartheid. AIA's *Campus Report* hailed this assault and ran a fund appeal for the racists' defense.

AIA has just retained the prominent law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays and Handler, with offices in New York and Washington, to represent them. More than a month after the time permitted to respond to the SL's complaint, AIA filed a petition to remove the case from New York State Supreme Court to the Federal District Court in New York.

We are seeking endorsements from all defenders of democratic rights and opponents of racist terror to support this fight against the new McCarthyism. Howard Zinn, a noted author and professor of political science at Boston University, himself a target of AIA, gave the following statement of support:

> "I understand that Accuracy in Academia has claimed that the Spartacus Youth League advocates the killing of policemen. Whatever my own political disagreements with the Spartacus Youth League, I have seen no evidence of their belief in such tactics, and to falsely accuse an organization of that is to set them up for violence directed against them. My own experience with Accuracy in Academia is that they are dishonest, especially in claiming to be interested in accuracy, when it is clear that they are interested in purging left-wing and even liberal faculty from universities. In short, they do not believe in academic freedom, are contemptuous of the ability of students to think for themselves about the important issues of politics, and have no faith in the democratic value of pluralist opinions."

To defend a workers party in the bourgeois courts costs big bucks and AIA has friends with very deep pockets. Help us send these Big Lie witchhunters packing. Send donations and endorsements to the PDC. As a supporter from Arlington, Massachusetts put it:

> "I am so delighted by your recent achievements (the Geronimo rally and the suit against AIA) that I have to sit right down and make out a check for $20.00. I will take the article in *WV* about Pratt and show it to all my friends who are waffling on supporting him: how can they stand aside with the kind of response you've gotten?
>
> "As for Reed Irvine, the *Nation* pointed out that nobody respects or likes him. But it was only by taking on your tiny radical group that he'll meet his Waterloo. I have followed your suits against powerful organizations for about 15 years, and I'm convinced if he doesn't settle fast it's bye-bye Irvine."

* * *

Former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt's case will be heard by the California State Parole Board on May 5. The Federal Court of Appeals will shortly be hearing his appeal for a new trial. We must act *now*! Mobilize your unions and community organizations. We have collected more than 500 letters demanding Pratt's freedom. Send your letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt to: California State Parole Board, District Parole Office, 759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, re: Parole Hearing for Elmer Geronimo Pratt; and 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, U.S. Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102.

* * *

We recently refused a contribution from an individual who wanted to donate to the PDC's stipend program for class-war prisoners with the restriction that it not be used for any of the MOVE prisoners. The PDC chooses its cases and causes in accordance with our Marxist understanding of legal defense. At times we will make special and urgent positive appeals, e.g., Aid to Striking British Miners' Families fund drive or the Geronimo Pratt demonstration. We will accept earmarked donations for these and other cases and causes. We repudiate those who, in their prejudices and bigotry, would negatively circumscribe the purposes for which their contributions can be used. We are not going to be dependent on people who seek to control our purses with their program or prejudices.

* * *

The fourth issue of the PDC newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is now available, featuring the campaign to free Geronimo Pratt and updates on class-war prisoners. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

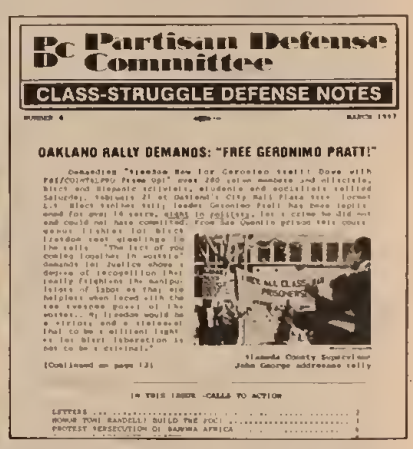
American Imperialism On the Eve of War

On the eve of World War II the Socialist Workers Party was founded as the American section of Trotsky's Fourth International which was to hold its founding conference nine months later. Regarding the state of U.S. imperialism the SWP's founding "Declaration of Principles" stated:

In spite of its magnificent natural resources and its unparalleled industrial plant, the United States is in no way exempt from the influences of the world decline of the capitalist order. On the contrary, as has been proved by the war of 1914-18 and by the economic crisis of 1929, and is being further proved in the rapid approach of the new war and the new economic crisis, the United States is inseparably interlocked into the system of world imperialism. With the war of 1914-18, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power at the very time when capitalism everywhere had entered its decline and conflicts between the great powers were therefore intensified. American imperialism cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the masses in the United States itself, in Latin America, South America, Europe, and Asia, whom it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. The economy and politics of the United States are inextricably connected with crises, wars, and revolutions in all parts of the world. The phenomena of capitalist decline—economic crises unprecedented in their depth, mass unemployment, inability to utilize inventions and technological improvements, insecurity, violations of democratic rights, the ever present threat of war—are all present, many to an exaggerated degree, in the United States. Nor can the United States, under capitalism, escape the more dire extremes of the new war and of fascism. In the very nature of the power of United States imperialism lie the irrepressible conflicts that herald its collapse.

—*Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the SWP* (1938)

WV Photo



Oakland, February 21—Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League organize rally to free framed-up former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Moscow Embassy Spy Hysteria

AP

Violetta Seina

Just before Secretary of State George Shultz was due to visit the Soviet Union for arms control discussions, the capitalist propaganda machine found an excuse for some Soviet-bashing. As a result of the ill-fated amours of two (and maybe more) young Marines who had been assigned to guard duty at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, the entire embassy has been declared a security risk. This affair has been lumped together with the much older story of the bugging of the new U.S. embassy building under construction in Moscow. The obvious purpose of this brouhaha is to fabricate a new "crisis" in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Meanwhile, the two Marines accused of espionage, who face the death penalty, have pleaded innocent. But the press and government have already hung them. Sergeant Clayton J. Lonetree, of Navaho and Winnebago Indian heritage, has admitted having a "romantic involvement" with an attractive Soviet woman named Violetta Seina, who was employed by the U.S. embassy. The most serious charge against him—that he supposedly allowed Soviet agents into restricted areas of the embassy, including the communications/coding area—was based on the statements of a black Marine, Corporal Arnold Bracy, who has since recanted his testimony, according to defense attorney William Kunstler. Moreover, the *New York Times* (15 April) now reports: "The Marine Corps is having trouble gathering sufficient evidence to prosecute the two Marine guards."

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov couldn't resist some well-deserved tweaking of Reagan's Rambo nose. "We were surprised at these stories that show a defeat of the famous American marines who were victorious at Grenada," he gibed (*Newsday*, 1 April). Jesting about the Marines' "inability to resist the enemy," he went on:

> "We can only smile at what is being said about this story.... Twenty-eight strong marines are being brought back from the U.S. Embassy because they allegedly are unable to withstand the charms of blonde spies.
> "It is sometimes said that there are Reds 'under' every bed. Perhaps this saying should be amended somewhat?"
> —*New York Times*, 1 April

A few days later, the Soviets opened a new chapter of *glasnost* (openness) when the Foreign Ministry held a press conference in Moscow to display the many CIA bugs which the KGB has dug out of Soviet embassies, consulates and even "bedrooms of Soviet diplomats" in the U.S. "Such methods of 'getting to know you' run counter to norms of diplomatic immunity," commented a Soviet spokesman. The next day Soviet officials in Washington showed American reporters where they had found "many dozens of eavesdropping devices" implanted in *their* new embassy under construction.

AP

Soviet spokesmen display U.S. "bugs" found in their new Washington embassy.

The hysteria over the Moscow embassy comes after a seemingly endless succession of Americans willing to sell military and diplomatic secrets to the Russians, in part the flowering of Reaganite "free enterprise." From the Walker family spy ring in the Navy to the exploits of former CIA agent Edward Lee Howard, Americans with access to government secrets have taken to heart Reagan's admonishment to privatize everything and, above all, enrich oneself. Usually it was cold cash transactions, with no ideological motivations. The 1985 defection of CIA agent Howard, who was to be posted at the Moscow station, reportedly resulted in the "virtual destruction of [the U.S.] spy network in the Soviet Union" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 January).

Typical of the sterling character of U.S. agents was FBI fink Leakh Bhoge, a naturalized American student who set up Soviet UN employee Gennadi Zakharov last year. After the FBI arrested Zakharov on "espionage" charges, the Soviets arrested the dubious "reporter" Nicholas Daniloff, triggering an outcry in the American media which ended only after Reagan agreed secretly to a trade. Every U.S. official and media hack insisted that Zakharov was the "real" spy. Now the EBI's fink Bhoge admits that he only gave photocopies of "non-secret materials" to Zakharov and "never had given Mr. Zakharov classified information until the day of the Russian's arrest" (*New York Times*, 31 March). In other words, it was a sting operation. Why does he admit this now? Because he is bitter that the FBI had promised him "well over $100,000" but paid him only $20,000! He was "proud to serve his country but would not do it again," notes the *Times*.

The Moscow embassy incident has again shown the Democrats as a pack of rabid warmongers when it comes to the Soviet Union. The Democratic-controlled Senate passed a special resolution demanding that Shultz not go to Moscow, but the administration seems determined to go, apparently enticed by the prospect of an arms control deal to boost Reagan's sagging political fortunes. "You don't stop doing business," Reagan lectured, making "Ronbo" look reasonable compared with his Congressional opponents. Democratic Senate majority leader Robert Byrd ranted about spies: "These people are traitors. Execute them. They're not fit to live. We've got to quit being so chicken-hearted."

The hapless Marines at the Moscow embassy must not become the latest victims of anti-Soviet hysteria! ■

Letter to the Black American

Farrakhan Wanted Malcolm X Dead

The following letter was sent to the Black American, *a weekly published in New York.*

12 February 1987

Black American
New York, NY

Dear Sirs:

Your article titled "Tribute to a Martyr" in the February 5th-11th issue conspicuously omits the last and most significant year of Malcolm X's political development. While Malcolm X never adopted a class-struggle strategy of revolutionary integration he broke sharply with Elijah Muhammad's black separatist dogma. He also renounced Elijah Muhammad's refusal to confront KKK and Nazi racist terrorists. This fact is clearly documented by Malcolm X's January 1965 telegram to George Lincoln Rockwell who was the head of the American Nazi Party:

> "This is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separatist Black Muslim movement, and...that you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation."
> —*Malcolm X Speaks*

After Malcolm X's split from Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan became Elijah's hatchet man. Farrakhan has since then represented the backward political views that Malcolm X fought against in his last year. Farrakhan declared in December 1964 that Malcolm X was "worthy of death." The fact that Farrakhan's political principles clash head on with those of Malcolm X is demonstrated by his policy towards the KKK. Instead of organizing self-defense squads against the KKK and the Nazis, Farrakhan invited Grand Dragon of the KKK Tom Metzger to his forum in Inglewood, Los Angeles in September 1985. That was the forum where Farrakhan declared Hitler to be a great man.

It is evident from the writings of Malcolm X in the last year of his life that he no longer supported the dogma of Elijah Muhammad which preached hatred of all whites. In a meeting in NY in 1965 Malcolm X speaking on the relations between white and black militants said

> "So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up—I don't mean these jive whites, who pose as liberals and who are not, but those who are fed up with what is going on—when they learn how to establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up, and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes. You'll get some changes. And it will take both, it will take everything you've got, it will take that."

Malcolm X also made a serious reexamination of black nationalism weeks before he was assassinated. In a discussion with an Algerian ambassador Malcolm X relates:

> "When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white.... Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries, dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary."

Muhammad Speaks
—4 December 1964

By Minister Louis X
(Boston, Mass.)

"TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell or to their doom will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

Death threat (left) by Farrakhan (Louis X) against Malcolm X (below). Black Muslims whipped up hysteria against Malcolm when he came out for militant anti-racist struggle.

Wide World

If today's militant black youth are to carry the struggle for black liberation forward in the face of a rotting capitalist system which promotes racism, they must be capable of making the political leap that Malcolm X made. And in order to succeed against the armed power of the capitalist government they must move beyond black nationalism altogether in favor of revolutionary integration. The energy and militancy of black youth are critical for building a movement that will unite all revolutionaries and all advanced workers in the struggle to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution.

Sincerely,
Edward Kartsen
Spartacist League
Central Committee member

Der Spiegel

Frenzy on Wall Street as...

U.S. trade deficit compared to dollar's value against currencies of 10 trading partners
Index January 1985 = 100
*Data available through November 1986
Sources: Federal Reserve Board, U.S. Commerce Dept.

New York Times

AP

...Japanese moneymen sell off dollar holdings.

Wall Street on the Brink

For a few days late last month it all came together and Wall Street's house of cards almost came crashing down. On Friday, March 27, under pressure from the Democratic-controlled Congress, Reagan imposed a 100 percent tariff on Japanese imports ranging from television sets to x-ray films. This was the first unilateral trade action against Japan in the postwar era. Within hours the dollar fell to a 35-year low against the yen as Japanese investors sold off some of their American holdings. Fearing escalating trade war and capital flight, the stock and bond markets plunged downward. And when the Stock Exchange opened the following Monday, it experienced the third largest slide in its history. The next day Citibank and Chase Manhattan raised their prime lending rate for the first time in almost three years.

While Wall Street has partially recovered from the panic of March 27-30, the chain reaction of events demonstrated the shakiness of American capitalism's financial structure. As the conservative London *Economist* observed at the beginning of the year:

> "Ronald Reagan has just presented his trillion-dollar budget to an America whose mountains of debt now make the Rockies seem as flat as a prairie. On Main Street, consumers are using their credit cards to buy what their wages increasingly can't. Wall Street, thanks to a rash of debt-financed mergers, is teeming with junk-bond junkies."

The dean of liberal economists John Kenneth Galbraith points out the many parallels between the present situation and the frenzied financial speculation leading up to the Great Crash of 1929. And meanwhile, Federal Reserve chief Paul Volcker is now publicly worrying about an imminent worldwide depression.

Facing impending economic crisis, the various wings of the U.S. ruling class only offer different recipes for screwing the working people of this country and the world. Reagan's "solution": more union-busting, more starving the black and Hispanic poor and the aged. The Democrats counter with trade war and higher taxes. And Wall Street, through its mouthpiece Volcker, wants to impose full-scale austerity to drastically lower living standards—like the IMF has done at gunpoint in Pinochet's Chile and any number of Third World dictatorships.

Ashe/Time

U.S. Federal Reserve bank head Paul Volcker warns of world depression, demands austerity.

However, none of these "solutions" can stave off economic crises. Depressions, rampant inflation, financial panics, fascism and imperialist war are inherent in the capitalist system, based on production for profit, subject to the anarchy of the market and shackled by the nation-state. Only world proletarian revolution leading to international socialist planning can liberate the productive resources to ensure a decent life for all.

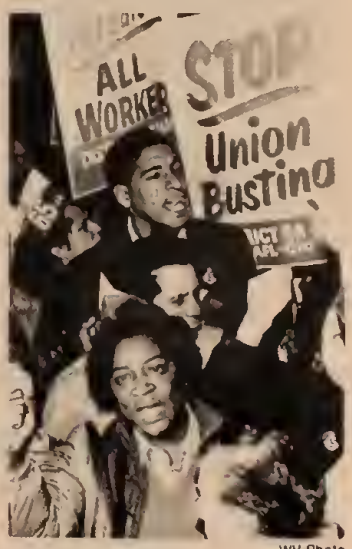
Anti-Soviet War Buildup Sinking America

At the core of debt-laden America is the anti-Soviet war buildup which Reagan "financed" by cutting taxes for the rich. The predictable result: over the past six years the U.S. government has run greater budget deficits than the total accumulated in the previous almost 200 years of the American republic! Within the space of just three years the U.S. went from being the world's leading creditor nation to its biggest debtor, owing more than twice the debt of Brazil or Mexico. So far, however, white middle-class America has been insulated from the full effect of the war budget by the willingness of foreign money men, especially the Japanese, to accept American tOUs.

In the last year alone, Japanese investors picked up $80 billion in U.S. Treasury issues and other dollar bonds. Naturally, the willingness of Tokyo and Frankfurt bankers and Arab oil sheiks to finance Reagan's Star Wars and other Pentagon boondoggles is not only based on anti-Communist solidarity. In addition to historically high interest rates in the early 1980s, foreign capitalists saw in Reagan's America a strong, right-wing government capable of driving down wages and benefits and slashing social services and welfare. During 1982-85, a period of "recovery" from the deep 1981-82 world depression, the poorest families in this country, those living on less than $5,000 a year, had their meager incomes actually *cut*, while families making more than $33,000 a year saw their incomes *increase by 10 percent*.

While the rich got richer and the poor got poorer, Reagan's America fell ever further behind its international competitors. Already in the late '70s the U.S. was running a balance-of-trade deficit of $40 billion a year, equal to 1.5 percent of its gross national product. Last year the U.S. international trade deficit was $170 billion, equal to 4 percent of gross national product. The basic reason for this marked deterioration of America's trade performance has been the massive *diversion* of productive resources into the military. The share of manufacturing in the U.S. economy has fallen from a peak of 30 percent in the early 1950s to 25 percent in the late '70s, to about 20 percent now. The founder of Sony, Akio Morita, declared: "The U.S. is abandoning its status as an industrial power." Aggravating the fundamental loss of American industrial competitiveness was the overvaluation of the dollar until early 1985. However, the steep devaluation of the dollar since then—45 percent against the yen—has *not* reversed the trade deficit. In fact, it jumped another $20 billion last year.

UPI



WV Photo

From Rio to New York City, capitalist bosses attack working people. Above: Brazilians protest IMF-imposed starvation program. Right: Greyhound strikers fight wage slashing, union-busting, 1983.

American capitalism has no effective means to counter Japan's competitive edge except trade protectionism, for which there has now emerged a bourgeois *consensus*. Differences exist only over the scope and form of protectionist measures—whether old-style tariffs and quotas, competitive currency devaluation, export subsidies ("industrial policy") or other, less direct methods. The most rabid advocates of trade war against Japan are not Reaganite rightists but the flag-waving AFL-CIO bureaucracy and "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. Reagan imposed the recent tariff on Japanese imports, on the pretext that Japan had violated an international price-fixing agreement on microchips, *after* the Democratic-controlled Congress had passed resolutions demanding such action.

Bellicose American trade warriors don't seem to appreciate the *vulnerability* of the U.S. economy to Japanese *retaliation*, not so much from the Nakasone government as from Japanese investors who now prop up America's jerry-built financial structure. The London *Economist* (28 February) pointed out: "If foreign lenders decided to stop fuelling the federal budget deficit then either (a) American interest rates would soar, plunging America into recession, and precipitating a new and deeper developing-country debt crisis, or (b) to avoid that, the Federal Reserve would crank up the printing presses, ensuring a new outbreak of world inflation."

Is this an illusory danger? Shinji Sasaki, senior economist at Yamaichi Research Institute's New York office, asserts: "There is no other market in the world large enough and liquid enough to absorb our surplus funds" (*New York Times*, 7 April). Despite such comforting assurances, Sasaki's Japanese colleagues have *already started to switch* from U.S. dollar bonds into European Currency Unit, deutschmark and sterling bonds. Moreover, Sasaki's position denies the possibility of a financial panic in which investors liquidate their securities and hoard money or transform it into gold. That's exactly what happened in the Great Crash of 1929 which ushered in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Cold Wind from Rio

The danger of a new Great Crash stems not only from the Star Wars deficit but also from the long-expected detonation of the Latin America debt bomb and the junk-bond-ridden state of corporate America. During the commodity price boom of the 1970s, spearheaded by OPEC oil, Wall Street poured money into the Third World, especially Latin America, where they could get far higher interest rates than in

continued on page 13

El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Rebels!

Sistema Radio Venceremos

Salvadoran leftist insurgents' mortars were right on target.

Renderos/AP

Major army base of El Paraiso demolished, March 31.

Guerrilla Attack Stuns Death Squad Regime

In the early morning hours of March 31, leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) overran and demolished a major base of the bloodthirsty Salvadoran army in the province of Chalatenango. The American press repeated the government claims of 64 dead and 60 wounded, but a rebel spokesman said army casualties totaled 700 (*Clarín* [Buenos Aires], 2 April). In addition, the guerrillas reported taking 200 prisoners and a large quantity of arms. An FMLN communiqué said the combined operation produced "the largest number of losses so far in the war." Among the dead were a U.S. imperialist adviser, Green Beret Gregory Fronius. A few days earlier a CIA man died in a helicopter crash.

Following this stunning defeat for the death squad "democracy" of José Napoleón Duarte, U.S. president Reagan declared that it proved "the responsibility of the United States to prevent communism from spreading to the northern [!] hemisphere." What it proved was that the professional killers of the Salvadoran armed forces, who have slaughtered more than 62,000 people in the last seven years, are *not winning* the bloody civil war. The week before, the FMLN staged an audacious ambush of a police patrol in broad daylight in downtown San Salvador. And after the attack, as the army was combing the hills, guerrillas held a propaganda meeting with U.S. reporters present only four miles from the base.

This was the second time the rebels had taken the supposedly impregnable El Paraiso base, which was rebuilt by U.S. Special Forces after an earlier devastating attack in December of 1983. In separate, simultaneous actions FMLN units wiped out a battalion of National Guard troops in eastern Morazán province and an army outpost in central Cuscatlán province. The assault was part of the operation named "For the Conquest of Peace, Bread, Justice, Work and Liberty—All the People to Take Up Arms." As the FMLN communiqué stated, the campaign "took place within the context of an intense struggle of the Salvadoran people to win just wages, work, shelter, land and respect for their human rights."

Over the last two years, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran workers have carried out strikes and mass demonstrations under the most dangerous conditions, protesting the war and economic policies of U.S. puppet president Duarte. With Reagan's anti-Soviet Central American campaign bogged down over the Contragate revelations, now is the time for the workers and the guerrilla forces to join in an offensive to bring down this murderous military regime and its capitalist-landowner masters. Proletarian revolution in El Salvador would buttress the besieged Nicaraguan Revolution and spark workers revolution throughout the volcanic isthmus and beyond.

The FMLN troops turned El Paraiso—"paradise" in Spanish—into an inferno before the government troops knew what hit them. Deadly accurate mortar, rocket and artillery fire from the surrounding hills scored direct hits on the command post and other key buildings. Then guerrilla sappers threaded their way through supposedly impregnable defenses—minefields, several perimeters of razor wire and manned watchtowers—to finish off the job with satchel charges. The officers, very *macho* when it comes to directing the sadistic massacre of peasant villagers, hid out in an underground bunker. The amazing precision of the raid indicates that the rebels had people on the *inside*, in the government army. As in Vietnam, a heroic people are fighting to free themselves from neocolonial rule.

The Reagan administration holds up El Salvador as its Central American success story. A massive injection of U.S. military aid, especially in the form of helicopters (now more than 70) and attack aircraft, forced the rebels to disperse and for a time stabilized the government. A week before the attack, the local commander took journalists on a tour through eastern Chalatenango to show that the area was pacified. But in seven years of civil war, after nearly $2 billion in total U.S. support, the Salvadoran army has yet to win a major battle. The FMLN, however, has rolled up spectacular victories, such as last year's attack on the main eastern army base in San Miguel. This year the guerrillas spread the war into the previously quiet western provinces.

LeMoyne/NY Times

After devastating raid, guerrillas address villagers only four miles from El Paraiso base.

Meanwhile, Duarte's "Made in U.S.A." government continues to face a major labor upsurge. Last month 19,000 government and private workers carried out a one-day work stoppage to protest Duarte's austerity policies. Thousands more demonstrated at the National Cathedral on March 24 on the anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. With their calls for "dialogue" and a "government of broad participation," the FMLN and its liberal allies of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) treacherously lead the mass protest into a "popular front" with sections of the exploiters. And as Duarte's hold weakens, even the traditional military party (PCN) has taken up the call for a "government of national convergence" (*Proceso*, 18 March). This is a formula for disaster. From the Spanish Civil War to Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile, the epitaph of popular fronts has been written in workers blood. The Trotskyists call for "Military victory to leftist rebels!" and "Workers take San Salvador!"

In the U.S., solidarity with the heroic liberation struggle of the Salvadoran masses has been channeled into Democratic Party politics. Even the most liberal Senators, such as California's Alan Cranston, a sponsor of the April 25 "peace" crawl, support U.S. aid to Duarte, with "human rights" strings attached of course. And two days after the El Paraíso attack, the Democratic-controlled House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a *half billion* emergency aid package for Salvador. Instead of empty rhetoric about "End U.S. War in El Salvador," what our class brothers and sisters in Central America desperately need is some hard class struggle against both the Reaganites and the "soft cop" Democrats *who designed the U.S. strategy for El Salvador* as part of the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive. We say: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!"

Real solidarity with our Salvadoran compañeros means a struggle to forge a workers party, to fight for socialist revolution *at home*. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

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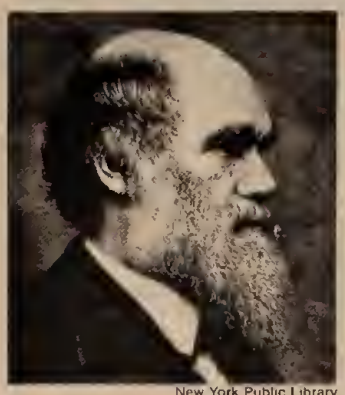
Down with Alabama Book-Banning!

Hail Charles Darwin and Karl Marx!

ATLANTA—On March 4, in a Mobile, Alabama court federal district judge Brevard Hand came down with a ruling banning 45 textbooks from the state's public schools. This judicial book-banning is part of a nationwide onslaught by fanatical fundamentalists against secular education. In court cases from Deep South Louisiana to "liberal" Minnesota the religious right is attempting to enforce the teaching of their bible-thumping bigotry in the classroom. Turning "religious freedom" and "academic freedom" into their opposites, they have declared "biblical creationism" a "science," and now Judge Hand's decision claims "secular humanism" to be a "religion." (Of course, Hand's 111-page ruling denounced the offending texts for promoting "godless" humanism!) As John Buchanan, chairman of the liberal People for the American Way, commented, Hand's ruling is "the first time in history that a religion has been created and defined by its adversaries."



New York Public Library

Mayall/Progress

For science and socialism: Charles Darwin and Karl Marx.

In 1983, Hand upheld school prayer in Alabama, claiming the Constitution "does not prohibit the state from establishing a religion." As for a member of a religious minority, he "will have to develop a thicker skin if state establishment offends him," says Hand. Although this earlier decision was overturned by the Supreme Court, Hand used it to instigate the suit brought by 600 evangelicals against "secular humanism" in the schools. His '83 ruling argued, "This court must also purge from the classroom those things that serve to teach that salvation is through one's self rather than through a deity" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 March). Last year Hand, who was appointed to the bench by Nixon, reportedly came under fire for calling a white Mobile attorney "a disgrace to his race" for representing a civil rights case.

Ironically, among the books Hand banned in his March 4 verdict in favor of the fundamentalists' suit are *History of a Free People* and *The American Dream*. Also verboten are a host of other home economics and social studies textbooks which are said to foster "situational ethics" (as against the Ten Commandments) and "the democratic family" (against the unquestioned authority of the father). Students were ordered to turn in their books immediately. With only ten weeks left in the school year, the superintendent of the Mobile public school system angrily denounced the ruling as a "tragedy." On March 27, a federal appeals court temporarily suspended Judge Hand's textbook ban. But it is a sign of the times in Reagan's America that a state-sanctioned crusade of religious reaction declares war on the achievements of science, the Enlightenment, and principles of the American Revolution such as separation of church and state.

Gamma

Pinochet's Chile: Burning books in the streets.

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief filed on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education against the teaching of "creationism" in the public schools:

> "The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority."

Scientific evolution destroys the appeal to biblical authority for racism. Many of the evangelical parents who brought the Alabama suit, sponsored by the sinister right-wing televangelist Pat Robertson's "National Legal Foundation," don't even send their kids to public schools but to lily-white "Christian academies" formed to counter court-ordered school integration. And it's no accident that the book-banning case comes in Mobile, where in 1981 a KKK mob lynched a young black man, Michael Donald. But even an all-white Mobile jury ordered the Klan to pay $7 million in compensation to the Donald family for this heinous crime.

One of the prime targets of the fundamentalist New Right is Charles Darwin and the science of evolution. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859, put the seal on a scientific worldview, demolishing the metaphysical conception of nature. Like Karl Marx, Darwin applied science to man himself. Both (despite Darwin's professed religious belief) were thoroughgoing materialists whose discoveries of the laws governing natural and social development were based on concrete study of nature and society. Their achievements opened the road to the emancipation of humanity. Leon Trotsky, the leader together with Lenin of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, recalled the impact Darwin had on him as a young revolutionary imprisoned in tsarist jails:

> "Darwin stood for me like a mighty doorkeeper at the entrance to the temple of the universe. I was intoxicated with his minute, precise, conscientious, and at the same time powerful, thought."
>
> —quoted in Max Eastman, *Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth* (1925)

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th through 19th centuries freed science and social development from the shackles of religious obscurantism imposed by feudalism. Geoffrey Bibby, in *Testimony of the Spade* (1956), points out that the most pre-eminent anthropologists and archaeologists in the 19th century combined "advanced ideas in politics with interest in pre-history." In particular, the tidal wave of revolution which swept Europe in 1848 had a tremendous impact on the study of the history and development of man. And following the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky wrote in "Science in the Task of Socialist Construction" (1923): "It may be said that the workers' state—at least to the extent that it is left in peace—is an organized struggle for civilization and culture, and consequently for science as the most important lever of culture."

Capitalism in its death agony enforces backwardness and ignorance in every realm of human endeavor. Over six decades ago John Thomas Scopes was prosecuted for teaching evolution in Dayton, Tennessee in the famous 1925 "monkey trial." In the powerful movie on the Scopes trial, *Inherit the Wind*, a local banker tells the town fathers that he doesn't want his kid being taught "creationism" because he wants him to go to Yale. Even not-so-enlightened sections of the bourgeoisie don't want *their* children's minds befogged with the dogmas of the Dark Ages. But today the Moral Majority inquisition against "secular humanism" is part of the social and political agenda of the warmongers in the White House, aimed at regimenting the population through fear and ignorance for a thermonuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union.

AP

School principal carts away banned textbooks.

When the book-banners are at work in their judicial black robes, you will find the book-burners in their brown shirts in Hitler's Germany, in their olive uniforms in Pinochet's Chile, or in their white sheets in the USA today. Mankind will only be freed from the book-banners, the cross-burners and the imperialist nuts who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear weaponry when the working people take power and put knowledge and science at the service of all humanity. ■

Smash KKK Terror in Chattanooga!

CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee—On April 4, an integrated crowd of over 200 marched and rallied at the Hamilton County Courthouse to protest racist cop killings and Klan terror. With heavy police "escort," including conspicuous mounted cops, the marchers wound their way through black Chattanooga and an empty downtown to the rally site, where cops ringed the demonstration, blocking off all approaches for a three-block radius. In the shadow of this police intimidation, demonstrators recalled the 22 people gunned down by the police from 1978 to 1987—14 blacks and eight whites—as well as nine black men and women killed in their jail cells.

WV Photo

The demonstration was called by a coalition of local civil rights and left groups. Black Democratic Party aspiring office holders, the NAACP and SCLC spurned the action. One rally organizer, Maxine Cousin, made a searing indictment of Chattanooga's black politicians. During the hearings on a court suit she brought (and lost) over the murder of her 66-year-old father in his jail cell, she said: "They never took a seat in the right row or the left row, always in the center row to let it be known that it did not matter how the verdict turned out. They could always choose up sides later."

So craven are these "leaders" that in February 1980 the local spokesman for Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the NAACP met with a KKK group that in April of that year rampaged through Chattanooga and shot four elderly black women. No Klansmen paid for this heinous crime. Behind the myth of the "New South" lies the Chattanooga body count. Capitalist "justice" means the racist police act as judge, jury and executioner. What is needed is an integrated revolutionary workers party to mobilize labor in the fight against racist cop/Klan terror. Break with the Democrats! Jail the killer cops! Black liberation through socialist revolution! Finish the Civil War!

Young Spartacus

Racism in Sports

Let Dwight Gooden Play Ball!

New York Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden, the young black strikeout king of baseball, has been sidelined for drug "rehab" while the team he helped lead to the '86 World Series championship opens a new season. In December, Gooden was the victim of a brutal, racist assault by Tampa, Florida's Dixie cops. Now it's the Dixie cup of baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth that threatens to end "Dr. K's" career. We say: Down with the reactionary drug witchhunt which targets especially labor and minorities! Let Dr. K play ball!

Over a century since the Dred Scott decision, the racist barrage against Gooden shows that a black man still has "no rights that a white man is bound to respect." The gutter tabloids, racist cops and fat cat owners were gunning for Gooden, a superstar who dared to return to his Southern hometown in a silver Mercedes—a perceived threat to the racist status quo where Tampa blacks are "kept in their place" by unbridled police terror. On December 13, Gooden and four companions were pulled over by 22 white Tampa cops for an alleged traffic violation. Gooden was beaten and bloodied by these uniformed thugs who went for his pitching arm yelling, "Hit his arm, hurt it, end his career!" In order to play hall in the 1987 season, Gooden pleaded no contest to frame-up felony charges that he beat his cop assailants.

Hoping to dispel the rumors that he was on drugs, which escalated after he was mauled by Tampa cops, Gooden knuckled under to the pressure and *requested* a drug test. But the urinalysis (the results of which are often wildly inaccurate) administered to Gooden during spring training allegedly showed a trace of cocaine. And the sharks closed in. Ueberroth sacked Gooden like a junkie in some halfway house and the press had a field day portraying this talented player as "public enemy #1," an "uppity" black who rose too far, too fast. Now the cops who ran Gooden out of Tampa are making him return South to piss for them too, or face possible charges of violating probation.

On opening day at Shea, Mets management pulled an Orwellian "Big Brother" act, disappearing any mention or picture of Gooden during the pregame World Series ceremonies which included big screen highlights of the '86 season. While claiming they didn't want to "offend" the fans, we suspect what the sports bosses really feared was a rousing cheer for Gooden from the stands. Columnist Tom Wicker, a liberal white Southerner, wrote: "the tides of condemnation, innuendo, moralism, holy outrage and pious preaching that have surged from his failed urine test make me want to throw up" (*New York Times*, 8 April). He also pointed out that the sports writers going after Gooden are typically themselves heavy boozers.

Gooden's friend and teammate Darryl Strawberry bucked Mets management on opening day by wearing Gooden's uniform pants, belting a three-run homer in the first inning and proudly proclaiming to the press, "I did it for Doc." One of the few black starting players left on the team, Strawberry has also been the target of harassment. Said Strawberry, "Dwight and I seem to be the ones that have to face this kind of talk. If you're black and young, you're always being suspected" (*Daily News*, 3 April).

In the Reagan years, "role models" must be ideologically and morally "safe," especially in basehall, that most American sport. The anti-drug witchhunt is the cutting edge of the government's drive to regiment the population for anti-Soviet war by attacking fundamental democratic rights. Drug testing represents an especiaHy pernicious invasion of individual privacy, and in sports it's the height of racist hypocrisy. As long as they're capable of racking up wins for the team bosses, professional athletes are routinely pumped up with amphetamines, steroids or painkillers and forced onto unsafe fields despite injuries.

But individual drug testing is now enforced (notably first in basketball, a sport dominated by blacks) to show that the owners and the cops still hold the whip hand. Mitchell Wiggins and Lewis Lloyd of the Houston Rockets were banished for life from professional basketball after testing positive for cocaine, Black baseball stars Willie Wilson and Lonnie Smith were sent to the slammer along with football great Mercury Morris. But if you "kick and tell" like Gooden's teammate Keith Hernandez, baseball's premier fink during the 1985 drug trials, you're sport's celebrated glamour boy.

Players now have to cope with narcs in the locker rooms and drunken snoops from the press teams. Laws against so-called "crimes without victims"—drugs, gambling, prostitution, homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished. The owners, cops and bosses should keep their big noses out of the players' business.

Modern Gladiators for Capitalist Circuses

Forty years after Jackie Robinson broke the color bar in professional baseball, sports in America is still a racist business. The hoopla orchestrated by the media to mark this anniversary *bombed* when L.A. Dodgers vice president Al Campanis opened his trap on national television. Questioned by Ted Koppel on *Nightline* April 6 as to why there are no black managers in the major leagues, Campanis said, "I truly believe that they may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager or perhaps a general manager.... How many quarterbacks do you have, how many pitchers do you have that are black?.., Why are black men, or hlack people, not good swimmers?

continued on page 8

Dwight Gooden, baseball pitching great, latest victim of racist anti-drug hysteria.

Ronald Modra

AP

Jackie Robinson signed with Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, breaking Jim Crow in major leagues.

Der Spiegel

Peter Ueberroth (right); Reagan's strikebreaking, drug-busting, flag-waving commissioner of baseball.

Racism in Sports...

(continued from page 7)

They just don't have the buoyancy."

It is the systematic racist and economic oppression of blacks that means few indeed compete in country club sports because they have no access to swimming pools, tennis courts or golf courses (except as caddies). But it's a deflated Campanis who's not buoyant since the Dodgers solicited his resignation for *openly* mouthing such racist garbage. While baseball czar Ueberroth termed Campanis' tirade merely "unfortunate," Hank Aaron, still the record home run leader and the only black in an executive front-office position in the major leagues, said, "he should apologize to every black person in America for what he said," and noted, "Mr. Campanis has said some things that most people in his position think" (*Washington Post*, 8 April).

The segregation which maintains blacks as a race-color caste at the bottom of society is replicated in the world of sports. Dwight Gooden was one of the few black starting pitchers in the Mets' 25-year history, a reflection of the fact that from elementary school through college, blacks are steered away from the glamour positions such as pitcher and quarterback. George Foster spoke the bitter truth when he was dropped from the Mets last summer: "I think the Mets would rather promote a Gary Carter or a Keith Hernandez to the fans so parents who want to can point to them as role models for their children, rather than a Darryl Strawberry or a Dwight Gooden or a George Foster" (*New York Times*, 8 August 1986).

In 1975, Cleon Jones, at that time the greatest player in Mets history, was arrested in Florida for sleeping in a van with a white woman! Though charges were dropped, the Mets fined him $2,000 and forced him to apologize at a news conference in the presence of his wife, for "despoiling" the image of major league baseball. Contrast this with the all-time white American baseball hero, Babe Ruth, who spent most nights with one arm around a hooker and the other around a bottle. That double standard dates back to 1887 when Cap Anson, manager and star of the Chicago White Stockings, refused to play against an integrated Newark team. Thus began 60 years of segregated baseball.

Brown Brothers

UPI

Joe Louis (left) KO'd Jimmy Braddock in 1937 and became heavyweight champion of the world. Harlem erupted in celebration with march down Lenox Avenue.

The owners and their media mouthpieces yearn for the days of sports' lost "innocence," such as that enforced by baseball's first commissioner, Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis. As a federal court judge, Landis meted out stiff sentences in the World War I trials of IWW labor organizers. In baseball, Landis sought to uphold Jim Crow, opposing Bill Veeck's effort to buy the Philadelphia Phillies and field black players, six years before Jackie Robinson broke the barrier in Brooklyn's Ebbets Field in 1947. At the same time, everyone in baseball knew that the best players were to be found among the black athletes in the segregated Negro Leagues. Thus the Yankees tested the young Joe Dimaggio by hiring Satchel Paige to pitch against him.

Anson's fellow Hall of Famers, Tris Speaker and Rogers Hornsby, were members of the Ku Klux Klan. The "Georgia Peach" Ty Cobb, a known racist psychopath who once beat a black chambermaid, is held up as a paragon of determination and virtue for Little Leaguers to emulate. Though he is professional basketball's greatest winner, Bill Russell refused induction to the Hall of Fame, which honors arch-segregationists like University of Kentucky basketball coach Adolph Rupp.

Ever since the 1830s when slaveholders imported boxing from England to bet on which slave (in plantation colors) could best pummel the "property" of a rival plantation, black athletes have been used to entertain and make millions for their bosses, only to be chucked aside when their talents were no longer profitable. The streets are filled with boxers whose brains have been scrambled by a couple of hundred punches too many. Even the best, such as boxing great Joe Louis, have died broke, their money taken by unscrupulous agents, promoters and the IRS. As Muhammad Ali said, "You are only free if you are number one. Otherwise you are slave" (quoted in Richard Lapchick, *Broken Promises* [1984]).

Black track star Jesse Owens, whose record-setting four gold medals smashed Hitler's parade of the "Aryan master race" at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, was "rewarded" with a reception at New York's Waldorf-Astoria which he was allowed to enter only through the freight elevator. On the heels of his Olympic victory, Owens was rushed out of town without rest, and ordered to compete in exhibitions for the next ten days (without pay). When the exhausted Owens refused to run in Sweden, he was suspended by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and blacklisted from amateur sports for life. For his affiliation with the Communist Party, athlete, actor and musician Paul Robeson was stripped of the All-America award he won as a star running back for Rutgers. And with his 1960 Olympic gold medal around his neck, Muhammad Ali returned to his hometown of Lexington, Kentucky only to be refused service in a Jim Crow restaurant. Disgusted, Ali hurled his gold medal into the murky waters of the Ohio River.

Ever since Jack Johnson won the boxing heavyweight crown in 1908, the defamation of black athletes and quest for a "Great White Hope" have been relentless. Johnson was attacked as "arrogant" for enjoying the prerogatives befitting a world champ, including expensive clothes, jewelry and cars. For associating with a white woman, Johnson was arrested under the Mann Act, which forbade the transportation of women for "immoral" purposes. The woman, Lucille Cameron, married Johnson, so he was tried on a lesser charge, but hounded by police detectives continually. When Johnson defeated former heavyweight champ Jim Jeffries in 1910, white mobs roamed the streets attacking blacks who dared celebrate the victory of a black man over a white. Johnson was hounded out of the country to Canada, and later Mexico, and was able to return to his home only by throwing a title bout.

Sports is about the only profession where, for a few short, brutal years, blacks can earn six- and seven-figure incomes. But even for those on top, the "American Dream" is a nightmare. Dwight Gooden, Red Sox pitcher "Oil Can" Boyd, former Boston Celtic Bill Russell, among others, have seen that fame and big salaries are no protection from the racist jackboot in the dead of night. As blacks emerged as a dominant force in sports, new racist genetic "theories" were spawned. As Bill Russell put it, "It's okay to be racist as long as you try to sound like a doctor." The NBA's all-time leading scorer, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, defined the real reason for black stardom in sports:

> "Yes, I was just like the rest of those black athletes you've read about, the ones that put all their waking energies into learning the moves. That might be a sad commentary on America in general, but that's the way it's going to be until black people can flow without prejudice into any occupation they can master. For now it's still pretty much music and sports for us."

AP

LeRoy Black Star

Muhammad Ali won Olympic gold for U.S. in 1960, was stripped of heavyweight title seven years later for refusing to be drafted into the imperialist army. Ali's "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger" became slogan of black antiwar marchers, New York, 1967.

New York Times

Mets star Darryl Strawberry with his son. Darryl went to bat for Gooden in season opener.

The College Sports Racket

City streets, welfare offices, gyms and playgrounds are filled with former high school athletes who were a step too slow. One out of 12,000 makes it to the pros. In 1983 Harry Edwards, the black sociologist who helped organize the "black power" protest at the 1968 Olympics, estimated that there were about 1,400 professional black athletes, and only 2,400 blacks who made a living through sports-related entertainment. Fewer than 10 percent of all athletic scholarships go to blacks, and even that small amount is under attack. A high school athlete now needs a minimum combined SAT score of 700 to be eligible for a scholarship at an NCAA school. And now that the NCAA is reducing the number of athletic scholarships available, it is unlikely they will take a chance on athletes who risk being declared ineligible down the road.

It is an indictment of the racist American education system (and the race- and class-biased SATs) that less

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Principles of Communism

Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
Next classes April 18, 25, May 2
Dwinelle Hall, Room 146
UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Anti-Gay/Racist Terror on U.S. Campuses

Speaker Tweet Carter
Thursday, April 23, 7:30 p.m.
Cobb Hall, Room 104
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

(Exco Course)
Alternate Tuesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class April 28
Wilder Hall, Room 212
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 775-5858

OBERLIN

Columbia U: Smash Racist Attacks!

The March 22 attack against black students by white football players and frat rats at Columbia University has sharply polarized this campus and posed pointblank the question of how to stop racist attacks. On March 26, a thousand Columbia students, trade unionists, Harlem residents and others held a militant, integrated demonstration and marched on the fraternity houses where ringleaders of the racist mob reside. This demonstration was billed by its organizers, the Concerned Black Students at Columbia (CBSC), as a buildup to an April 4 demonstration which they hoped would be even larger.

A massive police presence, some 300 cops, paddy wagons and a mobile cop command center, was mobilized as a threat against the much smaller group of protesters who came out in the pouring rain on April 4. A small contingent of Columbia students met a march of some 50 black nationalists (organized by the National African Youth Student Alliance and Sonny Carson's Black Men's Movement Against Crack) whose defeatist, separatist, pro-capitalist politics carried the day. Demonstrators chanted: "Columbia is a crack house!" and "The pigs have got to pay!" and told anti-racist white students to go "raise consciousness" in the racist fraternities.

This demonstration was a diversion from the kind of mass, integrated, labor-centered actions which are necessary to beat back the racist attacks. The rhetorical militancy of the nationalists is a smokescreen for their political impotence. Pushing the "buy black" schemes of the sinister Louis Farrakhan (the man who wanted Malcolm X dead!) and taunting capitalism's armed thugs plays into the hands of New York City's racist trigger-happy cops who are itching to turn the ghettos into an occupied war zone. Ominously, CBSC members who earlier went to the 26th Precinct in Harlem to file a complaint against the campus racists found a picture of black student organizer Tanaquil Jones hanging in the station with derogatory remarks scrawled underneath.

WV Photo

Students, Harlem residents and labor in integrated protest against racist attacks at Columbia, March 26.

Meanwhile, racist provocations and violence continue at Columbia. On April 6, a delegation of about 60 students confronted a Southern white Columbia student who had a Confederate flag displayed in his window. After persuading the racist to remove his filth from public view, the students left the residence hall. As Mike Paris, a campus activist and Columbia Law School graduate, was leaving, he was fingered by dorm residents, thrown up against a wall by security guards and *choked*. A student who arrived on the scene told the *Spectator* (8 April), "I think that if I hadn't gotten there there very easily could have been further escalation of violence because there was no one but Mike and those security guards in the stairwell." Paris was taken to a nearby emergency room and is now planning to sue the university.

Earlier that same day, about 30 black Columbia students rallied at New York City police headquarters in lower Manhattan, demanding to meet with police commissioner Benjamin Ward. Permission denied, the students staged a sit-in in the police station. Twenty-three students were arrested—without having their rights read to them—and charged with disorderly conduct. Black elected officials who students had called on to join them showed up—only after the students were arrested. When one student loaded into a police van asked where she was being taken, the cops replied, "We're going to drop you in the river." We demand: Drop the charges against the Columbia 23!

With black people in New York City facing mounting racist attacks, C. Vernon Mason (an attorney for the Columbia protesters and former candidate for D.A.) is pushing illusions in the reformability of the police and the strategy of achieving "justice" through the bourgeois courts. After the arrests at police headquarters, Mason was quoted in the *Spectator*: "a lot of people had a lot of confidence that when Police Commissioner Ward became commissioner of this city that we would have someone who would enforce the law for all people. Today we found out differently." *Today?* What about when the cops beat young black artist Michael Stewart to death, blew away infirm black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs and executed Nicholas Bartlett, a black street vendor, on 125th Street? What is needed is not further proof that cops are racist pigs, nor small demonstrations of students and political activists who confront the cops at cop stations with slogans like "Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon."

The strategy of mobilizing *labor* to smash racist attacks has scored *victories*, from the November 1982 labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching through D.C., to the successful defense of black transit worker James Grimes, who the courts tried to hang with this city's racist gun control laws which abrogate the elemental right to self-defense. Organized at the point of production, labor has the *social power* to strike at the heart of the capitalist system which breeds racial oppression. At the March 26 demonstration at Columbia, black, white and Hispanic transit workers joined the Spartacist contingent, calling for labor action to smash racist terror. As one of our signs said, "Students: Ally with Labor to Smash Racist Attacks!" For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

than 50 percent of black high school students have scored 700 in recent years. Decreasing black enrollment, engendered by the Reagan administration's cuts in student loans, fuels racist attacks like the one at UMass Amherst last fall when nearly 1,000 white Red Sox fans set upon a group of 20 black students.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand open admissions and free tuition to all colleges and universities, remedial programs for those who have suffered from inadequate education, and a living stipend paid by the state for *all* students. For those athletes who do get into college, often the only education they get is memorizing a playbook or learning how to read a defense. Over 70 percent of NFL players don't have college degrees. Education isn't deemed necessary for those whom capitalism has already slated for joblessness. When Dallas Cowboys running back Herschel Walker left college during his junior year to play pro and earn some money for his family, a hypocritical hue and cry swept the country over the athlete's need for a college education, and the sanctity of amateur athletics. At stake was really the preservation of the massive income colleges and networks suck off supposed "amateur" athletes.

AP

"Black Power" salute at Mexico 1968 Olympics.

For those few black athletes who do make it to stardom, the price of fame and adulation is high—no politics, praise god whenever possible and otherwise keep your mouth shut. In the context of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War struggles in the 1960s, black athletes challenged and often won struggles against the racist owners—at great personal sacrifice. Muhammad Ali was stripped of his heavyweight boxing title and robbed of the three prime years of his career for refusing to join the imperialist armed forces. His defiant "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger" became the rallying cry for a generation of black youth who opposed fighting the racist ruling class' war in Indochina. Middleweight contender Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was framed up on murder charges and thrown into a New Jersey dungeon for 18 years because he advocated black self-defense following the 1964 cop rampage in Harlem. 1968 gold and bronze medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos were banished from the U.S. Olympic team and given 48 hours to get out of Mexico after raising the clenched fist "black power" salute during the awards ceremony. For challenging baseball's reserve clause, which bound a player to one team like a slave for life, Curt Flood was driven out of baseball after the 1969 season.

For a minuscule number of blacks, sports can be a way out of the grinding poverty of America's hellish ghettos. But if Dwight Gooden, a hero, superstar and millionaire, is not safe from cop brutality, what black is? Certainly not the millions of unemployed black youth whose "future" under capitalism is imperialist war or the scrap heap. For them, life is only injustice with no rewards. But capitalism has not simply spawned victims, it has created its own gravediggers. Black workers, strategically organized at the point of production, are potentially the most combative section of the working class. United in a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party along with their white brothers and sisters, they can lead all the oppressed in a class-struggle fight against the rotting capitalist system. ■

Viva Simone!

College athletes who don't submit to urinalysis are barred from competition by the NCAA. But Simone LeVant, a gutsy 22-year-old diver at Stanford U., refused to take a drug test, took the NCAA to court, and won—an important judicial precedent against government rollback of civil rights. As the judge said in his decision, "many people would like to reinstitute slavery, but that doesn't make it constitutional." A victory for one is a victory for all!

Zagaris/NY Times

Young Spartacus Review

PLATOON and the Vietnam Syndrome

For the last six years there's been an orgy of flag-waving superpatriotism in this country. From the L.A. Olympics to selling cars and beer, everything's wrapped in the red-white-and-blue. Medical students kiss the ground to hail the Grenada invaders. "Rambo" is the symbol of U.S. marauding around the world. But the gung-ho mood never went very deep. With "Ronbo" on the skids, Democrats are as desperate as Republicans to save the imperial presidency which they hope to regain in '88. This season the box office hit is *Platoon*, a kind of anti-*Rambo* that says it's going to tell the real story of the Vietnam War. *Platoon* is pulling record-breaking audiences ranging from Viet vets to teenagers fed up with movies of Vietnam draft dodger Sylvester Stallone bashing the "commies."

It took ten years for writer/director Oliver Stone to find a sponsor for *Platoon*, and even then the backer was British. Released in the midst of the Iran/Contragate scandal, the film's popularity is a gauge of the *un*popularity of the covert wars directed from the White House basement. *Platoon*'s reception proves that the "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well and living in the hearts and minds of America. And now it has won the Academy Award for best picture. Speaking at the awards ceremony, Stone summed up the message of his movie: "It should never, ever in our lifetime happen again." The "No more Vietnams" line is the refrain of everyone from leftist antiwar protesters to arch war criminal Richard Nixon. It reflects the attempts by U.S. rulers to erase the memory of their crushing defeat by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. For revolutionaries, *Vietnam was a victory!*

Platoon is a watered-down version of what the Vietnam War was like for the American troops fighting there. Based on Oliver Stone's experiences as an infantryman in Vietnam in 1967-68, the central character, Chris, is a middle-class kid who drops out of college to "fight for his country" in Vietnam. In a letter to his grandmother Chris writes about the "grunts"—army infantrymen—in his platoon: "Two years high school's about it, maybe if they're lucky a job waiting for them back in a factory. But most of them got nothing, they're poor, they're unwanted, yet they're fighting for our society and our freedom." But the Vietnam War shattered the anti-Communist myth that U.S. imperialism was defending world "freedom" against the "red menace."

Ronald Haeberle

My Lai, 1968—Bloody mass murder of Vietnamese civilians.

The young, overwhelmingly working-class and black soldiers sent to fight this dirty war found themselves in combat with a whole people, workers and peasants united and armed in a revolutionary war for national liberation and social revolution. The courage and determination of the North Vietnamese soldiers is captured in one scene in *Platoon* where a soldier sacrifices himself to blow up a U.S. command bunker. And, in a sanitized way, the movie shows the fear and demoralization of U.S. troops. The message is that the war was hell for American soldiers. It was. But for us, as Marxist revolutionaries our side was the heroic North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighters. Their victory was a victory for opponents of injustice and class exploitation everywhere, inspiring struggles for national freedom and social progress from Managua and San Salvador to Luanda and Kabul.

Vietnam Was a Victory!

Oemulder/Gamma-Liaison

Victorious NLF troops roll through gates of U.S. puppet's presidential palace, Saigon, 30 April 1975.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for Imperialism!

You get no sense in *Platoon* of the vast size of the U.S. imperialist forces the Vietnamese went up against. As General Van Tien Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnamese People's Army and commander of the final offensive which liberated Saigon on 30 April 1975, tells in his memoirs, *Our Great Spring Victory*:

> "At the height of their invasion of Vietnam, the U.S. had used 60 percent of their total infantry, 58 percent of their marines, 32 percent of their tactical air force, 50 percent of their strategic air force, fifteen of their eighteen aircraft carriers, 800,000 American troops (counting those stationed in satellite countries who were taking part in the Vietnam war), and more than 1 million Saigon troops. They mobilized as many as 6 million American soldiers in rotation, dropped over 10 million tons of bombs, and spent over $300 billion, but in the end the U.S. ambassador had to crawl up to the helicopter pad looking for a way to flee."

Platoon follows Chris and his fellow soldiers through night patrols, "search and destroy" missions and firefights in the jungles of Vietnam. But it shows nothing of the carpetbombings, napalming, campaigns of mass terror that were the hideous means by which U.S. imperialism waged its dirty colonial war against the Vietnamese people. It does have one scene in which the platoon razes a Vietnamese peasant village, murdering two civilians. The media has repeatedly compared this scene to My Lai, the infamous slaughter of an entire village by American troops in 1968. This is a grotesque whitewash. At My Lai an estimated *700* unarmed villagers were massacred in less than two hours. This was no "isolated incident" as claimed at the time. What the scene in *Platoon* shows was simply "routine" military policy. As Stone told *Time* magazine: "We killed a lot of innocents."

Platoon is a celluloid version of the Vietnam War Memorial, a "requiem on Vietnam"—the war which all wings of the American ruling class want to bury (they even built the memorial below ground level). In the movie two sergeants, Barnes and Elias, come to blows in the scene of the "search and destroy" mission. Barnes has shot a Vietnamese peasant woman and has a gun to the head of a young girl. The clash is represented as good vs. evil. But Elias only deplores the "excesses," not the war aims of American imperialism against the Vietnamese. As he tells Chris, he lost faith in the war when he realized the U.S. was losing. The message is the bourgeois defeatist line of no more *losing* imperialist adventures.

Elias and Barnes are also supposed to be a metaphor for the split "psyche" of America. As Chris says at the end of the movie, "We weren't fighting the enemy, we were fighting ourselves." Tell that to the Vietnamese who saw their villages burned, their land destroyed by Agent Orange, their children hideously burnt to death by napalm. The U.S. killed over 1,000 people *a day* during the Vietnam War. But in *Platoon* the real "tragedy" is not the murder of *two million* Vietnamese but that the war was "divisive," that it polarized an American population which to this day has no stomach for another dirty colonial war.

In fact, the very few Vietnam antiwar films focus almost exclusively on the American "experience": like Jane Fonda's *Coming Home*, which shows that imperialist war is bad for your sex life. *Platoon*, albeit through its liberal lens, does show some of the horrors of the Vietnam War. It certainly doesn't make military intervention look very appetizing. And this is why the movie has run afoul of Reagan reaction. The New Right, who think that the Vietnam War was lost on television, see in *Platoon* yet another "stab in the back" by lily-livered liberals aimed at undermining the national will for an invasion of Nicaragua. Not surprisingly the Pentagon refused to cooperate with Stone over any aspect of the movie.

The Vietnam War was a turning point in U.S. history. The so-called "American Century" died in the rice paddies and jungles of Indochina. Thousands of American youth were radicalized, an army came out of it that couldn't be relied upon to fight. To this day the bourgeoisie is haunted by the spectre of Vietnam and of a volunteer army, overwhelmingly blacks and Hispanics who mainly join out of desperation and have no illusions in the "democracy" of U.S. imperialism. As Leon Trotsky, leader of the Bolshevik Red Army, wrote: "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme." But in *Platoon* everything seems to take place in a social and political vacuum. The characters are one-dimensional, in particular the black soldiers, who are portrayed as stereotyped, cardboard figures.

Blacks made up a disproportionate share of the front-line soldiers in the Vietnam War while the cushy positions in the rear were generally reserved for whites. Eleven percent of the American population at the time, blacks accounted for almost one quarter of U.S. casualties in Vietnam. In *Platoon* there is a shot of the Confederate flag, the emblem of the slavocracy and racist terrorist KKK, above a white soldier's cot. Yet there is never any racial conflict in the movie. As one black Vietnam vet commented on the movie: "The scene I was looking for was the true feeling of racism we experienced in Vietnam. Since 1965, we had race riots, by and

Monad Press

Inside racist armed forces, black troops mark Martin Luther King birthday, Long Binh, 1971.

large, almost every day there.... I was in Vietnam when the Watts riots broke out, and we wondered what we were doing here—fighting colored people in a foreign land—and we can't even get due process at home" (*Boston Globe*, 29 March).

There is, however, a totally gratuitous scene in *Platoon* which shows a black soldier who has supposedly been lynched by the Viet Cong. This triggers the "search and destroy" mission against the Vietnamese peasant village. In fact the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front appealed to black soldiers. In the jungles of Vietnam was a sign reading, "U.S. Negro Armymen! You are committing the same ignominious crimes in South Vietnam that the KKK clique is perpetrating against your family at home." The Vietnam War radicalized many black soldiers. An outstanding example is Geronimo Pratt, a decorated Vietnam vet who returned from the war and joined the Black Panther Party. Today, Pratt is courageously fighting for his freedom after over 16 years in jail on frame-up murder charges coming out of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO conspiracy aimed at eliminating the Panthers.

The Tet Offensive

Interestingly, *Platoon* makes no mention of the corrupt Saigon puppet regime and its "army," which was riddled with pimps and drug pushers, that the U.S. intervened to prop up and "assist." These were losers of the ilk of the Nicaraguan contra rapists, murderers and torturers. Combined with massive corruption in the U.S. officer corps, especially as contrasted with the heroism and sacrifice of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, this contributed to the growing demoralization of U.S. troops. You get a flavor of this in the movie *Go Tell the Spartans*, starring Burt Lancaster. Released in 1978, this was one of the first "realistic" Vietnam War movies. But appearing on the eve of the Democratic Carter administration's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign to rearm U.S. imperialism after its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, *Spartans* was a box office flop.

WV Photo

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Above: Boston 1972—Spartacists fought for labor strikes at home and victory to the North Vietnamese in antiwar protests.

Any remaining will to fight in the U.S. army was completely broken by the 1968 Tet Offensive, when the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive across the South. General Westmoreland, who had declared three weeks prior to Tet that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were losing, and the rest of the U.S. military command were exposed as incompetent liars. Lyndon Johnson's presidency collapsed, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara resigned amid rumors of a nervous breakdown and "Wastemoreland" was "reassigned." Richard Nixon came to office under the slogan of "peace with honor," at which point the U.S. imperialists actually escalated the war in a desperate attempt to prove (mainly to the Soviets) that their hegemony was intact.

But in the last four years of the war everything broke down. Accusations of war crimes against U.S. officers increased dramatically. So did drug use among ground troops. In 1970 *one-fourth of the U.S. armed forces worldwide* were listed as deserted or AWOL. Fraggings, the killing of officers, reached their height in the same year. The army was in a state of total collapse by 1971-72. This was coupled with growing antiwar sentiment at home and in Vietnam as the body bags continued to pile up.

With its "We Won't Go" moral protest against the draft, the petty-bourgeois antiwar movement voluntarily isolated itself from the Americans who most keenly felt the brutality and hypocrisy of the war, who were potentially the base for the most explosive opposition to it: working-class and particularly black soldiers. The Spartacist League fought against the draft under the slogan, "Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army." Although defending individual draft resisters from repression, we opposed the program of individual draft resistance. Instead, Marxists sought to introduce a proletarian class perspective in the armed forces, to set the working-class ranks against the top brass and their political bosses—the ultimate war criminals. Spartacist supporters in the army during the war initiated a newspaper called *G.I. Voice*. The paper provided a forum for soldiers to express their grievances over the racist hell of the American military, linking these to the real nature of imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

At a Spartacist League educational in 1981, SL Central Committee member Joe Vetter spoke from his own experience of the openings for a Marxist worldview among American soldiers during the last years of the Vietnam War: "I remember drinking beer in a hooteh one night with some guys and saying, 'You know, I think the NLF should win the war.' There were 12 guys there, and one of them stands up and says, 'You're fucking right, man. And then we'll get out of here!'"

Counterposed to the social-patriotic and pacifist "peace crawls" organized by pro-Democratic Party liberals and the reformist left, we fought for labor political strikes against the war. War is the mother of revolution, and as Leon Trotsky wrote, "an insurrection is, in essence, not so much a struggle against the army, as a struggle *for* the army." Open revolt broke out several times in the armed forces during the Vietnam War. In 1968, 43 black soldiers refused to go to Chicago to be used against antiwar demonstrators at the Democratic Party convention. In 1972, 800 sailors on the USS *Constellation* staged a sit-down strike to protest discriminatory discharges of six black sailors.

Vietnam today, in the face of a vindictive imperialist blockade of foreign trade and technical assistance which has spelled enormous poverty for the masses, has made real strides in achieving national reunification, reconstructing a land laid waste by four decades of imperialist devastation, and carrying out a social revolution. *Platoon*, in its pacifistic way, appeals to Americans' lingering mistrust of the government's plans for new anti-Communist military adventures. The movie is being used to rally support for the April 25 peace crawl in Washington, D.C. which is aimed at building support for the Democratic Party, *the party which brought you the Vietnam War in real life*. For the new generation of American youth who oppose Reagan's bloody war plans in Central America, who want to see the racist apartheid police state brought down, the vital lesson of the Vietnam War is the need for revolutionary class struggle here in the belly of the imperialist beast. We say: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! ■

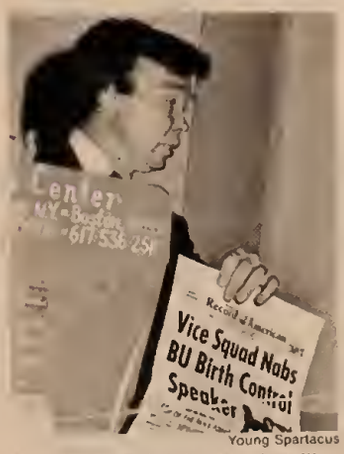
Condoms Banned at Boston University

Is There Sex After Silber?

Over 100 students showed up April 6 at Morse Auditorium on the Boston University campus to hear Bill Baird, the outspoken champion of abortion rights, speak on "The Polities of God, Government and Sex." The occasion for the talk was the 20th anniversary of Baird's arrest at BU for giving away a condom and a can of contraceptive foam as well as exhibiting "obscene" objects (birth control pills, diaphragms and the like). The 1967 arrest led five years later to the Supreme Court decision in *Baird v. Eisenstadt*, which overturned Baird's conviction and legalized dissemination of birth control devices to unmarried people. Citing this case as precedent, the following year the Supreme Court legalized abortion.

BU's arch-reactionary president, John "Madman" Silber, a stalwart fighter for the Reaganite social/sexual counterrevolution, has once again banned the distribution of condoms on campus. Silber's idea of "contraception" is all-out backing to the Nicaraguan contra scum who literally gouge the fetuses out of pregnant women. Baird told the *Boston Herald* (1 April), "Apparently school officials have learned nothing about student rights, health care and the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and the spread of AIDS in 20 years." In a revealing explanation for his decision to ban condoms and "safe sex" kits on campus, Silber said, "You don't say 'Robbery is wrong,' and then turn around and say, 'But we have this handy-dandy burglary kit available if you want one'" (*Boston Phoenix*, 3 April).

Likening sex to a criminal offense,



Young Spartacus

April 6: Bill Baird displays headline of his 1967 arrest at BU. Condoms are again "banned in Boston."

Silber wants to screw students who deviate from his puritanical predilections by slapping them with university reprisals. At present, AIDS is an invariably fatal disease, and there are too many right-wing bigots *who want to keep it that way*. To these anti-sex moralists, the present inability of medical science to treat AIDS is a godsend, enabling them to exploit justified fears to push their reactionary anti-sex and anti-science agenda.

Reagan, Silber and the likes of Phyllis Schlafly want "sex education" to consist of propaganda for abstinence and married heterosexual monogamy. They burn at the thought of condoms—which, by inhibiting the transmission of semen from one person to another during anal or vaginal intercourse, offer a measure of protection against transmission of the AIDS virus. Unfortunately, the young distributors of "safe sex kits" are imbued with some of the same puritanical views. Thus at BU condoms are affixed to leaflets proclaiming that "safe sex" is "being monogamous," which only serves to reinforce the reactionary social stereotypes.

Reagan and AIDS notwithstanding, sex is still popular among college students. In February "National Condom Week" was observed on a number of campuses; at Stanford a condom-rating contest was held, and there's a proposal to install condom vending machines in dormitories. The Student Health Service at the University of Pennsylvania has contributed money for the purchase of 11,000 condoms for free distribution, and a local AIDS project in Berkeley has distributed hundreds of condoms to UC Berkeley students. Boston University students deserve nothing less. On April 8 the campus Civil Liberties Union distributed condoms at BU, defying Silber's ban, and despite his threat to revoke their official recognition and funding. Silber is reportedly taking a six-month leave of absence to research and write about AIDS. We trust BU students will make the most of the madman's absence. Down with the anti-sex crusade! Government out of the bedrooms! Billions for AIDS research! ■

Thiebauth/Boston Phoenix

The real obscenity: BU's anti-union, anti-sex, mad dog Führer John Silber.

Labor, Blacks Fight Back!...

(continued from page 1)

Japan-bashing trade sanctions, while they all get together to gut welfare and Medicare.

There are a lot of angry people who want to fight back. But the April 25 "spring mobe" is bringing them to Washington to a rally for the Democrats—the first act of the 1988 presidential campaign. The organizers of the "National Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and South Africa" appeal to the "democratic ideals" of U.S. imperialism and criticize "costly foreign wars," pressuring Congress for butter instead of guns. Demands on South Africa were tacked on after black groups complained, and later an empty call to stop racism was hastily added. Naturally, there's not a word about the Near East—after all, it's the liberal Democrats who are always the biggest allies of the racist Zionist madmen who run Israel. So the April 25 demo organizers and their "left" tails are doing their bit for the anti-Soviet war drive, enlisting mass support for the Democratic Party which brought the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Bay of Pigs and the war on Vietnam.

The Spartacist League calls for revolutionary struggle to smash racist terror from Soweto to Harlem. We say "Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!" Our modest "Nica bucks" campaign raised $25,000 in material aid for that embattled country heroically defending itself against the CIA's contra war. The international Spartacist tendency stood for the defense of Libya against the Pentagon's terror bombing, and sent a team of journalists to Tripoli as a show of solidarity. We hail Cuban troops defending black Angola against the South African apartheid army, and call for labor strikes against a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. We Trotskyists are forthright in our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow, because the 1917 workers revolution smashed the old regime and its fascistic, anti-Semitic racist terrorists. And we say: "Labor's gotta play hardball to win!"

Labor and Blacks: Take the Power!

With Reagan on the ropes, the Democrats have kept Reaganism going. And now the bureaucrats who police the unions for the bosses are busing in thousands of unionists to Washington to line them up to vote for the other party of the class enemy in '88. Among the endorsers of the April 25 demonstration are: UAW president *Owen Bieber*, who along with Doug Fraser gave back billions to the auto bosses, turned the Motor City into a ghost town, and now spews out protectionist poison pitting American workers against their Japanese class brothers; IAM president *William Winpisinger*, the "seat-of-the-pants socialist" who ordered machinists to work during the PATCO strike, stabbing the air controllers in the back and guaranteeing their defeat; and UFCW president *William Wynn*, the labor traitor who worked overtime to bust the months-long Hormel meatpackers strike of defiant Local P-9, and sided with scabs inside the plant while the strikers were facing the National Guard outside.

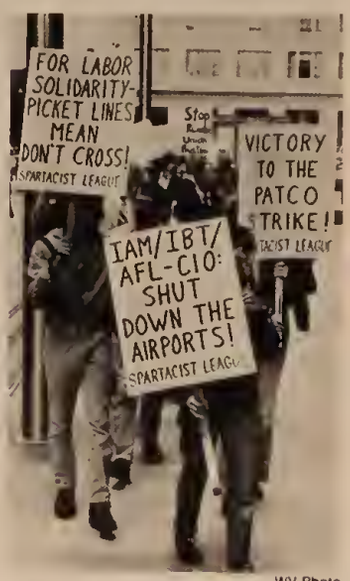
And these are the so-called "progressive" bureaucrats! AFL-CIO top Lane Kirkland, Al Shanker and their cronies aren't marching against "contra aid"—in fact, they're receiving it. These front

AP

men for CIA "labor" projects to crush militant unionism from South Africa to Chile and El Salvador have been touring contras around the U.S., paid for by Oliver North. No wonder they're known as the "AFL-CIA" in Latin America. But the slicker labor fakers also share the fundamental program of propping up American capitalism. At a meeting to build support for the April 25 demo, UAW District 65 leader Cleveland Robinson made it clear that they were only against "continued military aid to the contras, not humanitarian aid."

These labor traitors—both the contra lovers like Kirkland and "progressives" like Winpisinger—must be *ousted* through *internal struggle* in the unions to unleash the tremendous power of organized labor and break the cycle of defeats and sellouts. Key to such a struggle is breaking with the Democratic Party. Through this struggle a *workers party* based on the unions must be built. We're not talking about a reformist, parliamentary outfit like the British Labour Party but a *revolutionary party* that would organize defense squads against strikebreaking and scabherding, smash the Klan and other fascist scum, champion the rights of women, fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and shove it to the Moral Majority bigots.

At the turn of the century American socialist Daniel De Leon called the union bureaucrats the "labor lieutenants of capital," pinning the tail on the asses who do the donkey work for the Democrats. During World War I, opportunist "socialists" preached illusions of "peace" through palavers of the imperialist kings, emperors and presidents, and invented reasons why the working people should support the war aims of their "own" national rulers. But V.I. Lenin insisted that the only way to end the slaughter was to "explain to the



WV Photo

Reagan's message to labor: PATCO leaders in chains, 1981. Spartacists demanded: Shut down the airports! Labor action to bring down Reagan!

masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism" ("Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," October 1916). And the Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, overthrew capitalism in the 1917 October Revolution. Today as well, what's needed is internationalist struggle to smash the capitalist system that inevitably spawns My Lai massacres and death squads abroad, and KKK/cop terror at home.

From the hideous lynching in Howard Beach, New York City and the KKK assault in Forsyth County, Georgia to unprecedented attacks on black students on campuses around the country, the racist killers in white sheets and blue uniforms are taking their cue from the lynchers' preferred Klandidate in the White House. But when thousands turn out for anti-racist marches, black Democratic misleaders rush to lock them under the control of the forces of racist state repression. A real fight against racism at home would bring them smack up against the black Democratic mayors, the overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation: Andy Young and Coleman Young break black sanitation workers strikes, while Wilson Goode orders the bombing of Philly MOVE. And April 25 speaker Jesse Jackson with his "Rainbow Coalition" is only out to broker black votes for the Dixiecrats at the Democratic convention in Atlanta.

Against the black Democratic front men for the white bosses like Jesse Jackson and nationalist demagogues like Farrakhan, we stand for *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. There can be no social revolution in this country without united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party, and there is nothing short of a workers revolution which can at last open the road to freedom for black people.

The Spartacist League has fought for mass labor/black defense against the racist onslaught. In New York City in the wake of the Howard Beach lynching, militant transit workers called for union defense squads to mobilize labor's power to make the city a place where every working person, every black and Hispanic, can live in dignity and walk the streets without fear. Following the November 1979 Klan/Nazi massacre of five leftists, blacks and labor organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina, under Democrat Jimmy Carter, the SL initiated successful labor/black mobilizations that brought to bear the power of organized labor to interdict the fascists in cities from Detroit to San Francisco. These culminated on 27 November 1982 when over 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers and youth stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. These actions were all built in struggle against the Democrats, like D.C. black mayor Marion Barry who threatened massive cop repression to prevent the black masses from running the lynchers out of town.

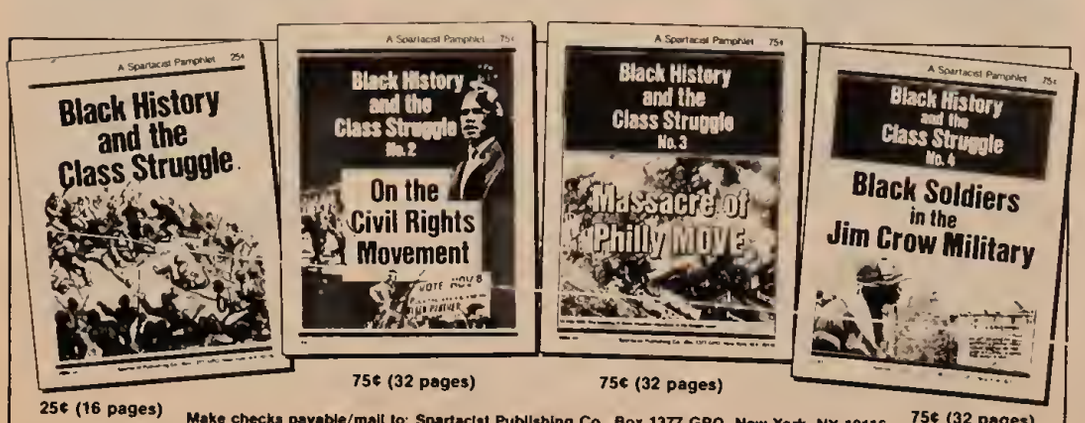
Reagan on the Rocks: Now is the Time to Hit Back!

After getting re-elected in '84 Ronald Reagan declared, "What I want to see above all else, is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich." Well, in Reagan's America you can always get poor, and not having a roof over your head is called a "human right." There are 3 million homeless in the streets, 20 million go to bed hungry at night, 21 million adults are unable to read and write. The industrial Midwest has been turned into a rust bowl recalling the agricultural dust bowl of the '30s. Deep into the epoch of capitalist decay, the imperialist rulers are raving with war frenzy, and when their delusions of grandeur are shattered they threaten to bring the whole world down with them. Hitler's Thousand-Year Reich lasted only 12 years. The "American Century," proclaimed as the U.S. established its imperialist hegemony in World War II, sank in the rice paddies of Indochina. Now the "Reagan Revolution" has foundered after only six years.

Contemplating this spectacle and comparing it to an apparently reinvigorated Soviet regime which certainly has a lot more international credibility than the present U.S. administration, Reagan's dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick asked recently, "Is the Soviet Union under Gorbachev really in control of the international agenda?" She added:

> "It is never easy to know when one historical epoch ends and another begins. It is time, however, to think about it. Most Americans do not believe, and do not want to believe, we have entered a period of historical decline."
>
> —*Newsday*, 29 March

Behind this pessimism is the worldview of the people who "lost" China, Korea, Vietnam and worry about "losing" Central America next. They are haunted



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Wall Street...

(continued from page 4)

the stagnating economy at home. At the end of last year, outstanding loans to Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela ranged from 70 to 125 percent of the capital of the six largest U.S. banks.

Since the commodity price boom was broken with the world depression of 1981-82, the flow of capital has gone the other way. From 1985 through this year, a net $100 billion will have flowed out of impoverished Latin America and into the coffers of Wall Street and the City of London. A few years ago the Brazilian ambassador to Washington remarked this was like taking blood from an ailing patient to give to an Olympic athlete. From Cape Horn to the Rio Grande, per capita income has fallen 10 percent, investment plunged by a third and in many countries unemployment soared to about half the labor force. There is thus enormous pressure on Latin American governments to suspend interest payments, if not to repudiate the debt altogether. Already, Bolivia and Ecuador have stopped paying. But these are small potatoes.

In late February Brazil, perhaps emboldened by Yankee imperialism's disarray over the Iran/contra crisis, suspended interest payments on $68 billion of its $108 billion foreign debt. This deprived Western and Japanese banks for the time being of some $6 billion a year in income. Last year Brazil accounted for about *20 percent* of the entire profits of Citibank, Chase Manhattan and Manufacturers Hanover. Trying to offset their Brazilian losses was a major reason these banks recently raised the prime lending rate. So mortgage holders and car buyers as well as corporate investors in the U.S. are supposed to bail out Citi and Manny Hanny since they can no longer bleed Latin American workers and peasants as before.

Junk-Bond Junkies

Since the Latin America lending spree came to a screeching halt when Mexico suspended payment on principal in 1981, Wall Street has turned inward, fueling the corporate takeover mania. The *Economist* (14 December 1985) observed: "There has been an especial reason in America why much of the new money has sloshed into stock markets. American banks have burned their fingers lending to Latin America and on rural real estate, so they are now burning them lending to small companies which want to swallow bigger companies up." In other words, having bled Latin America white, U.S. banks are now out to bleed American companies.

Der Spiegel

"Black Tuesday," 1929—Speculative boom on Wall Street ends in Great Crash. Even financiers and bourgeois economists see parallels today.

The main financial instrument for a hostile takeover is the so-called junk bond, whose collateral is the assets of the *targeted* company. Using junk bonds, raiders like Carl Icahn and T. Boone Pickens buy up the stock of large corporations and then milk their assets to pay back the banks. Some half a million employees have been thrown into the street in the "restructuring" following such hostile takeovers. To stave off such takeovers, the established management piles up debt in order to buy out shareholders—in effect, emulating the raiders by milking their own companies. The bids and counterbids are the main driving force behind the current stock market boom.

The so-called "insider trading" scandal on Wall Street is just part of the infighting surrounding hostile takeovers. Those in the know have *always* made a killing buying a company's stock before a merger is publicly announced. Only in the old days on the Street there were fewer insiders and they were more inside. *Business Week* (2 March) noted that in the 1960s:

> "The game was dominated by a handful of firms and conducted in carefully cultivated obscurity. Although the practice was only marginally legal at best, deal information flowed freely within and among investment banks. 'It was the old-buddy system,' said Steven Sherman, a former arb [speculator] who worked at Goldman Sachs at the time. 'It was people gossiping, but it was very good gossip'."

So the prosecution today of operators like Ivan Boesky and Martin Siegel for "insider trading" is basically an attempt by the Wall Street old boys network to use the state against the upstart raiders. A major target is the maverick investment bank of Drexel Burnham, king of the junk-bond market.

The overall effect of the takeover mania is to further gut the American economy. Billions of dollars are spent and most managerial energy expended in wrangling over which capitalist and which bank will rape a given company. Pat Choate, an economist with the TRW conglomerate, exclaimed: "How can anyone concentrate on doing what is needed for long-term competitiveness—spending for plant and equipment, R&D, and job training—when they're so busy battling for survival?" The answer is they can't. More fundamentally, the capitalist system, which has become so *parasitic* that even Wall Street financiers and business economists are appalled, does *not deserve* to survive.

The Danger of a New Great Crash

An increasing number of financiers and bourgeois economists, for example, Felix Rohatyn and Henry Kaufman on Wall Street, have pointed to the parallel between the present financial situation and that which led up to the 1929 crash. MIT professor Charles Kindleberger, author of the standard academic history of the Great Depression, calls attention to similarity between the international financial position of the U.S. today and Britain's in the late 1920s. Britain, formerly the dominant economic power in the capitalist world, was then running consistent, large balance-of-payments deficits. A financial crisis was postponed only by the willingness of foreign investors (mainly French and British colonials in South Africa, Australia, etc.) to hold large sterling balances in the City of London. Britain, formerly the lender of last resort, had become a debtor nation.

Likewise, the United States today. Kindleberger links the danger of a new Great Crash to America's loss of hegemony in the capitalist world:

> "*The most alarming analogy I see between the Great Depression and the present day is in the organization and leadership of the world economy.*
> "My explanation why the earlier difficulties were so wide, so deep and so prolonged was that no country took charge as the economic and financial leader. None was prepared to organize last-resort lending to financial institutions and countries threatened with financial collapse....
> "Today, the leadership of the United States that has been exemplary from 1945 to some date of choice (1965 during the Vietnam war?, the 1971 Nixon-Connally shock?) is faltering, and there is no other country ready and willing to pick up the burden." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Depression Ahead?"
> Tocqueville Research
> *Parallels*, December 1986

Now that even Wall Street financiers and respected bourgeois economists are worrying about another world depression, it is vital for workers in this country to understand the political lessons of the 1930s. The impact of the Depression and the evident bankruptcy of capitalism impelled the American working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was channeled into FDR's Democratic Party. The notion that Roosevelt's New Deal got the U.S. out of the Depression is a liberal myth. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running at high gear.

Today once again economics is driving U.S. imperialism toward war—this country's rulers may have inferior products to push in the world market, but they have a fat military machine to push them with. The current anti-Japanese hysteria points to new Hiroshimas. There is not much time for the working class to sweep away the rotten structure of world capitalism before it sinks all humanity into barbarism. ■

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by the string of "failed" imperial presidencies: JFK assassinated, LBJ driven out by the Tet Offensive, Nixon ousted over Watergate, Ford who "couldn't walk and chew gum at the same time," Carter slinking off after the Teheran embassy seizure, and now Reagan brought down by doings in the White House basement. Six in a row, and the last two (post-Vietnam) administrations riven by deep conflicts between State Department, Pentagon and White House, as U.S. rulers no longer can play the hegemonic role they view as their manifest destiny. But this doesn't make them any less dangerous. Today, the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism reflects its desperation in decline. Like a wounded beast, it's deadly dangerous.

Fifteen years ago, hundreds of thousands marched in antiwar "peace" parades whose politics were indistinguishable from this year's April 25 "mobe." They didn't stop the Vietnam War—it was the Indochinese masses who beat the U.S. Army on the field of battle. The massive antiwar movement triggered by the dirty, losing Vietnam War was headed by liberal Democrats (and opportunist "leftists") who preached patriotism and the idea that this country is fundamentally a defender of "freedom" and "democracy" but was making a "tragic mistake" in Vietnam. The last thing these people wanted was for antiwar youth to understand the connection between imperialist war crimes in Vietnam and the system of racist capitalism at home. The massive antiwar activism of the 1960s-1970s never challenged the real power of the capitalist rulers of this country, and today we confront the same greedy, war-crazy ruling class as it drives toward new wars.

The Vietnamese did their job, but we haven't done ours. So today we witness the spectacle of Nixon and other Watergaters on the TV talk show circuit offering sage comments about how Reagan can get out of his Iran/Contragate pickle. Meanwhile, their victims are dead or still in prison, like former Panther leader Geronimo Pratt. And the Vietnam War losers are trying to get even by laying waste to Central America. As Lenin polemicized against the opportunist Kautsky—"who refuses to regard imperialism as a 'phase of capitalism' and defines it as a *policy*"—imperialism will not fall of its own accord, it must be brought down through socialist revolution.

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stops Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982.

The Russian October Revolution demonstrated that the key to the fight for socialism is building a Bolshevik party, a vanguard party of the proletariat; not a parliamentary party but a combat party that mobilizes the working people in the streets and the factories; a party that is the tribune of the people, championing the cause of the oppressed, a party that serves as the memory of the working class, drawing the lessons of past battles. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building an internationalist communist party to lead the American proletarian revolution, to bring down the imperialist colossus from within, in alliance with the oppressed around the world; to liberate the workers and oppressed of this country and get the U.S. imperialist jackboot off the necks of the toiling masses of the world. Join us! ■

Class War in the Shipyards

The 1945 Bay Area Machinists Strike

The mass ILWU picket which ran the scabs off the dock in Redwood City, California sparked the current strike of 1,800 Bay Area shipyard workers, in open opposition to the strikebreaking pleas of their "leaders." In 1945 a strike by thousands of machinists rallied the Bay Area labor movement. Then as today, the strikers faced not only the employers, but the capitalist state and its loyal lieutenants in the labor bureaucracy.

The 10 November 1945 *Militant*, newspaper of the then-revolutionary

THE MILITANT

AFL-CIO Massed Pickets Defy Alameda Injunction

By J. Marshall

San Francisco Machinists End Bitter Four-Month Strike

West Coast Longshoremen Call Strike Referendum

Machinists Strike In San Francisco

San Francisco Machinists Solid In Strike

Special to THE MILITANT

By Robert Chester

Striking Machinists March On Capitol In California

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 — Today 1,000 AFL Trades workers invaded the State Capitol, Sacramento, protesting the refusal of the State Unemployment Insurance Commission to pay them unemployment benefits

Against flag-waving and betrayal by AFL fops and Stalinists, the SWP's Militant fought to shut down waterfront.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP), described the opening of the battle:

> "A joint AFL and CIO machinists strike, begun October 29, has closed approximately 200 plants here, put 12,000 workers on the picket lines and broken the labor 'truce' in the Bay Area. The striking unions' appeal to the Bay Area labor movement and 55,000 other workers affected by the strike to respect their picket lines has been complied with in all but a few instances.
>
> "AFL Machinists Lodge 68 and CIO Steelworkers East Bay Machinists Local 1304 are demanding a 30 per cent wage increase. When the employers refused anything above a 10 per cent raise, the militant machinists voted to strike, ignoring the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act provision for a 30-day 'cooling-off' period."

Struck were 15 shipyards, five major yards in San Francisco and seven in the East Bay, as well as at least 185 other foundries, machine shops, marine engine, rubber and other plants and some warehouses.

The machinists strike came after four years of imperialist war, where the capitalists and the phony "friend of labor" president Roosevelt ground down wages, brought out troops to break strikes and targeted revolutionary socialists and other militants for their working-class opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Roosevelt's "war for democracy" was in fact a war among the imperialist powers for the plunder of colonies and the division of markets. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy kept the working class chained to war production—and they had plenty of help from the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which labeled coal miners "Nazi fifth columnists" when they struck during the war. The CP even applauded the hideous atom bombing of the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

By the end of the war, the pent-up anger of millions of workers was ready to explode. Workers who had forged industrial unions through sitdowns and general strikes in the 1930s were eager to reclaim what they had lost during the war years. The AFL and CIO machinists in the Bay Area fired the first shot in what became the largest strike wave in American history. One after another, CIO unions demanded a reduction in the workweek with no loss in pay—"48 hours pay for 40 hours work." In the fall of 1945 oil, lumber, dock, glass and textile workers launched strikes. They were joined on November 21 by 225,000 General Motors workers. In January '46, 800,000 Steelworkers struck. Two million union members were on strike.

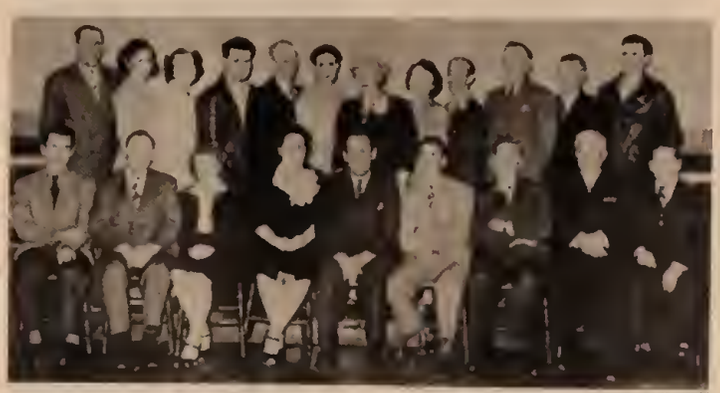
But the CIO leaders were pledging "Industrial Peace for the Postwar Period," and the slavish CP was calling for a *permanent* no-strike pledge! The CP had earned the hatred of militants for its groveling before the waterfront employers and the government. In contrast to the SWP, which sought to extend the 1945 machinists' action into a Bay Area-wide waterfront strike, the Stalinists feared above all that it might spark a fight in longshore where ILWU president and long-time CP supporter Harry Bridges rammed through a sellout the next spring. Bridges tried to dismantle the machinists' picket lines, even ordering ILWU members to cross! The ILWU ranks stood with the machinists and refused. The SWP's *Militant* reported:

> "IAM-AFL Lodge 68 has a tradition of militancy that the government, the California Metal Trades Council (employers' association), the AFL bureaucrats, and the Stalinists have been unable to stifle. During the war Lodge 68 refused to surrender any of the hard-won terms of its agreement. It was necessary for the government and employers to place the shops under Navy control in order to break the strike. From early 1944 to the present, the members of Lodge 68 have been working without a written agreement....
>
> "Despite the solidarity of the rank and file of both the AFL and CIO, the Stalinist union leaders have combined with the AFL bureaucracy and the boss press in an attempt to undermine the strike. They have tried to minimize the machinists' demands, denigrate their leaders and arouse sentiment against the picket lines, so far without success....
>
> "Under the lead of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, dominated by Stalinist Harry Bridges, the other maritime unions were enjoined to support a treacherous '6-point program'....
>
> "This 'program' contains two main proposals: (1) The establishment of a 'joint strategy committee' comprising representatives of unions directly or indirectly affected by the strike; and (2) Guarantees that there would be no more interference with the movement of troop ships and troop supply ships. In return the Stalinists agreed to 'support' the strike.
>
> **THE JOKER**
>
> "One joker in this 'program' is that ALL ships can be classified as troop ships or troop supply ships. An attempt on the part of the machinists to prevent the repair of ANY vessel could be construed as a violation of this program, thus providing the Stalinist union leaders a pretext for ordering their members to work on ships with scab machinists.
>
> "The proposal for a 'joint strategy committee' is a scheme of the Stalinists to take control of the strike out of the hands of the striking unions and scuttle it, because Bridges and his pals are fearful that the unions they control may be swept into militant action despite the Stalinist agreement with the employers for 'peace'."
>
> —*Militant*, 10 November 1945

The CP's betrayals in the service of the Democratic Party were opposed by veteran Communists in the IAM. These militants, including leaders of IAM Lodge 68 such as Ed Lee, fought the CP's order to organize a "back to work movement" and its demand that troop ships continue to be worked—a ploy to defeat the strike. The Stalinists were working both sides of the street: appealing to the widespread anger in the army and working class that American troops were being kept in the Pacific and Europe (where U.S. imperialism was targeting the Soviet Union), while showing their loyalty to U.S. rulers by vowing, "We have duties to fulfill in the armies of occupation" (*Daily Worker*, 8 January 1946). In contrast, the SWP brought to the machinists strike a consistent class-struggle program that flowed from their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war.

Exemplifying the militant labor solidarity in the strike, on 28 January 1946 more than 3,000 AFL and CIO unionists defied a court injunction limiting pickets and shut tight the scab-operated Bethlehem Alameda shipyard. Squads of women workers kept out office personnel. The *Militant* of 16 February reported that when a scab superintendent insisted on driving through the lines "his car tipped over." The unionists also defied an ominous police presence, and ultimately the Alameda cops and riot squad reinforcements "moved off in a long caravan as the picketers waved and cheered them."

The strike lasted for 120 days, despite strikebreaking attacks of the IAM International and the knifing by the CP. In early March, IAM president Harvey Brown stepped in to place the Lodge 68 leadership on trial for "disloyalty," and later expelled them from the union. Lodge 68 responded by withdrawing from the IAM and establishing an independent local, which later affiliated with United Steelworkers Machinists Local 1304. On 17 March 1946 both the AFL and CIO machinists voted to accept an 18 percent wage increase and return to work.



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Executive Board and officers of Machinists Local 1327 in August 1945. Ed Lee seated left.

The Communist Party proceeded to break up its machinists club in San Francisco and purge scores of militants. An article by Oleta O'Connor Yates in the CP's *Political Affairs* (December 1946) states:

> "Action was finally taken against this 'Left' factional grouping. Vern Smith, Walter Lambert, Ed Lee and a number of their followers were expelled from the Party for participation in an anti-Party, 'Left'-sectarian factional grouping, and the membership was warned against further association with these expelled people."

After unsuccessfully attempting to create a left-Stalinist organization with other expelled CPers, Ed Lee soon joined the Trotskyist SWP. In later years he contributed to the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League (see our obituary for comrade Lee in *WV* No. 251, 7 March 1980). The struggle of the Bay Area machinists four decades ago against the bosses and their agents atop the unions holds vital lessons for labor militants facing the same unholy alliance today. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Racism Deadly Threat to NYC Labor

Racist killers in and out of uniform are on a rampage in Koch's New York. What's urgently needed is powerful, integrated workers action to crush the racists. But the absence of labor struggle ominously opens the door to sinister demagogues like Louis Farrakhan and other reactionary black nationalists, who seek to fan the flames of race-hate in this city on the brink. Who benefits? Who loses? Reagan wants race war, *to unleash the forces of deadly repression against the ghetto, and cut off the possibility of integrated class struggle (while whacking out the Democrats). The Committee for a Fighting TWU seeks to unleash the power of the 37,000-strong Transport Workers Union Local 100 and all NYC labor to make this city a place where every working person and minority can live in dignity and walk the streets without fear (leaflet reprinted below). This is inseparable from forging a class-struggle workers party, dedicated to revolutionary integrationism, to lead the fight for all the oppressed.*

Committee for a Fighting TWU Leaflet:

Black transit worker Wajid Abdul-Salaam was hog-tied, beaten and killed by Koch's cops on Feb. 12th. Militant strikes by citywide labor and mobilized defense guards could have put a stop to the long list of blacks killed by cops! But this union leadership did nothing; they are even on record for more cops!

The killing goes on. On Feb. 26 the courts sanctioned eviction by shotgun murder by clearing Stephen Sullivan of wrongdoing in the Eleanor Bumpurs killing. Only two days later, the cops celebrated their reaffirmed license to kill by publicly executing Nicholas Bartlett on Harlem's Main Street, 125th. Just last Sunday, taking their cue from Howard Beach, a mob of 30 white racist Columbia Univ. students attacked black student Mike Jones and eight other black students chasing one into oncoming traffic on Broadway. Having whitewashed the killers of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs, the racist justice system demonstrated that the strategy of the Democrats, the labor fakers and the nationalists of relying on the courts is an *obstacle* in the fight against racial oppression.

no credit

Former soldier Nicholas Bartlett, executed by NYC cops on 125th Street.

Six years of increasing race-terror, union-busting and anti-Soviet war drive under Reagan is enough. Now is the time for labor and the minority populations to stand as one and strike back against the entire rotting, racist capitalist system. With Reagan on the ropes over Contragate, the ruling class is worried about the "Reagan legacy" and damage to the "imperial presidency." But for the working class, the smashing of PATCO, the massacre of Philly MOVE, and the rape of black Grenada are the hot brands of Reagan reaction. They must be avenged! And now is the time!

Militant workers know that the power of labor, when mobilized and brought to focus by a determined leadership, can win victories. The Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 militants stopped the race-terrorist KKK from marching in Washington, DC in 1982. Closer to home were the successful class-struggle defense mobilizations led by the Committee for a Fighting TWU to get the charges dropped against TWU Brother James Grimes. Taking the lead in both these campaigns militant black workers represented the living link between the power of organized labor and the minority populations.

Recently several initiatives have been made to enlist the power of labor in the fight for black freedom. We applaud the initiative taken by a group of black track workers in calling for union action on behalf of Abdul-Salaam. Collections for the family were made by these brothers in several locations. Transit militants in Chicago, ATU Local 308, last year fought for a union defense of Ramona Africa, the only adult survivor of the racist bombing of Philly MOVE. As a result, Local 308 sent an official telegram to the authorities demanding she be set free. Last month here in Local 100 the Committee for a Fighting TWU collected money and protest letters for the defense and freedom of Geronimo Pratt, an ex-Black Panther leader, imprisoned for 16 years in an FBI/COINTELPRO frame-up.

Armed with a class-struggle program that concretely addresses the needs of the working class as a whole, militant black workers must take the lead in forging a new leadership that will sweep aside the pro-capitalist labor traitors of the Sonny Hall ilk. The pre-condition for winning the last social revolution in this country, the Civil War, was not only the enlistment and arming of black soldiers, but also the purging of pro-slavery officers from the leadership of the Union Army.

The chains of racism will not be broken by putting just another black face in a high place, like Uncle Tom Ben Ward or Wilson Goode. The black lackeys and labor misleaders must be swept aside by workers ready to make a determined fight against the race-haters from Howard Beach to City Hall. With the reins of leadership firmly in grasp, militant black workers can initiate the organizing of union defense guards and powerful job actions backed up by the strike weapon. When black workers rise to the task of leadership, white workers will follow. Militant tactics used by labor to smash racist terror can be used to win a big wage increase, a shorter work week with no loss in pay, a 100% cost of living adjustment and union enforced job safety. Only a real reactionary nut would put his higotry before his belly. An injury to one is an injury to all and the labor movement must mobilize to smash racist attacks!

WV Photo

Militant NYC transit workers, Labor Black League demand justice for Eleanor Bumpurs.

If Local 100 had taken up the call of the Committee for a Fighting TWU for powerful, integrated union defense guards at the time of the lynching of Brother Willie Turks and again with the murder of Michael Griffith, Brother Wajid Abdul-Salaam might be alive today.

COMMITTEE FOR
A FIGHTING TWU
26 March 1987

Bay Area Waterfront...

(continued from page 16)

decimation of U.S. shipyards predated the decline of the "rust bowl" industries such as steel and auto. And the Pentagon's drive for a "war-fighting, 600-ship Navy" has left the U.S. Navy as *the* source of shipyard revenue.

Just-resigned Navy Secretary Lehman threatened that the Navy will quit letting contracts to West Coast shipyards because workers' wages are too high. Between 1983 and 1986 the West Coast-wide shipyard contract was destroyed, as the bosses whipsawed unions against those in yards in the South and East. In the Pacific Northwest, Lockheed Shipbuilding in Seattle locked out 900 workers last November (following another useless slowdown campaign) and has hired 500 scabs. Todd Shipyard in Seattle imposed its "final offer" in December after workers there refused to accept givebacks. Yards in Tacoma and Portland imposed wage cuts after threatening bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, in the Tidewater region of Virginia 1,250 workers were laid off in November at Newport News Shipbuilding Co., site of a militant strike by heavily black Steelworkers Local 8888 in 1983. And with the scheduled completion of the aircraft carrier *Dwight D. Eisenhower* this month, another 2,000 jobs are threatened. Workers are being blackmailed with the threat of work being moved to low-wage yards like Ingalls in Pascagoula, Mississippi, or the scab Avondale Shipyards in New Orleans. The maritime bosses used the same tactic to break the coastwise ILA contract, by shipping through scab ports on the Gulf.

Doubleday

Communist leadership was key to 1934 San Francisco general strike. It will take reds to win today.

"National security" is frequently invoked to break waterfront strikes. Last week, ILWU and IBU leaders agreed to unload "military cargo" from one of the Crowley barges which were struck by the ILWU in Redwood City March 20. (An IBU picket reports that they had already allowed one barge to be towed up to Portland to be unloaded by ILWU longshoremen.) Reportedly, the issue of working military cargo was a hot dispute at a March 17 IBU meeting, with ILWU president Jimmy Herman and other top ILWU and IBU officials threatening strike committee members and insisting that they would run the IBU strike.

The bureaucrats took down the picket lines and unloaded the container to demonstrate their loyalty to the capitalist state and determination to rein in the IBU strike. (The "military cargo" on the barge was the personal effects of servicemen!) And the "militant" head of the IBU strike committee, Jack Heyman, was there to "observe," bowing to the rotten deal to unload the "military cargo" from struck barges! The very next day Heyman cynically lectured the shipyard workers to "defy injunctions."

Class Struggle Against the War Drive

Reagan has run aground, but the capitalists are grabbing what they can, continuing to wage the war on blacks and labor with a vengeance. At the same time there are plenty of unionists and minorities who see that Reagan's been put in receivership, and know this is a good time to fight. When the capitalists invoke "national security," it's their "security" to *exploit* that they are talking about. Reagan *and* the Democrats are targeting every gain of the working class—from union conditions on the waterfront to the planned economy of the Soviet Union. They want to use those 600 Navy ships for the anti-Soviet war drive—from the coasts of Nicaragua to the USSR's Kola Peninsula.

A powerful waterfront strike will do more to spike Reagan's war plans than a thousand peace crawls like the upcoming April 25 demonstration. And if there is a direct U.S. assault on Nicaragua, there should be labor political strikes, in which maritime workers would be strategic.

ILWU members have been watching the shipyard and IBU strikes closely. They know the maritime bosses want to bring back the shape-up, destroying the hiring hall, and want to rip up union jurisdiction. But Herman is already dismissing the longshoremen's contract demands as a "wish list" and is scared stiff of a strike. The ILWU was forged in the hard class struggle of the 1934 general strike. It took communist leadership to break the bosses' "open shop," forge the industrial unions and win union control of hiring. To *win* the coming class battles requires a class-struggle leadership that can *politically defeat* the labor misleaders who are tied in a thousand ways to the defense of capitalism.

Longshoremen: now is the time to put the ILWU's muscle behind the IBU and shipyard workers and beat back the maritime bosses. For a Bay Area waterfront strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to Tug, Shipyard Workers!

For a Bay Area Waterfront Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 14—Labor battle has been joined on the Bay Area waterfront. Six shipyards and ship repair facilities were struck March 30 by workers battling wage cuts imposed by the employers. For a week the labor misleaders denounced the shipyard strike as "illegal." Then they "authorized" it on April 7—in order to bring it under their thumb. Given the chance, the union tops will knife it in the back.

As we go to press, shipyard union officials are trying to ram through a settlement at Service Engineering, one of the smaller shipyards, in order to put the men to work on the nuclear attack carrier USS *Carl Vinson*, presently at the Triple A yard in Hunters Point. The bosses and the union bureaucrats are attempting to scuttle the strike by destroying the solidarity of the shipyard workers in the name of "national security." This is exactly how the 1983 shipyard strike was defeated, when the Navy towed its ships out of Todd to the Alameda Naval Air Station and subcontracted the work to members of the same Metal Trades Council.

The shipyard strike was sparked by the Bay Area-wide ports shutdown, ten days earlier, by members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who chased scabs off a Redwood City dock to aid their brother tugboat workers in the ILWU-affiliated Inland Boatmen's Union. The IBU has been on strike against the giant Crowley shipping conglomerate for more than 60 days. The Redwood City action should have occurred *at the beginning* of the IBU strike, not as a one-shot deal, but shutting down *all ports*. With their own contract expiring June 30 and the maritime bosses out for blood, the predominantly black and Hispanic ILWU members must not let the IBU strikers or the long-beleaguered shipyard workers stand alone.

WV Photo

Shipyard workers hold strike rally, April 3.

Action by the ILWU is decisive to win these battles. Longshoremen have the power to shut the ports down tight, and link up with workers in rail, trucking and airlines—nothing moves on or off the waterfront. One out—all out! Shut down the waterfront!

After seven years without a wage increase and nine months without a contract, 300 pipefitters finally told the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, which represents the ten shipyard craft unions, to shove their useless "work-to-rule" slowdown. Early in the morning on March 30, they set up picket lines at the largest shipyard, Todd, and immediately won the support of hundreds of other shipyard workers.

The union tops furiously denounced Plumbers and Pipefitters Local 38 president Joe Mazzola for calling the walkout. Carpenters piecard and Metal Trades spokesman Rick Anderson fumed, "The pipefitters are trying to thrash everybody. Nobody can reason with Joe Mazzola" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). Anderson tried to break the strike from the start, as he led a handful of workers up to the pipefitters' picket line carrying a large American flag and a "Solidarnosc" banner, singing "Hi-ho, hi-ho, it's off to work we go." But this company cop, with the banner of Reagan's favorite "union," turned tail when he met some workers playing hardball.

The Metal Trades leaders *were nowhere to be seen*, hoping that Todd's threats of firings and NLRB injunctions would force the strikers back to work. These labor traitors are mouthpieces for the Democratic Party politicians, the bureaucrats' "friends of labor" who broke the 1976 San Francisco city workers strike.

With the Metal Trades bureaucrats despised by the ranks, an ad hoc group of assorted reformists and ex-leftists has stepped in to do their donkey work. At an April 7 rally at Pier 50, this "United Shipyard Workers" outfit uttered not a word against the treachery of the labor tops.

Shipyard workers are looking for a program to *win*. Hundreds of workers snatched up Spartacist leaflets which hit the yards and the docks on the morning of April 1. Entitled "Strike to Win—Shut Down the Port!" it called for a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike. The SL leaflet demanded: "Parity for all shipyard workers with the highest paid union building trades! To hell with injunctions—For mass picket lines that *nobody* better cross!" A waitress at a waterfront cafe taped a copy up as pickets eagerly read them.

"War-Fighting, Union-Busting" Navy

The draconian cuts Todd has imposed are typical of the shipbuilding industry nationwide, as the employers have sought to bolster their dwindling profits out of the workers' hides. The

continued on page 15

Feds, Drug Companies Bleed AIDS Victims

Free, Quality Health Care for All!

AIDS is a "global problem of tragic proportions," says World Health Organization director Halfdan T. Mahler. Yet inside the Reagan administration AIDS is a "giggling factor," according to Vice President Bush (*Boston Globe*, 1 April). For these reactionaries this terrible, fatal disease has been an opportunity to exploit fear, ignorance and anti-homosexual bigotry.

Now the Reaganites have finally thrown a small sop to AIDS victims, rushing through Food and Drug Administration approval of the drug AZT. Though not a cure, it has been found to prolong life in some patients, though with serious side effects. But the outrageous price tag—some $10,000 a year for one individual!—is an obscenity. The vast majority of AIDS victims, disproportionately poor, black and Hispanic, can't afford treatment. Every potential remedy should be made available *free* to desperate AIDS victims!

As of March 30, the Centers for Disease Control report over 33,000 AIDS cases in the U.S., of whom *19,394* have already died. In big cities, hospitals are overflowing with sick and dying patients. AIDS continues to ravage both the gay community and intravenous drug users. Most painful is the projection that in New York in 1987 as many as 800 babies will be born infected with the AIDS virus—and 90 percent will be black or Hispanic.

After seven years of avoiding the question, Reagan finally forced his lips to utter the "A-word." On April 1 he gave a speech detailing his program to fight AIDS: "Just say no." Was this a loathsome April Fool's joke? No indeed. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, a vicious anti-abortion bigot, kicked off a months-long debate in the administration when he urged a public sex education campaign including the proper use of condoms. He was promptly denounced by anti-ERA crusader Phyllis Schlafly for promoting "safe sodomy," while Education Secretary William Bennett screamed that Koop was undermining morality among the nation's children. The White House gagged Koop pending a settlement of the dispute; education should stress no sex except in "a mutually faithful monogamous relationship" (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 January). Did they have Jim Bakker in mind?

The U.S. "health care" system with its medicine for profit is a market in death. The pharmaceutical giants eye potential profits, while insurance vultures deny coverage to those judged "bad risks" for AIDS. Burroughs Wellcome, AZT's manufacturer, retains complete control over the drug, while its stock soars. Further testing of AZT and other medications has been criminally sabotaged by drug company greed and willful government red tape. These bloodsucking corporations are a menace to public health: their "secret" formulas and research ought to be made public *now* to all scientists in every country. Expropriate the drug companies! Billions for AIDS research! ■

WV Photo

Spartacists support gay and women's rights, New York, June 1986.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 427 1 May 1987

Hispanics, Refugees Targeted

Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

In Hispanic barrios from East Los Angeles to Chicago's Pilsen to Long Island towns newly populated by Salvadoran refugees, in border cities all along the 2,000-mile frontier with Mexico, panic is spreading as the "Immigration Reform and Control Act" of 1986 goes into effect May 5. Although the "amnesty" provisions are first to be implemented, already employers have begun wholesale firing of "illegal aliens." Thousands of Central Americans fled to Canada early this year to escape expected deportation. The president of the Dominican Republic, the Mexican Congress and even U.S. puppet Duarte in El Salvador have pleaded with Washington to "go slow" on implementation. For as the United States and its southern neighbors are increasingly integrated economically with the influx of several *million* undocumented workers, shutting off the escape valve to *el norte* could produce a social explosion in the poverty-wracked Caribbean basin.

In the U.S., anti-immigrant hysteria is fueling racist attacks against Hispanics and Asians, foreign-born and American-born alike. On successive days last November, California voters approved a ballot referendum making English the official state language and President Reagan signed the Simpson-Rodino immigration bill, making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented foreign workers. Together this

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WV-Photo

Central American refugees from death squad terror imprisoned in concentration camp, El Centro, California.

South Africa

Black Rail Strikers Defy Apartheid Regime

With the social power to crush apartheid, the black fist of workers power broke through the draconian censorship last week, announcing to the world its courageous defiance of the savage South African police state. A six-week black railway workers strike in the financial capital of South Africa, Johannesburg, suddenly escalated into a major confrontation with the racist apartheid regime.

On April 21 the government sent thousands of heavily armed troops and police to patrol rail yards and stations, attempting to break the strike. The following day, cops with whips broke up a union meeting in the Johannesburg suburb of Germiston, killing one striker and seriously injuring another. A few hours later, police assaulted another group of strikers, killing five. But this time the strikers, armed with axes and clubs, fought back and the apartheid butchers took a few injuries for a change. The downtown Johannesburg headquarters of the black-centered labor federation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) was ransacked by cops who beat up the unionists and arrested 400. The killings occurred after South African Transport Services (SATS) announced the firing of 16,000 rail workers who defied a government back-to-work deadline.

New York Times

Railway strikers battle cops in Johannesburg, April 22.

But in the Transvaal industrial heartland of South Africa, black labor is uncowed. Thousands of Soweto residents are staying away from work in protest against the eviction of rent strikers and in solidarity with the rail strikers, as young activists set up roadblocks to turn back traffic out of the sprawling township that provides the muscle power for Johannesburg industries. Buses and taxis as well as trains have stopped running, and students have closed the high schools. Mail delivery in the black township of two million has stopped due to a strike of nearly 7,000 black postal workers which has also disrupted mail service in Johannesburg.

The *Los Angeles Times* (16 April) reported the white supremacist government was "apprehensive about a new wave of civil unrest that, this time, might involve workers rather than students." South African railways are strategic to the economy, equivalent to rail and trucking combined in the U.S., which is why, despite the draconian police-state repression, apartheid rulers hesitated before moving against the strikers, and why they are now cracking down with a vengeance. The South African black proletariat has the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery. What is desperately required to break those chains is a revolutionary proletarian leadership.

Those Who Labor Must Rule

The fact that thousands of black strikers on the railways were able to defy the bloody apartheid butchers for six weeks is testament to their growing strength and self-confidence. The strike began in mid-March at the City Deep rail station in Johannesburg after a

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Defense of FSP—Vital to the Workers Movement!

The Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) has been pushed to the wall in a lawsuit by a vindictive ex-member, Richard Snedigar, suing to take back a 1979 donation of $22,500. In December the Washington State Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of a lower court order that the FSP disclose their internal party minutes and other internal documents. On April 10, King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan ruled against the FSP, giving the case to Snedigar by default—punishing the FSP for its principled refusal to comply with this disclosure order. The FSP is now threatened with the seizure of its funds and party property by the state and the possible jailing of members!

Defense of the FSP is critically important to the workers movement and any defender of democratic rights. The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the FSP defense, and sent letters of protest on its behalf. At the April 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C. SL/PDC lit tables carried their petition to the Seattle court. Last week we sent the following statement to the court:

> "The default judgment against the Freedom Socialist Party in *Snedigar v. Hoddersen, et al.* for refusing to disclose internal organizational minutes and records vitiates First Amendment rights of freedom of association and speech. It is a dangerous attack on the right of voluntary groups to organize for every kind of non-commercial purpose by exposing such organizations to government intimidation and blacklisting. It establishes a precedent for disgruntled ex-members to paralyze the very existence of such organizations and submits their finances to government control. Particularly for civil rights, civil liberties, labor and left-wing political organizations and minority religious groups, the right of association has meaning only insofar as members can participate and financially contribute to their activities in confidentiality.
> "We urge you to reconsider your decision, vacate this default order and deny Snedigar's motion for disclosure of this constitutionally protected material."

We encourage all *WV* readers to send letters and telegrams to Judge Warren Chan, King County Superior Court, Third and James, Seattle, WA 98104.

* * *

Federal agents in Los Angeles rounded up seven Palestinians and a Kenyan on January 26. This represented the intersection of "terrorism" hysteria and anti-immigrant chauvinism. The victims—well-established businessmen, students and working people—were shackled hand and foot and charged under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating world communism." Along with the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and assisted by the ACLU, the eight have filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the "advocating world communism" exclusionary provision of this McCarthyite law.

After the case drew national attention and protest, on April 23 the Justice Department withdrew its charges of political subversion against five of the Palestinians and the Kenyan woman. Yet they had been jailed in solitary for two and a half weeks, and deportation proceedings are still being pressed against them for technical violations of their visa status. Khader Musa Hamide and Michel Shedhadeh are still being prosecuted under the McCarran-Walter Act and the government has said that additional charges will be filed against them.

The PDC has contributed to their defense and sent a telegram protesting this Gestapo-like seizure. We encourage all *WV* readers to also send protests to the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 425 Eye Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20536. Contributions can be sent to: Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

* * *

Seventeen Australian black Aboriginals are facing frame-up charges for their courageous struggle against racist terror. On January 9 in Goondiwindi, Queensland four notorious racist thugs beat a 19-year-old Aboriginal man for over an hour. Two Aboriginal elders were also beaten that night. After blacks taught a needed lesson to three of the punks the following day, the racist cops launched a dragnet "investigation." Seventeen Aboriginals turned themselves in to spare their community from a threatened cop invasion and violence, and now face charges of "riotous behavior." On April 6 the court ordered their extradition to the Goondiwindi racist enclave. The PDC sent a telegram to the Aboriginal Legal Services of Moree, New South Wales, with our message of solidarity: "World's workers must lead fight against racist and cop terror from Harlem to Soweto to Queensland."

Tweed/NY Times

Witchhunt, USA: Julie Nuangugi Mungal and husband Khader Musa Hamide face deportation.

* * *

The fight to defend workers and oppressed from the capitalists' wholesale attacks on democratic rights is urgent. We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Barcelona May Days

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War, the Stalinists justified their Popular Front alliance with the Republican bourgeoisie by claiming that first the war against Franco must be won, and later—i.e., never—for revolution. But bourgeois reaction can only be defeated through revolutionary class struggle. Revolutionary leadership was key. When the workers of Barcelona rose up in the heroic May Days of 1937 in defense of their conquests against the Popular Front's onslaught, they were treacherously disarmed by the anarchist CNT and centrist POUM leaders, who ordered them to leave the barricades. The resulting crushing of the workers of Catalonia by Stalinist-led Republican police spelled bloody defeat in the Civil War.

The masses of the whole country have had a gigantic experience. A long time ago, they lost the illusions of 1931, as well as the warmed-over illusions of the Popular Front. Again and again they have shown to every part of the country that they were ready to go through to the end. If the Catalan proletariat had seized power in May 1937—as it had really seized it in July 1936—they would have found support throughout all of Spain. The bourgeois-Stalinist reaction would not even have found two regiments with which to crush the Catalan workers. In the territory occupied by Franco not only the workers but also the peasants would have turned toward the Catalan proletariat, would have isolated the fascist army and brought about its irresistible disintegration. It is doubtful whether under these conditions any foreign government would have risked throwing its regiments onto the burning soil of Spain. Intervention would have become materially impossible, or at least extremely dangerous.

Naturally, in every insurrection, there is an element of uncertainty and risk. But the subsequent course of events has proven that even in the case of defeat the situation of the Spanish proletariat would have been incomparably more favorable than now, to say nothing of the fact that the revolutionary party would have assured its future.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Test of Ideas and Individuals Through the Spanish Experience" (August 1937)

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No. 427 **1 May 1987**

Letter

On the Forsyth March

The following letter was forwarded to us from a student at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The writer refers to the article, "Anger Over Racist Attacks Derailed in Georgia" in WV *No. 421, 6 February.*

Workers Vanguard printed that the marchers "were ordered to refrain even from singing old civil rights songs" (last sentence of the first paragraph). I was on the march and we sang all the way into Cumming, GA. Granted I was only in a very small section of the march, I did not hear anything about the marchers being refrained from singing. The only time anyone was asked not to say anything was while leaving Cumming, when NAACP marshals asked marchers not to respond to the heckles of the counter-demonstrators. This is basic non-violent demonstrating policy/strategy, not to respond in any way to those who attack you. So all the marshals were doing was carrying out the strategies of the organized group. I just think that it needs to be noted that people did sing in Forsyth County; I did the entire time.

WV replies: Thousands from around the country turned out for the Forsyth County "civil rights" march to express their anger over racist terror and racial segregation there. But the march's black Democratic Party organizers like Hosea Williams did everything within their power to keep it a hat-in-hand affair. We readily accept our reader's personal account of singing on the march. As we noted in our article, the march was much bigger than its organizers had either expected or wanted, so intent were they on tight control to the point even of hushing up civil rights songs. Thus one reporter for the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (25 January) described how, "At first the marchers were quiet. Soon a few of them were singing a chorus of the old civil rights hymn, 'Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round,' until several march leaders turned around and shushed them. They wanted no provocation coming from their side."

In the eyes of Williams & Co. anything is a "provocation" which could threaten their dream of winning a place in the sun for themselves by using the black masses as electoral pressure on the Dixiecrat/Democratic Party. The "black elected officials" channeled the outrage over the Klan attack on the previous week's "brotherhood march" into "nonviolent" reliance on the armed forces of this very violent and racist government. The Reagan/Meese Justice Department and FBI—up to their shoulder holsters in the murder of civil

continued on page 3

Anti-Smoking Witchhunt

A wave of "smokeout" moralism is sweeping the country, spearheaded by a new generation of clean-living Yuppies. Among the first areas to outlaw smokers were that bastion of Babbitt liberalism, Minnesota, and the beansprout totalitarians of Santa Barbara and Berkeley. In fact, these "young fogies" are running point for a section of the ruling class which has decided it can improve its profit-and-loss figures by tightening up on the workforce, all in the name of "health." In December, the Reagan administration ordered curbs on smoking in federal offices. And New York State's Public Health Authority issued a *diktat* (now tied up in legal challenges) supposed to take effect May 7 banning tobacco from just about every public place imaginable, as well as in workplaces.

The United States Army too has declared itself essentially a "smoke-free" environment—the same people who stockpile chemical weapons and whose nuclear holocaust plans can make the whole globe an irradiated smoke-enveloped piece of rubble. The whole campaign reeks of hypocrisy and cynicism: executives living high on prime rib and Cuban cigars (too richly subversive for the rest of us), their cocaine-and-champagne brokers and PR firms telling workers they'd better "live pure," increase productivity or get dumped.

Big Brother is already hard at work. Insurance companies are using a new urine test which can detect nicotine traces 24 to 36 hours later, secretly trapping people tempted to put "non-smoker" on their applications to get lower insurance rates. Most dangerous is Attorney General Meese's push for private industry to take its anti-drug "surveillance" into parking lots and taverns. Harking back to the days of the totalitarian "company town," USG Acoustical Products Co. announced its policy on tobacco: "If an employee smokes off the job, as well as on the job, or if they're smoking in a bar on Saturday night with friends, they might put their job in jeopardy" (*Chicago Tribune*, 25 January).

New York Times

Yuppie totalitarians—butt out! People have a right to smoke.

The name of the game is "Increasing Productivity Through On-Site Smoking Control," the title of an article in *Health Care Strategic Management* (April 1985), which points out that "A long-term rule of thumb is that approximately 92 nonsmokers can accomplish the same workload as 100 smokers." Another article quotes an economics professor as stating, "The average employed smoker in the US...has been estimated to waste 6 percent of his working hours to the smoking ritual" (*Military Medicine*, August 1986). USG (formerly U.S. Gypsum), which wants to fire "Saturday night smokers," is a defendant in thousands of lawsuits brought by workers who got lung disease or cancer from asbestos and other fibers the company uses in its products. And while airlines are cutting back on smoking sections, stewardesses at one airline complained recently that they were ordered to shut off a second air purifying system in the passenger cabins in order to save on fuel costs.

As for the "secondary smoke" hysteria, there's no conclusive medical evidence on its ill effects, though obviously good ventilation would help everybody. But putting scrubbers on company smokestacks, or building decent housing with air conditioning, won't help the bottom line—so the companies pollute the atmosphere like crazy and dump on the poor smoker. Adding insult to injury in this racist society, an academic research project is now studying (to the tune of $2.5 million) why blacks smoke more than whites and trying out ways to get them to stop. That's "social concern" for you in this rotten reactionary climate—millions of bucks to take away one of life's relatively inexpensive pleasures for those who enjoy taking a puff.

So smoking a lot isn't good for your health—but neither is too much liquor (or prime rib), and Prohibition only resulted in making the Kennedys and Mafia rich. People ought to be able to read, eat, drink and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without cops or yuppie power prudes sticking their noses in. We deeply resent "sin taxes," designed to make people who want a smoke or drink pay for the obscenities of this reactionary government (which still hasn't bothered to stop federal subsidies to the tobacco industry, economic bulwark of Jesse Helms and the Southern Moral Majority types). And we're for reopening trade with Cuba—as Fidel said, "If it isn't Cuban, it's not a cigar."

Karl Marx wrote in 1855 concerning English liquor laws: "The classical saints of Christianity mortified *their* body for the salvation of the souls of the masses; the modern, educated saints mortify *the bodies of the masses* for the salvation of their own souls" (from "Anti-Church Movement," June 1855). In a rational, socialist society the money this ruling class uses to prepare nuclear Armageddon would be used to find cures for cancer and other diseases, making those pleasures people indulge in somewhat more risk-free. Meanwhile, we say "butt out" to these totalitarian snoops. In the words of the immortal Billie Holiday regarding all sorts of private, personal choices, "Ain't nobody's business if I do."■

Julian Bond Defies Drug Witchhunters

ATLANTA—This city's black political establishment has been thrown into turmoil by the latest installment of Reagan's anti-drug hysteria. Former Georgia state senator and SNCC activist, Julian Bond, now head of the Atlanta NAACP, found himself in the cross hairs of the Meese police and their local surrogates. Bond has long been a thorn in the side of the white racist rulers and an outsider within the black Democratic establishment. In 1966 he was barred from his elected seat in the state legislature for his opposition to the Vietnam War. Last year he earned the ire of the Dixie cup brigade when he denounced drug testing as "demagoguery" and "McCarthyism" in response to a bait by his victorious opponent John Lewis during a bitter Congressional race in Atlanta's fifth district. Julian Bond has been the only prominent black politician to come out against the drug witchhunt. And now he has been made a victim of that witchhunt in a vicious nasty racist smear job which targets all of us.

The "liberal" *Atlanta Constitution* spearheaded the vendetta against Bond when it published "leaked" allegations made by his estranged wife—which she retracted in a phone call to the paper *before* publication—that Bond and a number of other black Democratic politicians in Atlanta, including Mayor Andrew Young, were "cocaine abusers." Alice Bond told the *Constitution* she had made the totally unsubstantiated charges while "emotionally distraught"—indeed, the night after a personal brawl with a woman friend of Bond's. The police captain in charge of the all-white "investigative" team (all quickly transferred to other assignments) confessed that her information "wasn't good enough to go after any of them," and "was more rumor than anything." But the campaign of scurrilous personal vilification against Bond continues unabated, with the FBI and a federal grand jury now drawn in as well.

AP

Julian Bond

In a 14 April press statement Bond lashed out at the Moral Majoritarians who sought to pry into his personal life, declaring it was "not the business of those professional scavengers and rumor mongers who have made life hell for innocent people." While denying that he has ever touched cocaine, he vowed: "As long as I live, I'll never take a drug test. I think it's an invasion of my privacy."

But while decrying "McCarthyism," under the gun Bond threatened to fink to the grand jury and "name names" about alleged drug use by reporters on the *Journal Constitution*, which has been crucifying him. Meanwhile, a host of Bond's fellow black Democrats added their fuel to the fire. Black city councilman Hosea Williams urged Bond to "come forward and deal with it as President Gerald Ford and Mrs. Ford dealt with her alcoholism." Even as Bond was being pilloried by the racist press, Williams was leading a handful of black schoolchildren through the streets of Atlanta on his own anti-drug crusade, while dismissing the threat of racist terror exemplified by the Klan assault on Williams' own march in Forsyth County: "In relationship to what drugs are doing to us, Forsyth County is just a pebble on the beach"!

The furor over Bond has already led to demands that the overwhelmingly black municipal workforce and all prospective city employees be subjected to mandatory drug tests. And the white head of the Atlanta police "union" has now demanded that the entire predominantly black city administration undergo drug tests. The sinister forces at work here have begun to alarm even the black front men for Reagan's drug witchhunt. On April 24, Williams and fellow anti-drug campaigner Dick Gregory were arrested in a protest denouncing the "witchhunt...to defame and destroy black leadership not only in Atlanta but throughout America." To be sure, the Reagan gang are rubbing their hands with glee at the spectacle of a discredited black Democratic political establishment in the city scheduled to host the 1988 Democratic convention. Reagan/Meese got them over a barrel because, from Jesse Jackson to local pols like Williams and Lewis, they've tried to out-Reagan Reagan in the drug witchhunt.

The government's anti-drug hysteria is part of the bipartisan drive to regiment the population for war (while the contra killers are the biggest drug traffickers on the continent). Julian Bond has been singled out because he rankles the racist rulers. He has been a leading figure in the Montgomery-based "Klanwatch"/Southern Poverty Law Center, which has been repeatedly bombed, and burned down by the Klan in 1983. At the same time, Bond's bourgeois liberal politics lead him to the suicidal policy of demanding "free speech" for these fascist killers! We say: No platform for racist terror—the KKK/Nazis must be crushed through mass labor/black mobilizations! Hands off Julian Bond! Smash the drug witchhunt!■

Letter...

(continued from page 2)

rights activists, from Viola Liuzzo to the Greensboro Five—were looked to as the protectors of black rights in Forsyth County! So far the only person charged over the Forsyth march was a black marcher arrested for carrying a gun for self-protection in case of racist attack! And the Klan felt sufficiently emboldened in the aftermath to stage more racist provocations including cross-burnings on the very outskirts of Atlanta.

There is a widespread desire to challenge and defeat the escalating racist terror in Reagan's America, as the turnout on January 24 showed. The genocidal program of the KKK was expressed in a banner they carried that day at Cumming: "Kill 'em all. Let God sort them out." It's going to take more than prayers and songs to smash this scum. "Nonviolent strategy" is and always has been a dead end for black struggle, preaching reliance on the "good will" of the racist oppressor. To *smash* racist terror means bringing out black and labor power, as in the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilization which stopped the threatened Klan march in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. But that requires a break with the Democratic front men for Reagan reaction and the fight for a workers party committed to black liberation through socialist revolution.■

Bay Area Shipyard Showdown

Bureaucrats Isolate Todd Strikers

ILWU Action Is Key

SAN FRANCISCO, April 23—Striking shipyard workers suffered a serious setback last week as strikers were forced back to work at Service Engineering and Continental Maritime, the second and third largest of six struck shipyards. This piecemeal strategy of separate settlements—with which the bosses broke the 1983 shipyard strike—is being used by the labor misleaders to isolate the largest yard, Todd, and bring this militant four-week strike to defeat. The metal trades union tops have had to *drive* the strikers back to work, and not without a lot of trouble. The shipyard walkout was originally sparked at Todd shipyards by a one-day Bay Area ports shutdown by ILWU longshoremen in support of the striking Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), and immediately spread to five other shipyards. Class struggle scares the hell out of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—what shipyard workers need is a *leadership that can win*. Now more than ever, a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike is needed to launch a labor counteroffensive against years of concessions and givebacks.

The union tops' Metal Trades Council—who have opposed this strike from the beginning—unanimously endorsed a sellout deal hailing a 15-cent raise as a "victory." After a seven-year wage freeze, 15 cents is worse than an insult! And the truth is the contract is a deep *pay cut*, as it eliminates travel time and shift differential, caps the cost-of-living adjustment, and institutes a two-tier wage scale with new-hires ("trainees") getting only 60 percent of the journey rate in their first year! Meanwhile, Todd workers are still out, facing a whopping wage cut that will leave journeymen and laborers making $9 to $12 per hour. Strikers erupted in anger over this stinking betrayal. The only one selling this besides the Council is the reformist Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (21 April), which applauded it as a "breakthrough settlement."

Conspiring with the bosses to get this rotten deal was one thing; getting it by the membership was another story. The union hacks rammed through the settlement at Service Engineering on a close vote on April 14 and got them back to work the next day. Voting for the Continental contract started on Wednesday, April 15, and was supposed to be extended for a day as strikers' anger started to boil. Instead, the bureaucrats cut off the vote and declared the sellout ratified. Then all hell broke loose.

Pipefitters Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

When Continental workers reported to Pier 50 Friday morning they found an angry Pipefitters picket line blocking the entrance, with hand-lettered protests against the union tops on the back of their official union signs. Laborers union B.A. Michael Hanrahan read a Metal Trades Council statement saying the strike was over. He jumped into a pickup truck and tried to break the line. Furious pickets swarmed the truck while Hanrahan and Pipefitters business manager Joe Mazzola traded punches. Hanrahan was chased off and the pickup backed away. None of the Continental workers followed Hanrahan's attempt to cross the line. The yard stayed shut down through the weekend.

WV Photo

San Francisco, March 31: Walkout at Todd defied bureaucrats, spread to six other Bay Area shipyards.

On Monday, April 20, the treacherous Metal Trades Council bureaucrats used a police escort to try to break the line. Carpenters official Rick Anderson, the flag-waving lover of Reagan's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność, who had earlier unsuccessfully attempted to lead some of his pals across picket lines, was across the street huddling with company officials and the police. There were 300 Continental workers at the gate, with about 40 Pipefitters again picketing. "Screwed by Our Unions" was scrawled on one sign. Across the street were two dozen cops, many in riot gear.

At 7:00 a.m., starting time, a company bus pulled out of the gate and rolled up to the cops. Two alert pickets quickly blocked the doors. Despite Anderson's urging, not one worker boarded the bus.

The scab driver pulled the bus closer to the cops; again not a single worker moved. A striker shouted on the bullhorn: "If this contract passed, how come nobody got on the bus?" The bus left empty and the cops marched away. The Pipefitters line had held another day.

Later, Cliff Schellin, a Pipefitters official, threatened strikers with an injunction: you'll "probably have to go back to work tomorrow." The fitters were furious, stating that it was only their anger that forced Mazzola's hand. Strikers yelled out that Service Engineering—and the entire coast—should be shut down. The heat got too much for the piecard Schellin, who retreated to his car whining, "Hey fellas, what can I do? I'm just a flunkey."

That afternoon International Plumbers and Pipefitters president Marvin Boede delivered the final stab in the back in the form of a telegram from Washington, D.C. ordering Local 38 "to immediately remove your pickets and return your members to work by Tuesday morning, April twenty-first." In the dead of the night union officials dragged themselves out of bed to take down the graveyard shift picket line. The next morning bureaucrats worked the phones and passed out copies of the strikebreaking telegram at the gate. The Continental workers had no leaders who would stand up to the International and went to work in grim silence.

Crisis of Leadership

The shipyard workers have fought hard, but throughout this strike they have been leaderless. Virtually the only time anyone has seen union officials on the picket line is when they are trying to *cross it or break it!* The United Shipyard Workers (USW), a collection of burned-out ex-"radicals," *never* challenged the bureaucracy's strikebreaking. Instead, all they served up were rallies with hot air speeches intended to pressure the labor traitors for "a little bit more." This while the bureaucrats were knifing the strike in the back!

On Monday, April 20, when the bureaucrats and cops tried to break the picket line at Continental, the USW was nowhere to be seen. When the bureaucrats forced the workers back the next day, the USW passed out a pathetic leaflet which only complained that the traitors didn't hold an "adequate democratic discussion." What the strikers need is not cover-your-ass excuses, but class struggle to beat the maritime bosses. And they won't get it from the USW.

All of these in-bureaucrats, out-bureaucrats and would-be-bureaucrats betrayed the militant strikers. The first rule of the class struggle is to tell the truth. Who are our enemies, who are our friends? The union tops are knifing the shipyard workers in the back for the same reason they bow to strikebreaking injunctions and round up workers like voting cattle for the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party: the bureaucrats are there to police the unions for decaying capitalism.

Throughout the strike, the Spartacist League has put forward a program of militant class struggle. Over 5,000 copies of our 31 March leaflet were distributed and well received all over the waterfront. It said what was needed to win:

> "The maritime unions must shut the waterfront down tight to win the IBU strike, back off the maritime bosses who have targeted the ILWU when its contract expires June 30 and win the shipyard workers strike! What is going on in the Bay Area is a real test of strength between labor and the bosses that the workers can win in mass, militant struggle!"

Despite redbaiting orchestrated by the bureaucracy, over 600 copies of *Workers Vanguard* on the strike have been sold to strikers, longshoremen and other maritime workers on the West Coast.

The union bureaucrats on the Metal Trades Council may have dealt the shipyard strike a mortal blow by their treachery, isolating the hundreds of workers at Todd along with several smaller yards. From the beginning of this strike we have insisted that it was urgent to combine the social weight of the IBU, the ILWU and the shipyard workers as well as linking up with related transport workers. Instead all the union tops—from Walter Johnson of the Central Labor Council to Jimmy Herman of the ILWU—have conspired to keep these potential allies separate, threatening all the unions. If the shipyard workers strike is defeated, it will embolden Crowley against the IBU strikers and the Pacific Maritime Association bosses when the ILWU contract expires in June.

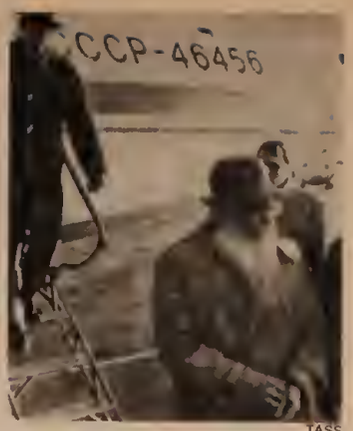
Shipyard, maritime and aerospace workers from Vancouver, Canada to Los Angeles know they have a stake in the Bay Area strikes. On April 10 at Ferndale, Washington, 150 Mobil Oil refinery workers stood fast for eight hours and prevented the unloading of a barge scabbing on the IBU strike. When the ILWU/IBU shut down the ports for *one day* in March, the bosses' press raised the spectre of the 1934 general strike, which had cracked the open shop in the Bay Area. If labor tears up the bosses' rules and starts playing hardball, workers and minorities can avenge the cutbacks and givebacks. In particular, the strategic "defense" industry workers can strike a blow against the war on blacks and labor *and* the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which fuels the attacks at home. But that means a battle against the labor traitors, their reformist hangers-on and the Democratic Party. Above all it requires forging a racially integrated, revolutionary workers party dedicated to the construction of a workers government. ■

WV Photos

April 20: Militant Pipefitters picket holds the line against union tops' scab-herding attempt.

Meese Fails to Keep War Criminal from Soviet Justice

Nazi Butcher Linnas and the White House



TASS

Estonian death camp commandant Karl Linnas in Soviet custody at Tallinn airport.

There was Ed Meese, head of Reagan's "Justice" Department, caught by the cameras of ABC's *Nightline* skulking around the corridors of Washington trying to strong-arm some U.S. client state into taking Estonian Nazi collaborator and mass murderer Karl Linnas. The Soviet Union had sentenced Linnas to death in 1962 for commanding the concentration camp in Tartu, Estonia where 12,000 were slaughtered, including 2,000 Jews. Even though 12 U.S. courts over eight years of protracted review had found the evidence against this admitted death camp commandant "overwhelming," the anti-Communist fanatics in Washington went all-out trying to prevent Linnas being turned over to the USSR. As the clock ran out, while World Jewish Congress officials were home celebrating Passover, Meese tried to sneak Linnas into Panama. But even the Panamanian generals wouldn't accept him, and on April 20 the Supreme Court upheld the deportation order. That night Karl Linnas was bundled aboard a Czech airliner.

Most of those executed at Tartu were Estonian Communists, and for the Reaganites that's no crime. In fact, for Reagan's former propaganda chief Pat Buchanan, Linnas and other "*accused* war criminals" are just "innocent Americans" facing "irreparable injury and death" due to "revenge-obsessed Nazi hunters" (*New York Times*, 7 April). But Soviet witnesses testified that Linnas ordered women and children brought to the edge of a ditch and forced to kneel before their executioners. At times he "personally finished the survivors with a pistol shot." For the White House, such sadistic torturers are "freedom fighters," like the Nicaraguan contras whose techniques are so chillingly similar. But now the "butcher of Tartu" is in the hands of Soviet justice. Soviet authorities now say the Linnas case will be reviewed, and possibly a new trial held. For our part, we wouldn't have been unhappy if a firing squad were waiting for this mass murderer as he stepped off the plane in Tallinn.

AP

Pat Oliphant

Bitburg, May 1985: Reagan lays wreath at SS graves. Bitburg II: Meese and Buchanan's crusade for Nazi Linnas.

In many ways the Linnas case was Bitburg II. In May 1985, Reagan "commemorated" World War II by laying a wreath before the graves of members of the Waffen SS "Das Reich" division in the military cemetery at Bitburg, West Germany. This same elite Nazi unit in 1941 carried out the execution of 920 Jews near Minsk, in Soviet Byelorussia. Many denounced the administration's "insensitivity" toward the victims of the Nazi Holocaust, but Bitburg was no accidental blunder. For Reagan & Co., the U.S. was on the *wrong side* in World War II, and they wanted an act of "reconciliation" with the former enemy as part of preparations for World War III against the Soviet Union. The Reaganauts certainly have no qualms about SS methods. Shortly after Reagan returned from Bitburg, *Einsatzgruppen* of the Philadelphia police under the orders of Wilson Goode, local black collaborator of the *Führer* in the White House, carried out their "final solution" for the black MOVE commune.

For decades, Washington has harbored Nazi war criminals *en masse*. Some 10,000 of these Hitlerite killers were imported into the United States following the end of World War II, according to Alan Ryan, former chief of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), who prepared the case against Linnas. Another 40,000 were shipped to Latin America—such as Klaus Barbie, the butcher of Lyon—and over 3,000 reside in Canada to this day. They were brought in through deliberate government policy, for use in the anti-Soviet Cold War. Barbie's "expertise" was invaluable in tracking West European Communists; the West German spy network was built on the Gehlen organization, formerly the directorate for "Foreign Armies East" of Hitler's Abwehr; and the U.S. rocket program was based on Nazi scientists such as Wernher von Braun, who designed and built the German V-2 missile with slave labor.

In 1979, due to the efforts of former Congresswoman (now Brooklyn D.A.) Liz Holtzman and to give credence to Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the OSI was set up as a Nazi-hunting unit in the Justice Department. But though it developed some 600-plus dossiers on known war criminals in the U.S., to date the government has proceeded against less than 50, and only a dozen or so have been forced out of the country. Meese has systematically tried to protect Nazis from deportation to Soviet-bloc workers states, and got Israel to reluctantly accept John Demjanjuk, the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of the Treblinka death camp in Poland where a million Jews were slaughtered. Buchanan, however, considers the deportation of Demjanjuk to Israel an "official lynching." As Menachem Rosensaft, leader of an organization of children of Holocaust survivors, wrote, "Mr. Buchanan... is the ideological heir of those Americans who never forgave President Franklin D. Roosevelt for not allowing the Third Reich to be victorious over the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 21 April).

In one of his final acts before resigning as the Goebbels of the White House, Pat Buchanan launched a last-ditch crusade to keep Karl Linnas from Soviet justice, publishing a diatribe alleging Russian "forged documents" and hurling anti-Semitic slurs against Nazi-hunters. Eli Rosenbaum, general counsel of the World Jewish Congress, replied categorically, "Not once in 40 years has anyone proved a case of Soviet forgery or perjury by a Soviet-supplied witness" (*Time*, 20 April). Linnas himself *admitted* he was in charge of Tartu camp guards, as quoted in the *New York Times* and *Newsday* as early as 1963. In revoking Linnas' citizenship in 1981, a federal district judge said the evidence "overwhelmingly supported" the government's case. And an appeals court that upheld the deportation order last May noted, "The irony of Karl Linnas objecting to execution without due process is not lost on this court."

The anti-Soviet unholy alliance to "save" Nazi collaborator and death camp butcher Linnas stretches from Buchanan, Meese and ultrarightist William F. Buckley to Linnas' chief counsel Ramsey Clark, who screamed about Linnas becoming the object of a Soviet "show trial." (Today a liberal darling, as LBJ's attorney general Clark authorized the bloody repression at the '68 Chicago Democratic convention and the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO campaign against black radicals.) As over the Waldheim affair, the World Jewish Congress has been notable in trying to bring Nazi scum to justice, while most Zionist groups have turned a blind eye toward fascist war criminals in the interests of the anti-Soviet war drive. And the CIA "captive nations" cesspool won support in Washington with the argument that Linnas should not be handed over to the USSR because he was an Estonian nationalist fighting Communism, and the U.S. has refused to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union.

Estonia was part of the Russian Empire until the Bolshevik Revolution recognized the right of self-determination of all the oppressed nations in the tsarist prison house of peoples. The Estonian bourgeois republic was set up by the German Kaiser's army, and reborn under the protection of British naval guns in the Russian civil war as 14 imperialist armies besieged the Bolshevik Revolution. And "independent Estonia" was no land of liberty: the

continued on page 12

Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Hitler's Nazis slaughtered millions. Linnas made women and children kneel before their executioners.

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Sri Lanka

State Terror, Bloody Communalism

LONDON, April 28—In the last two weeks, Sri Lanka has been wracked by communalist bloodletting and government terror on a scale not seen for two years. In a series of indiscriminate terrorist attacks, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, hundreds of people were killed in the east and the southern capital city of Colombo. These attacks increased the pressure of ultra-chauvinist Sinhalese forces on the right-wing United National Party (UNP) regime of J.R. Jayewardene, which unleashed bombing raids in the northern Jaffna Peninsula aimed at demolishing Tamil guerrilla bases, which are in heavily populated areas. Groups monitoring the north have reported heavy civilian casualties.

The wave of killings began during a holiday week when many people were travelling to visit relatives. On April 17, in the northeastern Trincomalee district, men in military dress stopped three buses and two lorries [trucks]. Reportedly, after freeing the Tamils and Muslims, they simply massacred as many of the remainder as they could, including children. Using machine guns and grenades they killed 127 people, overwhelmingly civilians, though some 30 off-duty servicemen were among them.

Four days later a powerful bomb blew up at the main bus station in the heart of Colombo during the evening rush hour, killing over 100 people and wounding hundreds more. The station is adjacent to the Pettah market area, where burned out buildings from some of the worst anti-Tamil attacks of 1983 still stand, and is the central transit point for workers and peasants travelling into the countryside, as well as civil service employees going home to the suburbs.

Reuters Photos

Rescue workers sift through wreckage of bus station after bomb killed and wounded hundreds in Pettah area, Colombo (left); Sinhalese father with his dead baby daughter after massacre in the northeast.

Lanka Spartacist

UNP-instigated mobs torched Tamil shops in Colombo, July 1983.

Colombo teetered on the brink of a mass anti-Tamil pogrom. In the Pettah, crowds of Sinhalese chauvinists attacked Tamils and tried to loot Tamil shops but were stopped by police firing tear gas. In Welikade prison, scene of the notorious massacre of Tamil political prisoners in July 1983, Sinhalese prisoners tried to break into the areas holding Tamil detainees. But the government is terrified of an Indian invasion as well as of the tremendous economic dislocation of uncontrolled communalist bloodletting. Unlike 1983 when the army and police permitted and indeed joined in the killings of hundreds of Tamils, this time the government tried to hold the line against massive pogroms, while promising the enraged Sinhalese chauvinists that the government would keep order in the south and retaliate militarily against Tamil strongholds in the north. Perhaps recalling the partition of India, when trains carrying Muslim and Hindu refugees were stopped and trainloads of passengers massacred by opposing communalists, the army boarded a train carrying Tamils back from New Year holidays in the north and gave it a military escort. A curfew was slapped on Colombo for five days while helicopters with searchlights patrolled above the city.

The Jayewardene government remains uneasily poised atop a seething cauldron of communalist hatreds and fears. While Sinhalese-chauvinist "hard-liners" howl for an unrestrained "military solution," the J.R. regime is not unaware of the power politics of the region. Sri Lanka is a tiny island of 16 million people which could be easily swatted by its giant neighbour to the north. India, with a population of 770 million, will risk massive unrest in the state of Tamil Nadu, where 50 million Tamils live, if it does not prevent the destruction of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

According to the *New York Times* (26 April), the Lankan government explains the recent massacres of Sinhalese civilians as a deliberate attempt by Tamil guerrillas "to provoke a violent backlash" by Sinhalese communalists against Tamils which in turn will force the Indian government to act. The Indian High Commissioner in Lanka, J.N. Dixit, was called to the Foreign Ministry to receive a demand that the Rajiv Gandhi government should hand over guerrillas who have taken refuge in India. "But however outspoken Sri Lankan leaders are in condemning India," the *Times* observed, "officials here [in Colombo] say they know the odds are against them."

A recent statement by Lanka's sinister "National Security" minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, seemed also to signal awareness of the India factor. "Up to now we have had the power, but we did not want to kill civilians. After all, they are our own people," said Athulathmudali (*New York Times*, 23 April). The government's conduct has amply shown that it considers the island to be solely the property of the Sinhalese Buddhist majority; it's the spectre of Lanka's Indian "big brother" that prompts these hypocritical protestations of family feeling.

If the Indian rulers think that the situation is getting out of hand, they could be forced to intervene. They don't like the presence in Lanka of advisers from what Lankan premier Premadasa calls the "loyal ally" Pakistan. (India and Pakistan were again on the brink of war earlier this year.) And the Indian government, which is diplomatically aligned with the Soviet Union and sees the region as its own sphere of influence, opposes U.S. imperialism's appetites toward strategic Trincomalee harbour. Nor does India like the increasingly frequent U.S. Navy visits to Colombo (which earlier this year reportedly led to a hushed-up "incident" between U.S. warships and a Soviet merchant ship in Colombo port). But Gandhi will bring no progressive solution to Lanka as some Tamil nationalists claim. Capitalist India is itself a prison house of peoples from the Sikhs to the untouchables. Last year the Indian government showed what it would do to anyone they consider out of line by detaining Sri Lankan Tamil guerrilla leaders in Madras and seizing their arms and supplies.

WV Graphic

Dual Power and State Terror in the North

The anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 instigated by elements within Jayewardene's ruling UNP forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and India. The de facto partition of Lanka was reinforced by increased administrative state power in the north by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the concomitant isolation of the government forces. This unstable, dual power situation has led to constant war conditions in the north. Repeated artillery and aerial bombing in Jaffna, where the army has been holed up in a few bases, has killed hundreds. Schools and the main hospital have been targets. Jaffna district under virtual "Tiger" control has been subjected to a brutal blockade—rail, phone and fuel have been cut off for months. Lack of fuel has not just halted transport but stilled the irrigation pumps vital to agriculture. Even firewood supplies have been stopped.

In the Eastern Province, policies of Sinhalese colonisation have aimed at driving out the Tamils, especially from the area of Trincomalee harbour. The Trincomalee district has been the stomping ground of the notorious Special Task Force police commandos, trained by "ex"-SAS mercenaries from Keany Meany Services (KMS—which is also assisting the contras in Nicaragua). A British cabinet minister, David Waddington, who was in Sri Lanka at the time of the attacks, officially admitted the presence of the KMS mercenaries. Waddington, the minister who has spearheaded the British Tory government's drive to deny political refugee status to Tamils, blandly admitted that life was "very unpleasant" in Lanka for Tamils but hastened to deny that they are "conventional refugees." Thatcher stands by her butchers, and J.R.'s other friends, the U.S. imperialists, want the Trincomalee port as a base for their anti-Soviet war drive.

Negotiations and truces have been followed by renewed massacres, with the government using "cease-fires" to build up its armed forces and to try to consolidate its hold in the east. Despite occasional flurries of Indian-brokered negotiating proposals, at the beginning of this year the government hardened its drive toward a military solution in the

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Spain

Workers Strike Against "Socialist" González

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

Ricardo Gutiérrez

Alegre/Interviu

Madrid: Mass rally of public sector workers protests government austerity and layoffs (left). Hated Guardia Civil called in to break steel workers' plant occupation in Reinosa.

APRIL 20—For the past three months, the Spanish government of "Socialist" premier Felipe González has been rocked by the largest wave of militant social struggle seen in Spain since the mass strikes that followed the death of hated despot Franco in 1975. From January through March, there were more than 250 demonstrations in Madrid; in April there was strike action virtually every day, totaling over a million workers. In 1982 González' Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) came to power on a vague program of "change"; it was returned in 1986 under the smug slogan, Spain is "on the right track." But now it is reaping a whirlwind of popular protest against four years of strikebreaking and job-slashing austerity, brutal repression of the Basque minority, and "integration" of Spain into NATO Europe and the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union.

Inspired by students' and workers' struggles on the other side of the Pyrenees in France, in February schools all over Spain were shut down as a quarter-million high school students boycotted their classes. They took to the streets demanding free secondary education, state-financed stipends and an end to restricted admissions to higher education, with its elitist discrimination against working-class youth. The youthful protests were met by violent police repression, turning into street battles that vividly recalled the last years of *El Caudillo* Franco. Again as in France, the students' example found a wider echo: teachers struck, doctors and health workers protested hospital conditions, agricultural laborers from the impoverished southern regions of Extremadura and Andalucía marched. Newspapers began publishing weekly schedules of planned protests.

Now the big battalions of the Spanish proletariat have entered the fray, with strikes and occupations in construction, auto, steel, docks, airlines, railways and Madrid subways protesting layoffs and the government-imposed 5 percent wage ceiling. Transport walkouts at the beginning and end of Easter vacation week snarled traffic throughout the peninsula. A general strike was called, and then called off for fear it would be too explosive. Even the slavishly pro-government UGT (General Workers Union) headed by PSOE deputy Nicolás Redondo has rejected González' wage restraints and joined the strikes. In recent union elections the UGT lost out badly to the Communist Party-led Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.) which has adopted a more radical anti-government posture.

Cambio 16

Spain's "Socialist" premier Felipe González in anti-Soviet NATO alliance with Reagan.

Working-class militancy threatens to escape the control of the labor bureaucrats altogether. In the northern Cantabria town of Reinosa, angry steel workers occupied their state-controlled mill in response to planned layoffs, taking the director hostage for good measure. Guardia Civil police attempting to end the occupation ran out of rubber bullets and were disarmed by strikers, who frog-marched them out of town. (A judge is trying to recover a missing submachine gun.) The "Socialist" government responded by bringing in 1,000 of the hated Civil Guards, including an "anti-terrorist" unit from the Basque country, helicopters and a dozen police tanks. In recent days there have been repeated pitched battles with the Guardia as workers try to cut the rail line to Madrid with flaming barricades. The PSOE mayor quit in the face of popular repudiation.

González came to office promising 800,000 new jobs. But joining the Common Market has meant wholesale "reconversion" (destruction) of decrepit Spanish industry so that today unemployment is more than 21 percent of the workforce (over three million jobless), the highest in West Europe. And Spanish workers are fed up. The Madrid bourgeoisie had nightmares when thousands of Asturian miners from the state-owned Hunosa pits marched on the industry ministry in Madrid, protesting plans to ax 6,000 jobs. Among their chants were, "We must prepare the general strike," and "This is how the '34 Revolution started" (*Cambio 16*, 23 March). The Asturias miners' insurrection of 1934, with its popular battle cry "U.H.P." (for "proletarian brothers unite"), was smashed by Franco, leading to the jailing of 40,000 workers; it was the precursor of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39.

The PSOE's October 1982 landslide election victory was greeted by West European social democrats as proof that Spain had completed the transition to "democracy" and was ready to play a more assertive role in imperialist Europe. González has been the Second International's point man for "democratic counterrevolution" in Central America. By engineering Spain's entry into NATO, he secured U.S. bases established under the Franco dictatorship which are strategic in the anti-Soviet war drive. But despite "Felipe's" personal popularity and cynical referendum ploys, the Spanish working masses continue their protests. What is grievously lacking is a revolutionary vanguard to lead this opposition to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance and its adjunct the Common Market, and to González' anti-working-class economic policies.

Popular Front Against the People

The international press has concentrated on the campus protests and the violent clashes between student demonstrators and the police. Indeed, the armed thugs of the Policía Nacional were soon dishing out some of the brutal treatment received daily by the Basque people in the north: the color of the uniform may have changed but it's still the same old Francoist Gestapo. Students valiantly defended their demonstrations from the cop assaults, and in Madrid a group of fascist provocateurs was given a well-deserved lesson by student marshals. When police shot and seriously wounded a 14-year-old schoolgirl, outraged protesters demanded the resignation of PSOE interior minister José Barrionuevo—the loathsome former leader of the Francoist student "union."

Fresh in the minds of demonstrators and government alike were the events in France where student militants, backed by the threat of massive working-class mobilization, faced down the government of rightist premier Chirac and social-democratic president Mitterrand to win major concessions. Fearful of a social explosion, the Spanish government acceded to a number of the student demands—free secondary education and more scholarships—though education minister Maravall is adamant that open admissions to universities is out of the question. The student leaders, some associated with Nueva Claridad (linked to Ted Grant's Militant tendency, a dissident wing of the British Labour Party), called off the boycott. But the government faces a further round of protest as university students begin campus occupations.

Underlying the present round of student unrest in Europe is the desperation and anger of a generation abandoned by the reformist leaderships of the traditional workers parties—social-democratic and Stalinist—and condemned by decaying capitalism to the misery of unemployment. (Half of Spanish youth are without work.) Meanwhile, massive joblessness is used to sell the PSOE's disgusting racist *ley de extranjería* (aliens bill), intended to end immigration from outside the Common Market. Thousands of "undocumented aliens"—mainly black Africans, Arabs and Portuguese Gypsies—were rounded up in police dragnets and held in concentration

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New York City, 30 April 1982: Spartacist League protests vicious racist INS raids.

Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!

(continued from page 1)

represented official sanction for the racist backlash building against the rapidly growing Hispanic population. But they've tried to sell it by purporting to legalize the "illegals," providing the hope of residency and eventually citizenship for some of those who've already made it into the USA. The result is turning out to be a nightmare of bureaucratic arbitrariness, which the government is absolutely unprepared for. Even the Irish are complaining as the hopes for leaving impoverished rural Ireland are cut off. Millions of people are now being subjected to an irrational, Kafkaesque process that is ripping up their lives.

Reagan has tried to sell his Central America war policies by waving the bogey of brown-skinned hordes surging up from the south, alternately described as a "tidal wave of refugees from Communism" or as the Communist menace itself. And just as the war on ghetto blacks emanating from the White House has sparked lynch mobs from New York City to Georgia, the calls from Washington to "control our borders" have led to murderous attacks on Hispanics. Last July 4, as the U.S. was hypocritically celebrating 100 years of the Statue of Liberty, the domestic "contras" of the Civilian-Material Assistance organized a KKK-style vigilante squad along the Arizona border, kidnapping 16 Mexican workers at machine gun point.

It's not just xenophobia in the boondocks or nativist fascists in their white robes and camouflage gear. The racist coalition trying to slam the "golden door" particularly on Hispanic and black Caribbean immigrants runs from the Reagan administration and their fascist friends to Democratic liberals and the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. In fact, the liberals were key to getting the "reform" bill passed: Simpson is a Reaganite right-winger sensitive to Western growers who are only interested in a steady supply of farm labor; it was only when New Jersey Democrat Rodino went in on the deal, "liberalizing" the limited "amnesty" provisions, that they got the necessary votes. And the job-trusting labor fakers are among the worst of this racist lot. In addition to provoking trade war against Japan with "Buy American" protectionism, and vituperating against "exporting American jobs" to Mexico, the *AFL-CIO News* (18 October 1986) cheered that Simpson-Rodino "includes key labor goals"—like "employer sanctions" on hiring undocumented workers.

All the talk of "illegal aliens" supposedly "stealing American jobs" is hogwash. "Illegals" overwhelmingly work in the lowest-paid, dirtiest, backbreaking work no one else will do: stoop labor in the fields, kitchen work in restaurants, sweatshop industries and household maids. Nor do they "sponge" off social services: on the contrary, they pay income, Social Security and sales taxes like everyone else, while they *underutilize* services for fear of getting nabbed. And the "English only" baloney has nothing to do with teaching immigrants the language of the land; on the contrary, it's a racist ploy to victimize the foreign-born, depriving them of every right. But these nativist appeals are having an effect, including among blacks, who are segregated at the bottom of American society and feel their precarious livelihoods threatened by the latest wave of low-wage immigrant labor.

For the American ruling class, the drive to "control the borders" is a response to the economic crisis of U.S. capitalism and part of *preparations for war*. It was revealed last year that in April 1984 Reagan issued National Security Decision Directive 52, authorizing a nationwide "readiness exercise," REX 84, by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, to test its ability to put *400,000* undocumented Hispanic immigrants in concentration camps in the event of direct U.S. military operations in Central America. The Reaganites' nightmares of a "wetback communist" invasion are the fantasies of anti-Communist crazies—but that's who's running the country. However, the upsurge in Hispanic immigration directly connects the class struggle on both sides of the border. Among the hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees fleeing death squad terror and the several million Mexican workers trying to escape grinding poverty, there are many who are open to a program of international proletarian revolution.

The immigration issue has thrown the U.S. government into contortions reflecting the *failure* of its Central American policies. As a result of the six-year-old Salvadoran civil war (which was supposed to be an "easy win" in order to rev up the anti-Soviet war drive) more than 500,000 Salvadorans have sought refuge in the U.S.—*10 percent* of the entire population of that tiny country. The money they send back is more than the total U.S. aid, and with 40 percent unemployment at home if hundreds of thousands start pouring back to Salvador it could spell the end of the shaky U.S.-backed regime. Already the FMLN guerrilla coalition has issued an appeal to returning Salvadorans to join the struggle. Thus Simpson-Rodino has produced the bizarre spectacle of puppet president Duarte writing secretly to Reagan begging his patron *not* to send back Salvadoran refugees, and even giving tacit support to bills which would provide them temporary asylum—something the administration has fought tooth and nail until now.

High-tech repression on the Rio Grande. Racist La Migra polices border with infrared night scopes.

The racist immigration "control and reform" act is a threat to everyone. It is not only producing a wave of discrimination against anyone who "looks foreign," the law is already being used against *all* workers, such as the requirement that everyone show proof of citizenship or residency to get a job. This is the first step to a monstrous South African-style pass system. Combined with the existing witchhunting anti-immigrant laws like the McCarran-Walter Act, this "reform" lays the basis for a massive expansion of the police powers of the state for the regimentation of millions. *All defenders of labor, minority and democratic rights must take up the fight to smash the racist Simpson-Rodino Act and other anti-immigrant laws! Asylum for refugees from death squad terror—Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!*

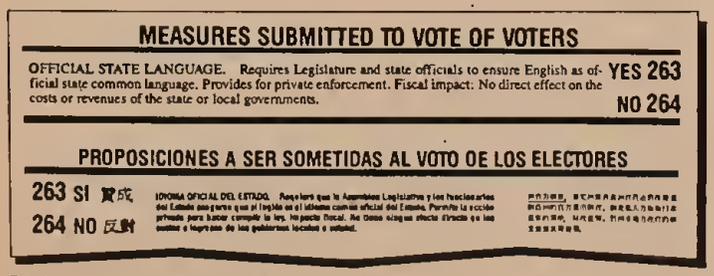
Smash Simpson-Rodino Racist Immigration Law!

In addition to their racist "brown peril" demagogy and blaming "illegal aliens" for everything from unemployment to drugs, the Reaganites have consistently posed the immigration issue in terms of "national security." Ex-CIA director William Casey in 1984: "If we have another Cuba in Central America, Mexico will have a big problem and we're going to have a massive wave of immigration." For Reagan, the Caribbean is America's "front yard," and Mexico/Central America is the U.S. strategic rear which must be controlled at all costs.

What they intend to do is *militarize the border*. In early November, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) announced it will provide its Border Patrol thugs with 1,000 M-14 Army rifles and a couple of armored personnel carriers to patrol the chain link fence derisively known by the racists as the "Tortilla Curtain." INS cops (the hated *migra*) talk of "bagging wets" like gung-ho Green Berets in Vietnam used to brag about "bagging VC." In April 1985, a U.S. Border Patrol cop fired across the international frontier dividing the San Diego suburb of San Ysidro from Tijuana, Mexico, shooting 12-year-old Humberto Carrillo in the back and leaving him bleeding on the ground. This kind of incident will become more and more the norm, for in its starkest terms "immigration control" means *killing Mexicans and Salvadorans*.

In every period of economic and political crisis in the United States during this century the rulers have carried out mass deportations. Following World War I and the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, as the message of Communism was spreading among American workers, it was the Red Scare. The infamous Palmer Raids rounded up 10,000 "reds" and other immigrants, and over 1,000 leftist militants were thrown out of the country. In the Great Depression, more than 500,000 Mexicans were sent back by U.S. authorities, mostly migrant farm workers. During WWII the *bracero* program was started to bring in farm hands, but after the Korean War, when unemployment shot up, in 1954 Washington proclaimed "Operation Wetback," and "a veritable militarized dragnet operation...sent 1 million to 2 million Mexicans to the nearest jailhouse, detention center, or border crossing. An atmosphere of nativist hysteria and anti-Mexican terror swept the land" (James Cockcroft, *Outlaws in the Promised Land: Mexican Immigrant Workers and America's Future* [1986]).

Immigration laws have always been used for political control in the U.S., for example excluding Jews escaping the Holocaust and then bringing in Nazi war criminals. Today as during the 1920s Red Scare, anti-Communism and anti-immigrant hysteria go hand in hand. A *New York Times* (27 April) report on the chaos engulfing the amnesty program mandated by Simpson-Rodino a week before it goes into effect noted that in Chicago, Hispanics are critical of the law while the Polish Welfare Association hails it: "In the Polish community, there's a genuinely positive feeling for what the legalization process is going to do," said a spokesman. No wonder. While Salvadorans from Duarte's death squad "democracy" are deported by the hundreds, and black Haitians fleeing "Baby Doc" Duvalier's island hell were left to drown by the Coast Guard, anti-Communist Cuban, Polish and Afghan émigrés are given the red-carpet treatment, by both Reagan and the Demo-


MEASURES SUBMITTED TO VOTE OF VOTERS

OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE. Requires Legislature and state officials to ensure English as official state common language. Provides for private enforcement. Fiscal impact: No direct effect on the costs or revenues of the state or local governments. YES 263 NO 264

PROPOSICIONES A SER SOMETIDAS AL VOTO DE LOS ELECTORES

263 SI 是/成
264 NO 反/否

IDIOMA OFICIAL DEL ESTADO.

Racist In any language: California's "English only" proposition (printed in English, Spanish and Chinese).

crats. The *New York Times* (7 September 1986) reported the statistics:

> "So far, of the asylum requests decided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the 1986 fiscal year, 75 percent of those from the Soviet Union have been granted, as against 70 percent of those from Rumania, 7 percent from El Salvador and 2 percent from Guatemala."

The Salvadorans are sent to desert hellholes like El Centro in California; like the Laredo prison run for the INS, at a handsome profit, by the Corrections Corporation of America; or the brand new $17 million Oakdale INS facility at a remote site in Louisiana, 200 miles from New Orleans, where last September a newspaper writer was arrested for photographing this immigration prison. And then there's the *Corralón* (big holding pen), the INS "processing center" in Bayview, Texas, where rape is commonplace. The workers movement must demand that these *American concentration camps* be torn down and our fellow workers imprisoned there be set free!

"Use 'em, abuse 'em and send 'em back" has always been the motto of American employers, who have seen Mexico as a vast reservoir of cheap labor to be tapped in order to drive down wages at home. Currently they're sending 'em back at a tremendous pace: 1.8 million in 1986. These are mostly the daily Border Patrol pick-ups, but following passage of the Simpson-Rodino "reform" bill there was a wave of Gestapo-like *migra* raids across the country. And just as in contra gunrunning, "private initiative" is encouraged. INS Western regional commissioner Harold Ezell, a "Christian" racist bigot who says hunting undocumented workers is "fun," and "if you catch 'em, you ought to clean 'em and fry 'em," set up an Orange County vigilante mob called "Americans for Border Control" which cheers on INS dawn raids. But this is just preparation for the avalanche of up to *two million* deportations the new law is expected to touch off.

The Simpson-Rodino Act is a viciously anti-immigrant law. It was passed at the last minute after intricate and extensive horsetrading that culminated in a House-Senate conference chaired by Southern racist kingpin Strom Thurmond. The difficulties in getting it passed reflect the myriad of conflicting economic interests affected among the powers that be in American capitalism. Thus while Reagan and Meese pushed for the law, the *Wall Street Journal* opposed any attempt to regulate illegal immigration. (Reagan's support was dependent on providing a *bracero* program to supply farm laborers for California growers.) While job-trusting AFL-CIO tops pushed for employer sanctions, textile unions (ILGWU and ACTWU) among others opposed them because such a large section of their memberships are undocumented workers. The "amnesty" provisions were thrown in to get liberal support, which they did. In the end, five of eleven members of the Hispanic caucus voted for this anti-Hispanic law.

The amnesty provisions of Simpson-Rodino are full of traps. "Illegal" workers are required to prove they entered the U.S. before 1 January 1982 and have been here ever since—in other words, they have to document that they've been undocumented. And this is supposed to be a "self-financing" reform, meaning that applicants are being slapped with heavy fees and by the time they get done paying for processing documents, photos, fingerprinting, police clearance, etc. it will cost them over $1,000 per individual and almost $3,000 per family. If they can't pay, then, according to INS commissioner Alan Nelson, "they're not going to be qualified" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 March). Families may be split up, as each member has to apply separately and frequently the father came first, bringing the rest after he found a job. Those who have been laid off or have ever received unemployment benefits may be rejected as a potential "public charge." And naturally many may hesitate to apply, fearing if they're turned down the *migra* will then know where to find them.

This reactionary "reform" is also deeply hypocritical. While purporting to control a "flood tide" of immigration, it seeks to ensure there will be a sufficiently huge flow of low-wage "guest workers" to ensure the profits of agribusiness barons (who depend on "illegals" for 50-70 percent of their workforce), high-tech entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley (where before National Semiconductor and other chip moguls shut their plants 20-25 percent of the workforce was "illegal"), Washington, D.C. hotel and restaurant owners (at least 10 percent of whose workers are Salvadoran), etc. Without these immigrant workers there will be no fresh vegetables for yuppies on Manhattan's Upper East Side, no canned or frozen vegetables for the folks in Kalamazoo. And so that Congressmen in Washington can replace their illegal Haitian maids, the "au pair" program bringing in white Nordic girls is being expanded.

American workers who fall for the sucker-bait boss propaganda that their "illegal" class brothers and sisters are "stealing jobs" should try being a migrant farm worker. Hundreds of thousands work grueling hours doing stoop labor under a hot sun, often with a backbreaking short-handled hoe, sleeping in broken-down hulks of abandoned cars at night. The growers even made a stink when the government recently required them to install outhouses. A Spartacist comrade who grew up working the fields of California's Sacramento Valley and Napa wine country told *Workers Vanguard* some of her recollections of what life was like for Hispanic farm workers during LBJ's "Great Society" of the 1960s:

> "My father was born in Sinaloa, Mexico, and first came to the States in the 1930s. He's been back and forth several times. My mother came to California from Texas. I grew up picking grapes, peaches, apples, cherries, working in the tomatoes. My older brothers and sisters did a lot of heavier work, like cotton, bucking hay. My mother used to put me in a wooden box out in the field when I was a baby. You start working as soon as you can—they gave us a box at the age of 3 or so. Kids who worked in the fields would always miss the first few weeks of school.
>
> "In school my cousins and older brothers and sisters were told they couldn't speak Spanish in the classroom or out in the yard—not only by the teachers but by other kids who'd call them 'dirty beaner, spic, nigger' and everything else. When I was small I thought my father was an illegal alien, and I was always terrified that the police would come and take him away. We used to see the *migra* ride through town. A lot of people were illegal, they lived in the worst shacks, they would hide. Meanwhile, kids in school whose dads were growers would brag that they would call the *migra* on the illegals at the end of the season, before they got their pay."

WV Photos

Watsonville cannery strikers (left), Phelps Dodge copper miners (right): Hispanic workers in front line of hard class battles.

Gilberto Ortiz

Hispanic women toil in sweatshop.

"English Only" Bigotry in California

Last November 4, by a 3-to-1 margin, California voters approved ballot Proposition 63 declaring English the official language of the state and directing public officials to "take all steps necessary" to ensure that the role of English is "preserved and enhanced." The measure gives private parties the right to sue for enforcement. This racist law is a direct attack on the huge Hispanic and Asian populations in California, a state whose constitution was written in both Spanish and English—that is, on the people who *built* California. And just as "Buy American" ultimately means "kill Asians"—witness the brutal murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin in Detroit by a racist auto foreman and his stepson who thought he "looked Japanese"—so "English only" has translated into "kill Latinos." In Los Angeles last June, Salvadoran immigrant Roberto Figueroa was murdered and his uncle Claude Garcia wounded during a knife attack that began with the taunt, "Stupid Mexicans, always speaking Spanish."

The virulent racism of the "English only" referendum led liberal author Norman Cousins, listed as an endorser, to publicly repudiate it. Novelist Gore Vidal, cited by the national "U.S. English" organization as a member of its advisory board, said: "Obviously, this amendment is out to get the Hispanics." Vidal observed that many Mexicans call the southwestern United States the "stolen lands"—territories seized after the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. "Very rightly, they're refilling these lands. They have every right to do that. We stole the land from them and now they're reclaiming it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 October). But one "English only" sponsor who hasn't backed out is... Arnold Schwarzenegger, of monosyllabic *Conan the Barbarian* fame. Arnold may regard himself an all-round Aryan *übermensch* (and a real American now that he's married into the Kennedy clan), but he is not noted for facility in making himself understood in English.

Organizers of Prop 63 blithely claimed they meant no harm to immigrants. This is a bald-faced lie: witness the fact that they started their offensive with a drive against the printing of voters ballots in Spanish and Chinese as well as English! Their clear aim is to *disenfranchise* immigrants. In 1982, U.S. Attorney Joseph Russoniello launched a secret investigation of voters who requested ballots in Spanish and Chinese, a witchhunt against unnamed groups that "might" have been registering non-citizens to vote. This intimidation campaign was of a piece with the arrest of elderly black ladies in Alabama for registering black voters. In contrast, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, under Lenin and Trotsky, extended citizenship to all who worked in the land of the Soviets, regardless of their country of origin.

In the wake of Prop 63's passage, "California English" proponents are taking aim at bilingual welfare applications, driver's license booklets, etc. The notorious rightist ex-U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa says the "problem of California" is that the state is "making life too easy for people who don't speak English"... and he intends to rectify that. (Hayakawa is infamous for his

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Bob East

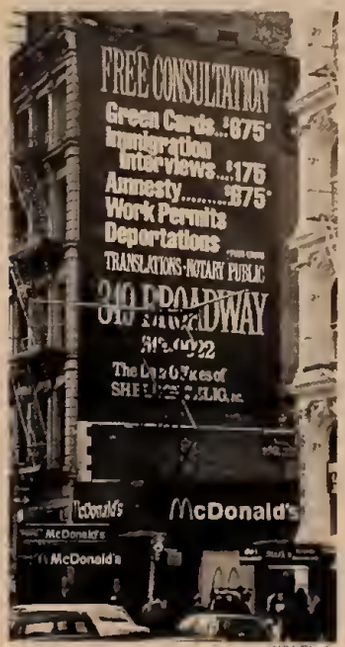
U.S. slams door on desperate Haitian refugees, welcomes Nazi war criminals, Cuban gusanos and contra scum.

Immigration Law...

(continued from page 9)

repression of the 1969 San Francisco State University "Third World" student strike; for declaring about the Panama Canal "we stole it fair and square"; and for opposing compensation to Japanese Americans interned during World War II.) Among the ways they're trying to make life difficult for immigrants is by seeking to eliminate Spanish and Chinese translators in hospitals and campaigning against Chinese and Korean business signs in Monterey Park, a 40 percent Asian L.A. suburb.

The "English only" gang's xenophobic demagogy is as ludicrous as it is deadly. Hayakawa blusters about the danger of "great-grandchildren of immigrants" speaking another language. As if foreign-born workers need to be beaten over the head to understand that you need to learn English to survive, let alone get ahead, in the U.S.! A study by the right-wing Rand Corporation think tank (*Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California* [May 1986]) found that more than 90 percent of first-generation Mexican Americans born in the U.S. are proficient in English, and that by the second



WV Photo

Undocumented workers will have to shell out big bucks to buy amnesty in the "land of the free" (provided you can pay).

generation the majority speak English only. The idea that English is "threatened" is laughable, especially since it is the *lingua franca* of international commerce.

In fact, the "English only" bigots are trying to *shut down* English classes for immigrants and make people give up their native language, cold turkey—or else. In the midst of the Prop 63 campaign, L.A. schools *turned away 40,000 applicants for English classes* just this fall! In October California governor George Deukmejian, a staunch Reaganite, vetoed legislation to extend bilingual education programs, due to end this school year. Bigots claim bilingual education, a basic right for language minorities, impedes children from learning English. Nonsense! The California state assembly research office found that more than 80 percent of students in the state's bilingual programs become fluent in English within 2-1/2 years.

There are problems in bilingual education—such as the plight of Puerto Rican children in New York, with an estimated 80 percent high school dropout rate, many of whom grow up without real proficiency in English *or* Spanish. But this is because the kids who need the programs most are mainly segregated in the poorest areas, with the worst schools—little more than daytime prisons. The fact is that capitalist America is increasingly unable to teach its youth—white, black or Hispanic—to read, write or speak English correctly. Functional illiteracy is at an estimated 20 percent among adults, and growing. Of course, the dreams of some nationalists for an all-Spanish curriculum would not only be utopian—this is an overwhelmingly English-speaking country—but grossly reactionary for the Hispanic kids.

During the 1920s, after U.S. imperialism's defeat of Germany in WWI, chauvinists screaming about "the Hun" passed laws forbidding the use of German by German Americans. Today's "America first, English only" bigots are likewise trying to "unite" the country *for war*. They would agree with Japanese premier Nakasone's racist remark that the intellectual level in the United States is "lower" because "there is a rather large number of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans." (Of course, any number of American bourgeois politicians have said the same when they thought the microphones were off.) And they want to use immigration and language laws to "homogenize" the U.S. like Hitler used the Nuremberg racial laws. Historically, such attempts to force minorities to abandon their language lead straight to pogroms: the Armenians forced to speak Turkish, Basques forced to speak Spanish, Tamils targeted by "Sinhala only" chauvinism in Sri Lanka.

Building the Bolshevik Party in the tsarist "prison house of peoples," Lenin insisted that the revolutionary proletarian vanguard party must be a "tribune of the people" and champion the fight against every form of oppression. Lenin opposed official status for any single language and proclaimed:

> "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language...
>
> "Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of *all* nationalities in *all* working-class organisations...in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism."
>
> —"Critical Remarks on the National Question" (1913)

The Hispanic Question in North America

The chauvinist frenzy behind the "English only" movement reflects the fact that they are trying to stem an inexorable tide that is determined above all by economics. Millions of Central American and Caribbean immigrants are drawn to the U.S. because they can find work here. And as the numbers of Spanish speakers increase, this reflects itself in everything from official announcements to advertising. Signs on New York subways announce that "*la vía del tren subterráneo es peligrosa*" (subway tracks are dangerous) because this is vital information they want riders to understand. And fast-food chains in Florida put up welcome signs saying "*bienvenidos a McDonalds*" because they want to sell burgers. In California, the first target of the "California English" crowd after the victory of Prop 63 was plans by Pacific Bell to set up multilingual operator services, which the company expected to earn it $100 million.

The racists' frustration is taking itself out in mounting assaults on Hispanics around the country. In the Bronx, mob attacks last summer by Italian American youths against Puerto Ricans; and in North Tarrytown, NY a cop riot in June, after which the mayor called in the INS to raid the Hispanic barrio. In the San Diego suburb of Encinitas in November, shortly after passage of the immigration law, a gang of white teenage would-be Ramhos in camouflage uniforms was marauding around shooting up anyone they considered an "illegal alien." In some rundown factory towns there have been actual race riots, as in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1984 where French Canadians (many themselves unemployed) torched a poor Puerto Rican area. But often the racist character of attacks has been hidden by the media: in the gruesome slaughter at the McDonalds in San Ysidro, California, where 21 people were killed and 19 wounded by a crazed gunman, it was seldom reported that this Viet vet kept muttering about "damned Vietnamese," and almost all of his victims were Mexican, including many farm workers.

Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley

California, 1933: Communist-led farm workers strike against starvation wages and racist attacks.

The size of the migration is dramatic. Already the U.S. has the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking population in the world, even by census statistics which place the number of Hispanics at 18 million. This is a little over 7 percent of the total population, but the figure is frequently criticized as much too low. It doesn't include many of the "illegals," who number as many as nine million (an estimated three to six million are eligible for the amnesty). And the numbers are growing rapidly. In California, where they are about one-quarter of the state population, more than 56 percent of public school students are Hispanic. At present growth rates, Hispanics will replace blacks as the largest minority within a very few years. And the influx of low-paid workers has meant that the overall average income of Hispanics is falling sharply: the official poverty rate for Hispanics was 29 percent in 1985, up from 22 percent in 1979, while black poverty stayed at 31 percent.

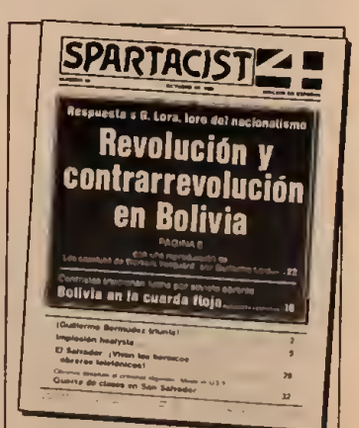
The Spartacist League has taken note of the growing importance of Hispanics in the United States, and the implications for revolutionaries. In particular, we have emphasized the intersection of the black question and Hispanic question in this country. Thus the SL's 1983 conference document, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction," states:

> "...Hispanics are becoming the largest ethnic minority in this country. Tending to stand outside linguistically/culturally the American 'mainstream,' the Hispanic populations in America are widely diverse, encompassing both educated petty-bourgeois layers with the possibility for 'making it' in America and masses of desperate ex-peasants who in many areas of the country live worse than the black masses and see the unions as vehicles for black/white job-trusting and accomplices to the racist deportations....
>
> "Contrary to prevailing opinion in Latin nationalist milieus, Hispanics are on the whole not below blacks on a scale of social oppression but above, and can get out while blacks are locked in as a race-color caste at the bottom of American society. Structurally this is a black-white country, making the black question strategic to the American revolution. As they are absorbed Hispanics will tend to become assimilated mainly to whites, while Caribbean blacks and darker skinned will stay back. As with every new wave of immigrants, the first wave often faces brutal conditions—in this case, particularly the superexploitation growing out of undocumented workers' lack of legal rights. Our struggle for citizenship rights for all foreign workers, a key demand raised by no other tendency, is necessarily part of a struggle to oust the chauvinist labor bureaucracy. North American revolutionaries make clear our opposition to U.S. imperialism by uncompromising support for Puerto Rican independence and for significant restitution for the lands stolen from Mexico in 1848. This also helps us in counterposing proletarian internationalism to the anti-Yankee nationalism which pervades the Latin American left."

There is no single "Hispanic people" in the U.S. Mexican Americans in the Southwest are not a phantasmagorical "Chicano nation" but in a real sense an extension of the Mexican nation. Puerto Ricans in New York and Chicago come from an enslaved colony of Yankee imperialism, and Dominicans from a neocolony, but once on the mainland they form part of the multiracial U.S. working class. Cubans in Florida—the *gusanos* and their children (many of whom do not share their parents' counterrevolutionary sentiments)—fled a revolution and are now America's Hispanic "success story," averaging almost *twice* the income and less than *half* the unemployment level of Puerto Ricans.

Historically, the color bar has been the fundamental barrier to assimilation in the U.S. As Big Bill Broonzy sang, "If you're white, you're all right; if you're brown, stick around; if you're black, get back." The *black question* is key to the economy, history and social institutions of capitalist America, growing out of the legacy of slavery and the struggle which abolished it, the Civil War. While many Hispanics are as poor or poorer than blacks, this by no means determines that "black and Latino unity" is the preordained outcome, as Third World nationalists (such as the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party) imagine. Far from it. Lately, racist bourgeois politicians have tried to appeal to Hispanics as a swing group *against* blacks, as in the hotly contested Chicago elections. In California, many blacks voted for the racist "English only" referendum, partly out of a feeling that "we've been here 400 years and still haven't gotten ours."

Within the logic of capitalism, the smaller the pie, the more brutal the struggle for a piece of it. And as decaying capitalism's pie shrinks rapidly, the struggle for survival is fiercest among those for whom society makes it hardest to survive. The basis for united struggle by the black and Hispanic masses is not nationalism, which inevitably separates the oppressed, but common *class* struggle. And that struggle requires a conscious Leninist vanguard as a "tribune of the people," fighting for the program of *revolutionary integrationism*, for *black liberation through socialist revolution*. A revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component must necessarily fight to be the party of the Hispanic workers and poor. And Hispanic



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immigrant workers must understand this and seek to integrate themselves into the class struggle here. They can be a vital spark for the North American working class, as their "foreign" origin makes many more open to internationalist and revolutionary ideas.

Class-conscious workers must defend the right of their foreign-born brothers and sisters who have made it into the U.S. to stay here with the same rights as everyone else. Some pseudo-leftists such as Jack Barnes' anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and Bob Avakian's Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, however, call for "open borders," and the latter publicized a "Breakdown the Border" conference in El Paso/Ciudad Juárez. This demand, like calls for a "fair" or "non-racist" immigration policy, is utopian under capitalism. And in fact, an open border ultimately threatens the democratic right of self-determination of the weaker power. English is not threatened by the increasing economic integration of the U.S. and Mexico: how many Anglo youth speak "Spanglish"? A truly "open" border under capitalism would enable American moneybags to buy up northern Mexico, not unlike what they did to Texas over a century ago.

Hispanic workers are already integrated into the proletariat of the United States. As far back as 1915 they played a vanguard role, as Mexican miners organized by IWW syndicalists led a powerful copper strike in Morenci, Arizona at the height of World War I. Seven decades later Chicano miners in Morenci again took the lead in fighting Reaganite union-busting by Phelps Dodge, a bitter yearlong strike that ended in defeat. In the 1960s, Hispanic agricultural workers led by Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers sparked a broad sympathy for La Causa. In the 1980s, Latina cannery workers in Watsonville, California fought for 18 months and managed to save their union despite brutal cop and company attacks and treacherous backstabbing by the Teamster union tops.

Increasingly, the unions have had to come to terms with the wave of immigrant workers. The ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union), infamous for its jingoist "Buy American" jingles, has begun to organize undocumented workers on a mass scale in the $3 billion-a-year California apparel industry. Rad-lib darling Chavez actually called on *la migra* to go into the fields and arrest "illegal aliens" hired as scabs by the growers. But today the ILG bureaucrats include a standard "INS clause" in their L.A. contracts which requires employers to notify the union when INS agents are sited near the workplace, and to rehire any undocumented worker who is deported and comes back with a new name or Social Security number! A class-struggle leadership of labor would mobilize real union muscle to demand: Stop the deportations! Smash the racist immigration law! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

Despite all the racist barriers, Hispanic immigrants are rapidly integrating into American society. There are hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans who have been driven into the imperialist heartland, escaping from the U.S.-backed death squads who have murdered their loved ones and comrades, and millions of Mexican workers are to be found in the fields and factories of the Sun Belt. Mexican nationalists repeat the lament of conservative dictator Porfirio Díaz: "Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States." Proletarian *internationalists* greet the fact that massive infusion of Hispanic workers from south of the border can serve as a human bridge for revolutionary class struggle throughout the Americas. Build a world party of socialist revolution to link up the struggles from the Southern Cone of South America to the belly of the imperialist beast! ■

Black Miners Break Apartheid Chains

Defiant black mine workers in South Africa have struck a significant blow against apartheid slavery, moving their wives and girlfriends into the all-male hostels of the giant Anglo American mining empire. They have directly challenged the migrant labor system in which hundreds of thousands of black men, stripped of every political and human right, are forced to toil as "migrant" laborers in the factories and mines. Cruelly separated for at least eleven months a year from their families, who are made to starve on bantustan wastelands, black workers are imprisoned in the men-only barracks.

The miners' bold action creates an acute dilemma for the mine bosses who pay lip service to dismantling the male-only compounds. The 600,000 black miners, who have produced the golden riches of apartheid, are the Achilles' heel of racist South African capitalism.

Miller/Afrapix

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

black worker was fired for having been one day late in turning over $20 in fees collected for the state-owned rail agency. The strike spread rapidly to train stations throughout the heavily populated industrial region around Johannesburg, disrupting commuter and cargo traffic. At the strike's sixth week, SATS' losses were estimated at $100 million. Heavily armed police began patrolling commuter trains and train stations after more than 60 cars were set ablaze at stations in and around Johannesburg on the rail line to Soweto.

The rail service is traditionally a preserve of protected employment of poorer whites, who constitute slightly more than half of SATS' approximately 200,000 employees. This is the last redoubt of the dwindling white working class, and following the mass firing of black strikers, hundreds of unemployed whites lined up for their jobs. White supervisory personnel at SATS are notoriously arbitrary and abusive. The COSATU-affiliated Railway and Harbour Workers Union, which management has refused to recognize and which had only 9,000 members at the beginning of the strike, struck to demand reinstatement of the fired worker with full back pay, elimination of all racist practices within SATS, full pay for the strikers and no reprisals.

Brutal repression against anti-apartheid organizations like the African National Congress (ANC)-backed United Democratic Front has made the black-centered unions, particularly the 500,000-strong COSATU federation, the principal vehicle for protest. But the ANC and their supporters, including the top leadership of COSATU, seek to shackle the power of black labor to pull the cart of nationalism. The ANC's strategy to "make the country ungovernable and the economy unworkable" seeks only to pressure South Africa's rapacious capitalists and their imperialist allies into "reforming" apartheid and permitting some "form" of "power-sharing" *without* bringing down the capitalist system that is at the heart of the apartheid superexploitation and slavery.

Internationally, the ANC's strategy centered on imperialist "divestment." But the flight of foreign capital like the GM pullout has been motivated by capitalist profits, not campus protest, and it has been accompanied by busting the independent, black-centered unions. Instead of being pressured into "reform," apartheid police-state terror has grown only more savage. Since the emergency regulations which permit indefinite detention without charge and without access to family and lawyers were introduced last June, it is estimated that 30,000 people have been jailed. The detentions are supplemented by the widespread use of death squads to murder labor and anti-apartheid activists.

Among the detainees are more than 10,000 black children and youth under the age of 18. The jailing of children, in particular, has provoked mass, multiracial protests. In response, on April 10 South Africa's racist Reich outlawed all forms of protest against detention, even the sending of telegrams, circulating petitions, posting bumper stickers or wearing T-shirts with slogans such as "Free the Children." This draconian dictate has been challenged by the Natal Supreme Court, yet thousands of men, women and children languish in South Africa's notorious torture chambers while their families fear for their lives.

The rail strike was particularly embarrassing to South Africa's *Führer* P.W. Botha and the Afrikaner-based ruling National Party. With elections to the whites-only parliament only days away, whites are divided over Botha's repressive policies, both on the right, where there is a growing fascist movement, and on the left. To please the right, Botha sent the army into Zambia on April 25, killing four. The raid evoked widespread protest in South Africa, which was suppressed by cops using whips, tear gas and shotguns for the first time against white students. Some liberal whites, especially on college campuses, have joined the victims of apartheid oppression—black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian—in demanding the dismantling of white supremacy, and one-man, one-vote majority rule. But class exploitation is the motor force for the disenfranchisement of apartheid's victims; their emancipation requires a *social revolution*.

What is urgently needed in South Africa is an integrated revolutionary workers party, a Bolshevik party, committed to the expropriation of South Africa's wealth by its producers in a black-centered workers government. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution! ■

Reuters

Black unionists at Johannesburg COSATU headquarters after cop raid.

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

north though last May an army offensive against Jaffna Peninsula ground to a humiliating halt. Underlining its military control of the Palk Strait separating Lanka from India, the Lankan government on April 24 sank a boat alleged to be carrying munitions from India to the Tamil fighters.

Prodded by the recent terrorism, the government launched the wave of bombing raids on Jaffna, then extended the bombing further into the Northern and Eastern Provinces, reportedly killing hundreds of Tamil civilians. A dragnet of 5,000 troops was deployed and new plans to settle 5,000 armed Sinhalese in the Trincomalee district were announced. And Parliament has again extended the four-year draconian "State of Emergency."

Military occupation of Jaffna, August 1981. AP

Murderous Nationalism

The Sri Lankan government has blamed the LTTE and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) for the recent attacks, though both organisations have denied responsibility. Provoking an orgy of Sinhala communalism against the Tamils would certainly suit strong forces among the Sinhala-chauvinists, including in the army and UNP, but the Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalist groups are quite capable of carrying out such acts of murderous indiscriminate terrorism in pursuit of their perspective of looking to India for salvation. After the massacre of 150 Sinhalese in Anuradhapura in May 1985, the Tigers officially denied carrying out the attack while justifying it as a reprisal and demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala areas. EROS claimed responsibility for the bombings of an Air Lanka plane which killed 15 foreign tourists and of the Central Telegraph Office in May last year.

In a leaflet published on 14 August 1986, the Spartacist League/Lanka, sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote:

> "It is the main responsibility of all Tamil militant groups who are struggling for Eelam to prevent such racialist activity and whoever indulges in such activities must be exposed and strongly criticised and should be rooted out. Tamil militants have not reacted because they do not consider it to be important."

The sordid character of the Tamil groups' nationalism is also shown by their murderous internecine conflicts. The Tigers have effectively wiped out the TELO, PLOTE and EPRLF Tamil guerrilla groups in the Jaffna area, though the latter retains strength in the east. On this basis the LTTE are claiming the mantle of undisputed sole representative of the Tamil people.

The bonapartist Jayewardene regime is mindful of Indian reaction and its own basket case economy. J.R. has also attempted to reinforce the division between the economically critical Tamil plantation workers, imported by the British in the 19th century, and the "Ceylon Tamils," who have shared the island for many centuries with the Sinhalese. The plantation workers historically have not sympathised with the separatist struggle for Eelam, and Jayewardene has co-opted their union leader, the despicable Thondaman, as a UNP minister and even granted citizenship to many of the formerly "stateless" plantation workers.

WV Photo

Spartacist comrades joined Tamil demonstrators protesting racist state terror in Lanka, Boston, January 1985.

At the same time, the regime is under attack from the rival Sinhala communalists of the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike, who say the government is "incompetent" in suppressing the Tamils, while fanatical Buddhist monks demonstrate demanding the president's resignation. In the government and the army, including at the top, there are mutinous elements who think that J.R. is "soft." The government has accused the petty-bourgeois, Sinhala-racialist, ex-Guevarist JVP of raiding army camps for arms. It is widely alleged that the JVP was responsible for the murder of Daya Pathirana, president of the Independent Students Union, a grouping espousing a "Nicaraguan road" of joint Sinhala/Tamil struggle, in December last year at Panadura near Colombo. The Sinhala communalist forces whipped up by the UNP may well swamp the regime, leading to unrestrained communal civil war.

In a case which encapsulates the ruling powers' worst fantasies, 23 Sinhalese and Tamil radical intellectuals in Colombo have just been indicted under the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act for an alleged plot to overthrow the government. The utter paucity of proof in this case exposes the fact that the real "crime" is the mere thought of joint Tamil/Sinhalese struggle.

Revolutionary Class Struggle the Only Answer

Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was known for centuries, used to be called the Jewel of Asia. At the time of independence from Britain in 1947, it had the highest standard of living and literacy of any rural country in Asia. Ceylon was a polyglot community—in fact, aboriginals who predated both the Tamils and Sinhalese still existed. Historically in Ceylon there was heavy Arab influx from the 10th century, and European colonisation from the 16th century onward. The Muslim population is presumably derived from both Moghul and Arab antecedents, with Malay immigrant inclusion. There are also Christians among both the Sinhalese and Tamil populations.

From independence on, the Sinhalese Buddhist majority pressure has been relentless against the ethnic minorities. First to be destroyed were the few but very valuable Eurasians, the "Burghers," at the top of the civil service and military cadres. Then came the abandonment of the English language in order to eliminate the hold by the island Tamils on the bulk of the substantial civil service, centrally through the "Sinhala Only" campaign of the mid-1950s. The bloody anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 were the extension of this policy in the face of mounting Tamil discontent.

The peoples of southern India and Lanka are part of one interpenetrated gene pool. In Lanka, Sinhalese and Tamils can tell one another apart only by small details of dress and, of course, by their language. And the Buddhist revival, the basis upon which Sinhalese nationalism rests, is purely a 20th century invention.

In Ceylon, once freed from colonialism, but unable to satisfy the expectations of the masses given the failure of struggles for social revolution, the pressure toward a unitary national entity—one language, one religion—has been merciless and bloody. The former Jewel of Asia has come increasingly to resemble Northern Ireland.

For the oppressed Tamils of the north and east, the strategic Tamil plantation workers, the young women textile workers of the Colombo sweatshops and the peasants fighting multinationals' seizure of their land—for all the oppressed, Sinhalese and Tamil alike, ground down by the miserable poverty and bloody warfare—the plight of Sri Lanka, "a tropical paradise in perdition" (*Le Monde*, 23 April), cries out for a revolutionary class answer. Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the "Emergency Regulations"! No to communalist bloodletting! For the right of Tamil Eelam! Trinco must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Linnas...

(continued from page 5)

Communist party and later all political parties were banned under martial law. Unlike Lithuania, Estonia was not part of the traditional Jewish Pale; on the eve of World War II, it had fewer than 5,000 Jews out of a population of one million. But fascism flourished and Jews were run out of the universities. As war approached, in 1940 Stalin annexed the Baltic states to extend the defense perimeter of Leningrad to the west. When Hitler invaded a year later, the Baltic nationalists greeted the Nazi torturers as liberators. The *New York Times* (22 April) noted:

> "After the German invasion, some 3,000 Estonian Jews managed to save themselves by leaving with the retreating Red Army. Many of the 1,000 Jews who remained were soon killed.
>
> "By 1943, the Germans had set up several labor and death camps in Estonia, and Jews from other areas were sent there....
>
> "After the war, when Moscow affirmed its control, Soviet Jews settled in Estonia, drawn like others by the relatively high standard of living."

It was the heroic fight by the Soviet people, 20 million of whom perished in the monumental battle against Hitler's armies, that saved what is left of East European Jewry on this planet today. FDR's American "democracy," however, in league with the Zionist establishment, was silent on the Holocaust and refused entry to the U.S. to Jews fleeing Nazi barbarism. On April 22, Karl Linnas was finally returned to the Estonian Soviet Republic. One survivor of the Tartu death camp, Maria Garshnek, whose mother and father were killed there, told the Soviet news agency TASS:

> "There is no and there cannot be forgiveness to those who left blood-stained tracks. He was guiding mass executions. He invented tortures which make my blood run cold even now, after 40 years have passed."

However the Soviets dispose of this heinous criminal, it will be too good for him. And it is up to the American workers to drive out the imperialist rulers, the protectors of Nazi war criminals, so that never again will such an imperialist slaughter drown the world in blood. ■

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Spain...

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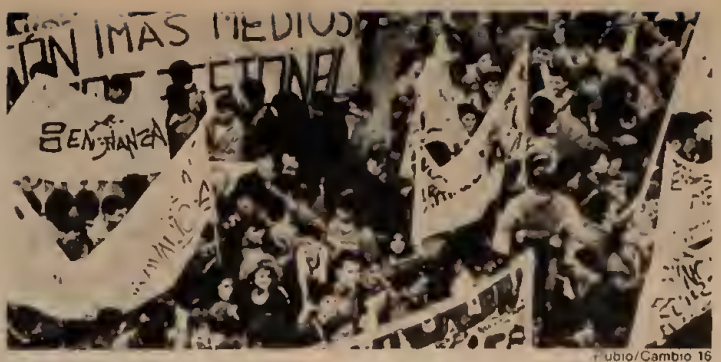
camps awaiting deportation. At one point the number of foreigners held in custody in Barcelona was so great that empty rooms in police barracks were used to house them—provoking an ominous demonstration by the cops!

Muslims in Spain's North African enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla, were subjected to a vicious rampage of racist terror by the Spanish colonial population—mainly military personnel—when they tried to protest this law depriving them of all citizenship rights. Yet the PSOE and the wretched Communist Party (PCE) organized a demonstration supporting this nefarious legislation. These traitors spit on the most heroic traditions of the Spanish proletariat, which insurrected against the Moroccan War in the 1909 *semana trágica* (tragic week) in Barcelona. And now Spain's admission to NATO and the Common Market has been sealed in Basque blood, as the fascistic death squads of the GAL ("Antiterrorist Liberation Groups"), trained and recruited by the Guardia Civil, murder ETA refugees handed over to Spain. All with the approval of "Socialists" González and Mitterrand.

Felipe González' "popular front" grovels before the Franco-appointed king, Juan Carlos II, with his strutting generals and reactionary bishops, subordinating the workers and oppressed to reactionary Spanish capitalism. But as with all class-collaborationist alliances, over time it has managed to alienate just about every section of the population,



Tubio/Cambio 16

Madrid: Thousands of students demonstrate for free education and an end to anti-working-class discrimination at Spain's universities.

eroding its working-class support while driving the petty bourgeoisie into a frenzy. While thousands of Spanish women demand the elementary right to free abortion on demand, the Catholic church was mobilizing mass demonstrations gooned by fascist hoodlums against the government's timid liberalization of anti-abortion laws. As González uses up his credit with the Spanish masses and the military waits in the wings, the crisis of proletarian leadership sharpens.

Robert Capa

Spanish Republican soldiers on the way to the front, vowing "U.H.P.—Unite, Proletarian Brothers." Sign says, "Better to die than consent to tyranny."

Crisis of Proletarian Leadership

Simple trade-union struggle is utterly inadequate to defeat the concerted offensive of the Spanish capitalists and their "Socialist" government. What's clearly posed is a general strike to smash González' anti-working-class austerity program. Such a strike would need to be defended against the scabs and cops by armed workers defense squads. It must produce organs of struggle that mobilize broader layers of the workers and oppressed—strike and factory committees, leading to soviets. In short, linking up the workers' struggles in a test of strength with the bourgeoisie inevitably poses the question of which class will rule. And the reformists fear this. So the CC.OO.'s call for a one-day "general strike"—to allow workers to blow off steam—has been canceled in the "public interest." As a leader of the PCE's Catalan affiliate, the PSUC, put it:

> "On the day after *D-Day*, the question in the workplaces will be, 'Now what?' And since one doesn't have the answer, it was better not to give rise to the question."
>
> —*El País* [Madrid], 7 April

The Spanish proletariat has again demonstrated its capacity for struggle and sacrifice. As thousands of productive workers are thrown on the scrap heap by decomposing capitalism, it is necessary to defend the very existence of our class. That means a determined struggle to oust the reformists who betray the workers' struggle, and to replace them with an authentically communist leadership. In 1977 Spain was in the throes of a prerevolutionary situation as a massive strike wave threatened the rickety bonapartist state inherited from the blood-drenched Franco regime. Yet Spanish capitalism was saved by the treachery of the PCE and PSOE tops and the union misleaders who signed the Moncloa pacts with Franco's king and former Falangist politician Adolfo Suárez. Juan Carlos reigns today not by the grace of god but of the "leftist" misleaders Santiago Carrillo and Felipe González.

Having sabotaged that key opportunity, the once-hegemonic Communist Party is now split into Gerardo Iglesias' PCE, Ignacio Gallego's PCPE (Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain) and a rump group around the former herald of "Eurocommunism," Carrillo. When the Catalan PSUC lost a majority of its working-class base in a left split (known as the "Afghans" for their support to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan), we noted that a sizable section of the Spanish proletariat was groping in a confused manner toward a more militant class-struggle perspective—rejecting the gross betrayals of Eurocommunism and affirming their pro-Moscow loyalties in the face of a new Cold War (see "Spanish CP Rips Apart," *WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981). But old-line Stalinists grabbed the helm, forming the PCPE, whose support to González' 1982 electoral victory demonstrated that it is no alternative to Carrillo/Iglesias-style reformism. And now Gallego has returned to the fold in the "United Left" popular-front coalition together with the "Euros" and liberal "progressives."

The key to victory is the construction of a *Trotskyist* vanguard which as tribune of all the oppressed is alone capable of linking the disparate social struggles wracking Spain to the organized might of the proletariat in fighting for a workers government. But the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), Spanish section of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, also participated in the historic betrayal of 1975-77, refusing to break with the reformist bureaucracies and offering up the treacherous Menshevik formula of two-stage revolution in the shape of the *ruptura democrática* (democratic breakthrough). Since that time, the LCR has been in total disarray, suffering a hemorrhage of cadre and engaging in a quest for its own Lilliput version of the popular front.

In 1982, the LCR hailed González' "great victory" and proclaimed that Spain now had a workers government. The rest of the Trotskyoid left was equally ecstatic—the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), Spanish operation of the late Nahuel Moreno, proclaimed the PSOE's triumph at the polls a "workers victory." In last May's elections, the LCR abstained only because it didn't see in the "United Left" a feminist/ecology/gay liberation equivalent of the northern European Green parties that could attract "new vanguards." (In the 1984 U.S. elections, the LCR favored yuppie Democrat Gary Hart!) And lest there be any doubt as to its popular-front loyalties, the LCR made a special point on the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War to rehabilitate the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) of Andrés Nin and Joaquin Maurin, and to alibi its joining the People's Front!

A special "Dossier" published in the LCR's *Combate* (1 February 1986) notes that the POUM's action in the 1936 elections "produced a well-known polemic within Trotskyism" marked by "insults" and a lack of understanding for this "revolutionary party." It was at best a "tactical problem," holds LCR honcho Miguel Romero; the POUM could have voted for the popular-front candidates without joining, as the Mandelites regularly do. But, he adds, "no sensible person" could today consider that what's involved was "betraying the revolution." Who might make such a "senseless" accusation? They don't mention Leon Trotsky's bitter attack on "The Treachery of the POUM" (January 1936) accusing it of "*betrayal of the proletariat for the sake of an alliance with the bourgeoisie.*" Trotsky repeatedly emphasized that this *centrist* party bore a special responsibility for the bloody defeat of the Spanish proletariat for failing to present a revolutionary answer to the betrayals of the Stalinists, social democrats and anarchists.

Not only does the Spanish LCR repudiate Trotsky on Spain, they even come out to the right of *Nin*. (This former "Left Communist" had renounced Trotskyism to join with former Right Oppositionist Maurín in forming the POUM.) In the months before the destruction of the POUM and murder of Nin by the Stalinists, there was a division of labor in which Maurín would represent the POUM in the Republican parliament while Nin would make verbal criticisms of the People's Front. The same issue of the LCR's *Combate* has an article by Nin, "After the Elections of February 16," in which "two short paragraphs" were omitted "for reasons of space." Yet these paragraphs are where Nin calls for "the most complete independence of the workers revolutionary movement from the bourgeois parties," and proclaims:

> "...the policy of the People's Front does not correspond to the vital interests of the proletariat and of the revolution in the present moment."
>
> —from Victor Alba, ed., *La Nueva Era* (1976)

In fact, this "Dossier" mentions *none* of Trotsky's writings on Spain, and not just for "reasons of space," since he repeatedly emphasized that "the Popular Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch" and "the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism" (1936), and that "*there can be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution*" (1939). Today the Mandel USec rejects everything Trotsky's Fourth International stood for over the crucial battle leading up to World War II. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has uniquely fought for proletarian opposition to class collaboration (see "No 'Critical Support' to Popular Frontism" and "Toward the International Trotskyist League!" in *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). From our inception, the iSt has sought to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized.

Today in Spain, after a decade of demoralization on the left, the winds of the class struggle are again blowing strong. The perennial coup threats of the post-Franco period (used by the reformists to claim that militant struggle was inopportune) have receded, but not disappeared: a rightist officer was just absolved by a military court despite evidence he was plotting a coup financed by Libya. And although the repression in Euskadi (the Basque country) is as brutal under the Socialists as under the Francoists, now that every region has its empty "autonomy" statute, the wave of "autonomist" struggles is being displaced by general social protest throughout Spain. It is therefore doubly urgent for Spanish workers to defend the right of self-determination for the Basque country, Catalonia and the Canary Islands, and demand that imperialist Spain get out of its North African colonial outposts.

A Trotskyist party in Spain will defend all the democratic rights trampled underfoot by a "democratic" state whose armed forces still yearn for the days of the stiff-armed salute and pounding jackboots. This is integral to the fight for socialist revolution in the Iberian Peninsula, as part of the socialist reconstruction of Europe, against the cycle of popular fronts which pave the way for reaction and the anti-Soviet war drive that threatens global holocaust. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Spain, Spanish section of a reforged Fourth International! ■

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New Haven Strikers Fight for Their Lives

Uretek Poisons Workers

Members of largely Hispanic workforce picket Uretek, fighting for union recognition.

Miller/NY Times

NEW HAVEN—Workers at the Uretek textile plant here are fighting to keep the boss from literally killing them with toxic chemicals. They have struck the sleazy Connecticut polyurethane manufacturer since February 20 demanding that he clean up the operation which has left more than half of them with liver disease. Notoriously indifferent to the effect of the chemicals it uses on its workforce or the surrounding community, Uretek has already been convicted of felony charges for illegally storing and dumping hazardous wastes in 1984. Company president Harold Hoder refuses to talk with the workers or the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) which is trying to organize them. The arrogant Hoder claims the capitalist "right" to sacrifice the lives of workers to squeeze out "his" blood money.

Conditions at Uretek are hideous, even by sweatshop standards. The 66-man, largely Hispanic workforce worked *seven days a week*, 66 hours or more, for minimum wages of $3.35-$6.25 an hour and no medical benefits. The plant produces polyurethane-coated fabrics used to make tarpaulins, sleeping bag mattresses, etc.—for the military among others—and uses a host of highly toxic chemicals, including benzene, toluene, organic peroxide, methyl chloride and dimethylformamide (DMF). (A recent study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* shows that people exposed to *legal* limits of benzene over a lifetime face a *154 times* greater risk of contracting leukemia.) Immersed in this poisonous atmosphere, workers toiled in the basement of an aging, poorly ventilated plant, unaware of and unprepared for the dangers they faced.

Uretek workers were not provided with respirators or gloves nor were they trained in working with the chemicals. They ate lunches at their work stations because they couldn't get break time, sometimes warming their meals in the drying ovens. Workers complained of nosebleeds, heavy vomiting and general dizziness. Their horrendous situation came to light last fall when local hospitals noted an abnormally high incidence of noninfectious hepatitis in the area. Investigations by the Yale-New Haven Occupational Medicine Program discovered that all of the victims were from Uretek. Subsequent tests showed that 36 of the 58 workers tested had significant liver abnormalities, linking the ailments to the use of DMF.

ILGWU organizers contacted the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration about the Uretek situation, but OSHA refuses to touch it during a strike, claiming it can't do anything until the plant is at full production! A 1979 OSHA study indicated that a toxic situation existed at Uretek and the bureaucrats in Washington sat on it and did nothing. Two weeks ago a superior court judge fined the company and a company vice president $255,000, a fraction of the $10 million fine that could have been levied on these wanton criminals. As ILGWU organizer Bob Cornick told *WV*, "I guess the workers have to fall dead before the government will shut it down." Meanwhile, production is limping along with a few scabs and management personnel, while another plant at the site also owned by Hoder, Chem-Tech, is going full blast.

The superexploitation and horrendous bodily destruction of the Uretek workers is symptomatic of the conditions facing immigrant and Puerto Rican workers who have moved into the aging factory towns of southern Connecticut. Capitalism kills: in the Stamford-Bridgeport-New Haven area you've also had turnpike bridges collapse and high-rise buildings fall on construction workers, burying them alive. And as decaying U.S. capitalism attempts to raise declining profit rates by slashing wages, undocumented workers are hired for the worst jobs at starvation wages. One Hispanic Uretek worker told *WV*, "They offer $4 or $5 an hour, and it sounds good to us, but it is for the lowest work. It's for work no American would do." And as the bosses squeeze the most vulnerable, all workers are threatened. The labor movement must mobilize its strength to organize such sweatshops, demanding full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

"We will never go back in there again—not until everything is safe, and with a union too," says Luis López (*Guardian*, 22 April). The kind of solidarity the Uretek strikers urgently need is for Connecticut labor to mobilize mass pickets to shut down Uretek and Chem-Tech. Simple enough, but it requires a class-struggle leadership committed to fighting bosses down the line. There are thousands of plants like Uretek poisoning workers across the country which the labor fakers are doing nothing about. The fight for decent working conditions, a living wage, health care, jobs for all, full rights for immigrant workers, are all part of a *political* struggle against the racist capitalist system, which devours workers' lives, literally killing thousands and spitting the rest onto the scrap heap when they're used up. To wage that class struggle through to victory requires a workers party fighting for all the oppressed. ■

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 16)

criminal justice system" and the most sacred "principle" of all is "the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society." So what if blacks are many times more likely to receive the death penalty, argues the court, "discretion is essential" and "disparities" are "inevitable" in "our criminal justice system." Why is this so? Because racism is another unstated "principle" of this criminal ruling class which, foreseeing troubled times ahead, increasingly views the death penalty as key to keeping itself in power.

It is indicative of the reactionary character of the death penalty that its leading practitioners are in the Dixiecrat Deep South. Three states—Florida, Texas and Georgia—account for more than two-thirds of all executions carried out in the U.S. since 1977. Between 1900 and 1967 more than half of all executions were carried out in the South. Many of these were rape cases and nearly all those executed were blacks. Most of these, like the Scottsboro Boys, were frame-ups designed to whip up racial hysteria. On death row today is Johnny "Imani" Harris, a black man on Alabama's death row since 1974 for allegedly killing a guard. Harris was originally jailed for life on a rape charge, shortly after his family moved into a white neighborhood and received racist threats. He insists he is innocent but was forced to plead guilty by his court-appointed lawyer, who refused to call any witnesses on his behalf. Harris became an activist in Inmates for Action, resulting in his being targeted by prison guards. Also on death row is former Black Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu Jamal, framed on a cop-killing charge in Pennsylvania.

This legal terror is part and parcel of the extra-legal terror of the Ku Klux Klan to keep black people "in their place." Indeed, the Supreme Court's present-day approval of a double standard for blacks is a familiar echo of pre-Civil War standards in the South—in Georgia, for instance, killing a black slave was not considered a serious crime (a significant historical point made by Justice Brennan in his dissenting opinion). The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 was an attempt to give blacks "equal protection of the laws," but today the Supreme Court openly joins the Old Confederacy.

The bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries and the Enlightenment doctrine that all men are created with certain inalienable rights challenged the barbaric death penalty. Capital punishment has been, in the last two hundred years, abolished in every major advanced capitalist country except for the *U.S.* and *South Africa*. In both countries, the death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master. In the racist apartheid police state which has never known a bourgeois-democratic revolution, there is no need to pay even lip service to formal equality; the forcible subjugation and denial of rights to non-whites is institutionalized and legalized.

The recent Supreme Court decision was particularly heinous. Made in light of the massive empirical evidence that capital punishment is overtly racially discriminatory, it means that racist murder is legalized and institutionalized. The brutal cop murders of Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Stewart in New York City, the hideous MOVE massacre in Philadelphia and the Ku Klux Klan lynch rope are proclaimed the "law of the land" in racist America.

Democrats Back Reagan/Meese Reaction

In every way the Reagan administration has been seeking to expand the death penalty, lately in the realm of civilian "spies." They have the fulsome support of Democrats like Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, a "former" Klansman, who recently ranted that the two Marines charged with spying in the Moscow embassy affair are "not fit to live." In 1972, in the wake of a decade of civil rights protest and faced with a rising tide of antiwar protests, the Supreme Court in a 5-to-4 decision ruled the death penalty an unconstitutional "cruel and unusual punishment," because of its arbitrary and capricious application.

But the respite was shortlived; by 1976 the court reinstituted the death penalty under a policy of so-called "guided discretion." On the very eve of Jimmy Carter's inauguration, the executions began. And with the election of Ronald Reagan, the push for legal lynching was on, especially from Democratic state governments.

The spearhead of the present reactionary legal tide is Reagan's attorney general Edwin Meese, who is assiduously trying to codify the legal framework for a police state. Meese has set himself the task of dismantling the Bill of Rights and Reconstruction Amendments, whose efficacy is directly related to social struggle. Thus Meese targets two landmark Supreme Court decisions, by-products of the civil rights movement—the famous Miranda decision requiring the police to inform arrested suspects of their rights and another prohibiting evidence obtained without a valid search warrant—because, in his words, "they only help guilty people" (*New York Times Magazine*, 12 October 1986).

Meanwhile, a Justice Department brief argues that the government should have the power to carry out "warrantless electronic surveillance...warrantless entries...infiltration of organizations [and] disruption of organizations," and no court should be able to challenge such activity if it is for so-called national security ("The New Imperial Presidency" by Anthony Lewis, *Center for National Security Studies*, July/August 1985). "Preventive detention" is to be massively applied, and in case you have hope of eventually defending yourself in court, the already-in-place RICO laws will confiscate all your "criminal" assets beforehand. They already have concentration camps for aliens, and long-deceased Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey has bequeathed us the "emergency" detention camp provisions of the McCarran Act.

Topping the list in this program of preventive counterrevolution is the death penalty. From Sacco/Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs to the anonymous thousands who have died at the hands of the state, the American bourgeoisie has sought to maintain itself by repeated exemplary executions for the sheer purpose of *instilling terror*. It is an index of the grisly quality of "life" in the USA in 1987 that a Jim Crow death penalty is certified by the Supreme Court. The bourgeois Enlightenment of the 18th century phased out such barbaric methods as the rack and stonings, and proclaimed equal rights for all. But now, in capitalism's death agony, the most advanced "scientific" methods are being applied in a revival of state-sponsored butchery with an openly racist edge.

Humanity is being pushed backward to barbarism by a decadent class that refuses to leave the stage of history. As we wrote a decade ago (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977), after the execution of Gary Gilmore:

> "The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■

Philly MOVE...

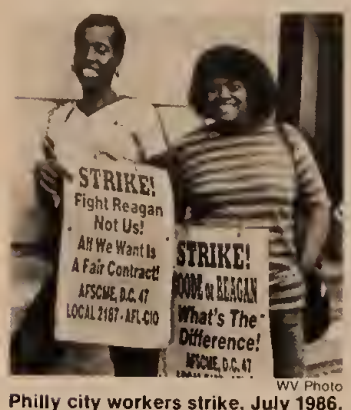
(continued from page 16)

Wicker, Merle Austin and Janet Holloway. Among the Africa brothers, at separate men's facilities, are William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez and Michael Davis. Mumia Abu Jamal, a MOVE sympathizer and former prominent black journalist in Philadelphia, is *on death row*, on lying charges of killing a cop. *Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!*

Goode & Rizzo: Murder, Inc.

Despite Wilson Goode's hopes, the MOVE massacre will not disappear. Even Goode's hand-picked commissions condemned his "grossly negligent" act of ordering the "unconscionable" bombing, and the "unjustified homicide" of five children. Two grand juries are continuing to investigate the massacre. Recent testimony by a cop involved in the assault revealed that top Philly police officials ordered fragmentation material (designed to kill and maim) included in the bomb dropped on the roof. Another grand jury is digging into the corruption scandal over rebuilding the 61 houses on Osage Avenue destroyed in the firestorm.

A public television *Frontline* documentary is scheduled for nationwide broadcast May 5, and a detailed account of the bombing, *Attention, MOVE! This Is America!*, by Margot Harry, a staff writer for *Revolutionary Worker*, has just been published. However, the grand juries originally scheduled to finish in April now say they will not complete their work until after the primary. And the *Frontline* program is being blacked out in Philadelphia until after May 19!



WV Photo

Philly city workers strike, July 1986. Goode, Rizzo, both strikebreakers.

Both candidates in the Democratic Party primary were behind the May 13 bombing. Wilson Goode, who declared "I'd do it again," is opposed by Edward G. Rendell, his former district attorney, who supplied the arrest warrants giving Goode the excuse he needed to go in. The white liberal Rendell now laments that "this city has suffered enormously because of MOVE." Rendell complained that the Soviet ambassador to the United States, on a CBS *Face the Nation* show, "when asked about the treatment of dissidents, responded by bringing up the MOVE deaths."

Viola/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mayors of murder: Rizzo led vicious 1970 raid on Black Panther headquarters (left). Incinerated bodies pulled from rubble of Osage Avenue in aftermath of Goode's 1985 MOVE massacre.

UPI

UPI

The only way Goode can resurrect his political career is by opposing an open racist in November—and his name is Frank Rizzo. The former police chief and mayor is expected to win the Republican primary, setting up a choice between two "mayors of murder." As police commissioner in the '60s, Rizzo was notorious for his stormtrooper attacks on the black ghetto of North Philadelphia and against SNCC and Black Panther Party militants. In August 1970 Rizzo raided the offices of the BPP, dragging Panthers onto the streets, stripping them naked in a "weapons check." A Democrat at the time, he went on to be elected mayor for two terms, from 1972 to 1980.

Rizzo is the architect of the city's vendetta against MOVE. He targeted the largely black radical organization for five years; MOVE members and supporters suffered over 400 arrests. In the fall of 1977, cops barricaded the Powelton Village neighborhood where MOVE had its house, laying siege to the commune for a *full year* culminating on 8 August 1978, when 600 cops moved in for the kill. In full view of TV cameras, Delbert Africa, a former Panther, was brutally stomped and beaten by three SWAT cops (one of whom would later appear in the Osage Avenue massacre). Twelve MOVE members were framed up because a cop died (likely killed in the police crossfire), and were slammed into prison for terms from 31 to 99 years. It is a sad testimony to the bankruptcy of the reformists' "black empowerment" schemes that today Philadelphia workers and blacks are given a "choice" between the butchers of 1978 and 1985.

The civil rights movement died "Up North" when it collided with the bedrock of racist American capitalism, where blacks are ghettoized, lumpenized and terrorized even without Jim Crow laws. In the wake of the ghetto explosions of the mid-'60s, the bourgeoisie installed black Democratic Party mayors like Detroit's Coleman Young to keep the lid on the inner cities. Not one of these front men even condemned the murder of MOVE. Racist pig Rizzo's remark regarding dropping the bomb on MOVE noted the role of these black overseers on the capitalist plantation: "Just imagine if it would have been another mayor, a white mayor. This city would still be having problems" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 March).

In 1984 Wilson Goode was brought in by the Philadelphia insurance companies and banks and installed as mayor. This former insurance adjuster and parole officer rose to prominence after his appointment as head of the Public Utilities Commission. There he got "hands on" experience in "crisis management" when the nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island nearly melted down in 1979! The PUC's stonewalling after TMI matched Goode's performance in the wake of the MOVE massacre.

After the MOVE bombing, Goode's stock with the capitalists plummeted. Trying to refurbish his image among blacks, this March he had the gall to host a "summit" on homelessness in Philadelphia! How about starting with the 250 people burned out on Osage Avenue! Goode promised they'd be back in their houses by Christmas of '85; but a year after the bombing, the houses still weren't ready, and even now the roofs leak! Compare this telling indictment of the profit-driven capitalist system to the Soviet experience with the Chernobyl disaster. Twelve months after the nuclear accident last year, the planned economy provided new homes for over *90,000* people displaced by the disaster.

City Unions in Goode's Sights

Goode regained much of the support of the capitalists who run Philadelphia when he took on city unions in 1986. In the past decade, transit workers and teachers have repeatedly struck when their two-year contracts expired. When SEPTA rail workers went out in a 108-day strike in 1983, they *really* struck, using their strategic industrial knowledge to short-circuit the trains while inspiring transit workers up and down the coast with hard class struggle! But in the '86 transit strike, TWU Local 234 president Roger Tauss praised the mayor of murder's negotiating skills: he is "extremely good at this kind of thing"!

Last July, when 13,000 AFSCME sanitation workers struck, the Murderer of Osage Avenue responded with a back-to-work court order, claiming the *union* was jeopardizing the "health and safety" of the city! AFSCME leaders caved in to Goode, and the strike was broken under the threat of mass firings and fines. The bourgeoisie voiced its approval: "Mayor Goode's Handling of Strike in Philadelphia Partly Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* (23 July 1986).

In January, Goode again took aim at the sanitationmen through District 33 president Earl Stout, whom Goode claimed was blackmailing the city over snow removal. Goode had nine union men arrested for "theft," charging they were lounging around on the street corners when they were supposed to be working! Stout vowed to "make Goode pay," saying the mayor had broken his promise to stop hiring non-union contractors. But Stout, one of the first to support Goode for mayor in '83, is a kingmaker in the Philly Democratic machine. His capitulation during the AFSCME strike followed his damning silence after the MOVE massacre.

Philadelphia Inquirer

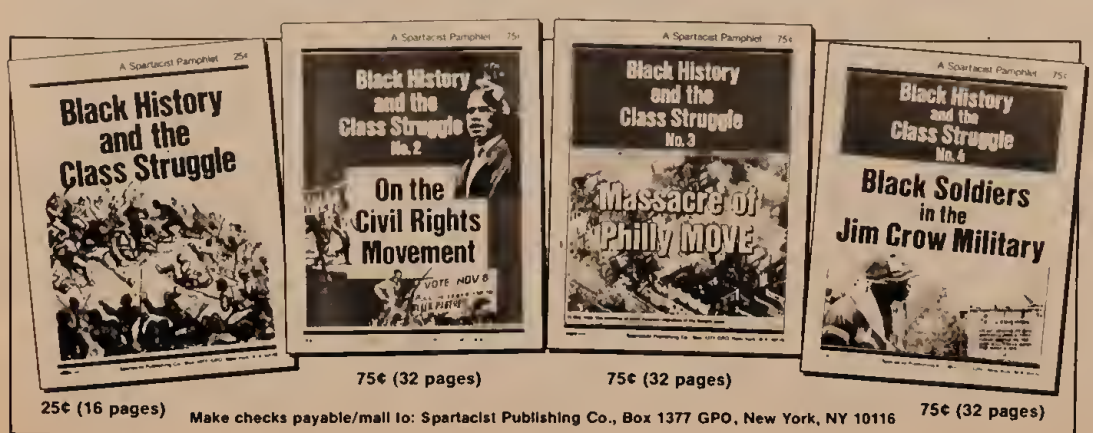
Free Ramona Africa!

Free Ramona and All MOVE Prisoners!

The Philadelphia city unions have real power and have shown they're not afraid to use it. From the combative city unions to the heavy battalions of the ILA, *they should have shut the city down over the MOVE massacre and driven Goode out of town!* The continued silence of the labor tops over the imprisonment of the MOVE members is a crime. In Chicago, transit workers in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308 passed a motion demanding Ramona be freed. This should inspire Philly unionists to do their duty and come to the aid of the MOVE prisoners, victims of a massacre aimed at all blacks and workers.

In the wanton, hideous murder of eleven black men, women and children on 13 May 1985 we see the hand of Meese. Carried out with the advice and consent of the FBI, the bombing of black America bore the signature of the Reagan years. Not only Wilson Goode wants it forgotten. With the Reagan administration in tatters, the labor bureaucrats are working overtime to keep workers and blacks chained to the Democratic Party. The reformist tails on the Democratic donkey campaigned for Goode in '84, and no doubt will support him again in November, either openly or backhandedly, professing the "lesser evil."

We communists of the Spartacist League want to sear into the memory of the working class the racist crimes of the capitalist class enemy. We are fighting to forge a multiracial workers party to lead a working-class socialist revolution that will achieve black liberation. Among the first tasks of the future workers government will be to avenge the MOVE martyrs of 13 May 1985. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Goode, Rizzo: Mayors of Murder

Avenge Philly MOVE!

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

Mother's Day 1985, the 13th of May, a cop hullhorn delivered the ultimatum: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Then the hideous siege and mass murder began. Hundreds of Philadelphia police, armed with Uzi machine guns, sniper rifles, M-60 and 50 calibre machine guns and armor-piercing antitank guns launched an assault on the Osage Avenue home of the MOVE commune. A satchel charge with the powerful military explosive C-4, dropped from a police helicopter, turned it into a fiery inferno. Eleven black people, including five children, were deliberately incinerated. Laughing during the assault, cops fired on MOVE members trying to escape the flames, driving them back to their death.

It was a willful, racist massacre of people who called themselves Africa, people who had committed no crime. Philly's black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the go-ahead for the calculated cold-blooded murder, a threat aimed at all who dared "step out of line" in Reagan's America. In the wake of the bombing, the "mayor of murder" has gone after the combative city unions—teachers, transit and sanitation workers. And the full force of state repression continues to bear down on the sole adult survivor of the MOVE massacre, Ramona Africa. Serving a 7-year term for "criminal conspiracy" (i.e., she has lived to bear witness to the massacre), Ramona has been denied parole because above all she refuses the obscene condition that she not associate with her MOVE family upon release.

UPI

Eleven members of MOVE family, including children, were massacred by Wilson Goode's firebombing in the service of Reagan reaction.

The Philadelphia mayoral primary election takes place on May 19, yet none of the candidates in either capitalist party can touch the MOVE massacre. "MOVE Appears a Taboo Issue in Mayoral Race," headlined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 March). As imprisoned MOVE member Sue Africa cried out at the trial of Ramona, "The whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands." Most of the left won't touch it either. The courageous MOVE prisoners have been ignored by the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World, who at the time rushed to alibi the black mayor and blame the *victims* for the massacre.

The Spartacist League has from the beginning raised international protest against this racist obscenity, holding forums to honor the memory of the MOVE martyrs; offering a platform to MOVE family members to speak of their outrage and their pain. The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL, has taken up the cause of the MOVE prisoners. Support for these class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the class duty of those on the outside toward those inside the walls of the capitalist prisons.

Ramona Africa is today in the women's prison at Muncy, Pennsylvania, along with seven of her sisters, including the *mothers of all the children murdered in the firebombing*. The seven are Consuewella Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Alberta

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Down with Racist Death Penalty!

The Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court has spoken, and its message is: death, especially for blacks. Striking down the last sweeping legal challenge to the death penalty, the highest court in the land outrageously approved by 5-to-4 Georgia's capital punishment system despite overwhelming evidence that blacks who kill whites are given the death penalty far more frequently than those who kill blacks—*22 times* more frequently, according to a study cited in the case. The court admitted that the study "indicates a discrepancy that appears to correlate with race" but arrogantly concluded that this was a "potentially irrelevant factor" and not "constitutionally significant." Thus they wound the legal clock back to the 1857 Dred Scott decision, when the court decreed that blacks had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Now even blatantly racist legal lynching gets the Supreme Court stamp of approval, and the spectre of mass executions hovers over the nation.

The legal challenge to the death penalty was made by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund on behalf of Warren McCleskey, a black man convicted in 1978 by a jury of eleven whites and one black of killing a white cop during an armed robbery in Atlanta. Fund attorneys cited an authoritative statistical study of over 2,400 murder cases in Georgia by Professor David Baldus of the University of Iowa Law School. The Baldus study "showed that 11 percent of all those charged with killing white victims in Georgia and 22 percent of the blacks accused of killing whites were sentenced to death, as against 1 percent of those charged with killing blacks" (*New York Times*, 23 April).

Yet the court incredibly ruled that this did not violate the Eighth Amendment prohibiting "cruel and unusual punishment" or the Fourteenth Amendment's supposed guarantees of "equal protection of the laws." Anyone claiming racial bias, the court ruled, "must prove that the decision makers in *his* case acted with a discriminatory purpose"—a virtually impossible legal task. The court dismissed the "apparent disparities" as "inevitable"—racism is for them a natural and unchangeable part of the "judicial process." Adding insult to injury, a *New York Times* (24 April) editorial noted that the majority opinion by Justice Lewis Powell even threw in the facetious-sounding oral argument of Justice Scalia that "the next thing you know, ugly people will charge discrimination too."

The executioners are already salivating at the thought of all those bodies lined up for the gas chamber, the electric chair, the lethal injection, the noose or the firing squad. In a separate deadly ruling in the same week, the court ruled that you don't even have to kill anybody to get the death penalty—they just have to show you were in some way an "accomplice" in a crime such as a robbery where someone got killed. Last year the Supreme Court ruled that anyone who is against the death penalty can be excluded from juries, thereby ensuring that you'll get a hanging jury, often one with no blacks on it. Earlier, the "high court" ruled that death row inmates could be executed before their legal appeals had been exhausted. In racist America, the death penalty is above all for black people. (As of March 1, there were 1,874 inmates on death row, 41.5 percent of whom were black.) And needless to say, we are speaking only of those who are lucky enough to make it to court—these days, many blacks are simply executed on the spot by the cops, who know they can get away with it.

Breslauer/AP

Austin, Texas: protesters demand freedom for death-row prisoner Clarence Bradley.

Death Penalty in Racist America

Liberal opponents of the death penalty see it as an aberration in a "civilized democracy." They can't explain why capital punishment survives and even thrives in late 20th century America. The answer, disguised in legal gobbledygook, is in the court's majority opinion: McCleskey's claim, wrote Justice Powell, "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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All Roads Lead to the Contra in Chief

Grace/Newsweek

Johnston/Washington Post

Democratic Party-controlled committee to "investigate" Contragate is out to contain the damage, covering up Reagan's crimes...and theirs.

Reagangate: Democrats Cover Up

"Live, from Washington, D.C., it's the Iran/Contragate hearings." It's billed as high TV docudrama, elaborately staged with soft cop/hard cop routines, Country 1 and Country 2 code names, "Follow the Money" and other trivial pursuits. All supposedly to track down the overt/covert funding of the CIA's contra mercenaries in contravention of various Congressional prohibitions, U.S. laws and other impediments. "When did you tell the president about this? And what did you tell him?" intoned Senate investigative committee chief counsel Arthur Liman, tossing off his Watergate line he's been practicing for weeks. Former National Security Adviser McFarlane said he'd written it on a 3x5 card, which was returned with expressions of presidential satisfaction and pleasure. How did investigators discover "Reagan knew" about the Iran-contra funds diversion? "They must have found the memo," Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North is said to have replied, remarking something to the effect that he must have "missed one" in his "shredding party." In spite of the attempts at obliteration, it's clear that all roads lead to the Contra in Chief.

But the TV "investigation" being played out by the Congressional Democrats is cover-up city. Committee chairman Inouye declared that it will not be done "in a way that suggests to our adversaries that we are a nation divided." No indeed. North and a couple of sidekicks now safely outside the Reagan administration are being set up as fall guys, pleading guilty to tax fraud for having solicited contra arms money from wealthy right-wingers for ostensibly tax-deductible "educational" purposes. (Reagan says he thought the dough was for contra commercials.) This is part of a plea bargain, not in return for their testimony against higher-ups but in return for their silence. This is not going after Al Capone but after a pair of his capos on income tax charges. They'll show that Reagan's the one, all right—"intensely aware" of the secret contra aid, said Republican Senator Cohen; "very knowledgeable," said Inouye. And then...nothing, because the "threat to the presidency" is too great. Who could expect any different?

Some of the key players will naturally stonewall. Conveniently for the administration, William Casey's lips are sealed forever: the day before he was to testify before the Tower Commission, the ex-CIA chief had a seizure and had half his brain removed, so he couldn't talk (or mumble) to Congressional investigators; he expired the very day General

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CIA's Contras Murder American Volunteer

Salute Ben Linder

On April 28 Benjamin Linder, an American volunteer working in Nicaragua, was executed by a contra hit squad. He was the first American killed by the counterrevolutionaries who have slaughtered more than 15,000 Nicaraguans in their dirty war. Linder's murderers—armed, paid and directed by the United States government—are engaged in a last-ditch drive to loosen Congressional purse strings with an orgy of bloodletting. Even as the contra killers carried out their crime, Washington was undertaking the largest-ever war "maneuvers" in Central America, targeting Sandinista Nicaragua. Benjamin Linder gave his life in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. His heroic example and internationalist commitment must inspire class-conscious workers and militant youth to dedicate their lives to the struggle for an American revolution that will put an end to Yankee imperialism and its bloody crimes.

Ben Linder was a mechanical engineer working on hydroelectric projects in the mountains near the Honduran border. Killed along with him were two Nicaraguans, Paulo Rosales and Sergio Hernández from San José de Bocay, who were helping Linder bring electricity to their village. In the last five years thousands of Nicaraguan peasants and workers have been killed by the contra cutthroats. Hundreds of teachers, doctors, technicians and professionals, including nine *internacionalistas*, have been assassinated. But it was Linder's death at the hands of U.S.-directed mercenaries which has brought the war home to many Americans. His older brother John denounced the authors of the crime: "The United States government killed my brother. The contras killed my brother, and Reagan says he is a contra."

NICAT

Benjamin Linder working on Nicaraguan hydroelectric project.

This was cold-blooded murder. Contra disinformation claimed Linder was caught in a crossfire. But his father, David Linder, a pathologist, released a medical examiner's report showing that his son survived the initial barrage, immobilized by rifle fire:

> "He was then killed by a gunshot wound to his head. The powder then suggests that he was shot at very close range, possibly two feet away or less. What I am telling you is they blew his brains out at gunpoint, there as he lay wounded at the site."

They did it by the book: this execution is a page taken straight from the CIA's murder manual, which called for "neutralizing" Sandinista officials and development workers. The FDN contras vowed to continue the assassinations. And the White House blamed Linder for his own death, saying that he had put

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Bush in the Bushes?

Bedroom Snoops Sink Gary Hart

American politics is awash in sleaze. Gary Hart's forced withdrawal as the front-running Democratic presidential contender—they're calling it "campaignus interruptus"—has the Republicans oozing glee. "I can't deny that it has been a great media diversion," smirked presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. They've had plenty of problems lately on their side of the aisle: the vicious lying moron Reagan crippled and his whole crew of incompetent wild men and contra murderers stonewalling in Congress, Meese's dabbling in Wedtech, the Deaver and Donovan deals, etc. It's a sign of these hypocritical Moral Majority times that it only took a couple of well-placed "anonymous tips" to set the entire press corps on Hart like a pack of wolves.

It wasn't the *National Enquirer* that did Hart in. The *Miami Herald*'s "Miami vice" act, turning its reporters into stakeout snoops hoping to catch Hart in the act, or at least in the presence of a leggy blonde model, was despicable. The *Washington Post* got in a final blow, telling the beleaguered Hart campaign it had its own '87-model "Deep Throat," complete with documents, ready to reveal a Hart liaison with a Washington society lady. All the "responsible" media smarmily defended their prying into politicians' private lives by claiming "public interest." But according to a *Newsweek* (18 May) poll, 70 percent of the American public is opposed to media spying, and two out of three think Hart got a raw deal.

Carl Iwasaki

Peter Borsari

Reagan's legion of indecency strikes again, hounding Gary Hart for seeing model Donna Rice. Government, media snoops out of the bedroom!

It was a new low when a reporter actually asked Hart, "Have you ever committed adultery?" For many past presidents, this was simply treated as a fact of life. Warren G. Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Kennedy come to mind—Roosevelt even mobilized the Secret Service to ensure privacy for his meetings with his mistress. It used to be they waited until they were dead before the "now it can be told" stuff came out—and they certainly weren't about to sing about Jack Kennedy's affair with a Mafia moll.

As we've said many times, government has no business interfering in private life, which means basically sex. The corollary is that the private life of people in government should be nobody's business either. Interesting, perhaps, but a little screwing around is no crime against humanity, unlike the vicious imperialist wars—both open and secret—against everyone and everything that interferes with capitalism's profits. As for Hart's "character," what we've got to say is he's a dangerous "more bang for the buck" Cold Warrior. Like every other Democratic and Republican candidate in a field scattered with second-rate nonentities, certified fanatics, war criminals and CIA spies, Hart wants to preside over a system that exploits and oppresses just about everybody not born into the "Fortune 500."

Is it an accident that this scandal exploded just the day before the Iran-gate-Contragate Congressional hearings opened? For an administration in what former CIA chief George Bush would call "deep doodoo," it couldn't have come at a more convenient time. Talk about "dirty tricks": at Hart's fund-raiser kicking off the '88 campaign, federal marshals came in and seized the funds (supposedly for back '84 debts). Back in 1972 there was a group known as the "White House plumbers," who brought us Watergate, a program of sabotage, break-ins and smear jobs against the Democrats. Interestingly, part of the intention of Nixon's hatchetmen was to ensure the nomination of George McGovern, who they calculated was seen as so far out the Democrats were guaranteed to lose, as indeed happened. McGovern's campaign manager: Gary Hart.

So now Gary Hart's been got. If it wasn't G. Gordon Liddy, we wonder: was there a Bush lurking in the bushes outside that Washington townhouse? What tips did dirty trickster Nixon really give Reagan on how to handle Contragate? The *New York Times* titled a boxed chronology of Hart's political demise "Eight Days in May," an obvious takeoff on *Seven Days in May*, the movie about a secret generals' coup plot against the U.S. government.

Whether or not Gary Hart "courted danger," had a political "death wish," or was a "pantless chump" (in the words of the London *Guardian*) is irrelevant. That he obviously felt himself susceptible to this campaign of sexual blackmail by "anonymous" smear jobs abetted by the whorish media is a condemnation of the vicious hypocrisy of this society. Why don't they just tell the witchhunters to go to hell, as former Nixon flack William Safire suggested? Because the Democrats have tried to out-Reagan Reagan on everything from the drug witchhunt to Meese's sex police (not to mention voting for contra aid). Eight-plus years of "Moral Majority" crusades, beginning under Jimmy "lust in the heart" Carter, have created a climate of hysteria in which nobody's safe. What's next—mandatory chastity belts for declared candidates (to be removed only for periodic obligatory urine drug tests)?■

TROTSKY

Fighting Fascism in France

LENIN

Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933 and the world depression plunged France into social crisis. Mounting fascist terror gave rise to a bonapartist government resting on the state and military bureaucracy. Radicalized workers moved to the left of their Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships, who twisted their keenly felt need for united-front action *into a bureaucratic straitjacket. From his precarious exile in France, Trotsky wrote:*

...if the united front, assuring its rear and its flanks against the fascist bands, opens up a *broad political offensive under the slogan of conquest of power*, it will awaken an echo so powerful as to exceed the most optimistic expectations....

There is no need of inventing means of struggle. They are provided by the whole history of the world working class movement.

Concentrated campaigns in the working class press pounding steadily on the same key; real socialist speeches from the tribune of parliament, not by tame deputies but by the leaders of the people; the utilization of every electoral campaign for revolutionary purposes; repeated meetings to which the masses come not merely to hear the speakers but to get the slogans and directives of the hour; the creation and strengthening of the workers' militia; well-organized demonstrations driving the reactionary bands from the streets; protest strikes; an open campaign for the unification and enlargement of the trade union ranks under the banner of resolute class struggle; stubborn, carefully calculated activity to win the army over to the cause of the people; broader strikes; more powerful demonstrations; the general strike of toilers of town and country; a general offensive against the Bonapartist government; for the workers' and peasants' power.

—Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?* (October 1934)

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France: For Workers Action to Smash the Fascists!

PARIS—A wave of racist attacks is spreading around France as stormtroopers set out to "conquer the streets." In the space of a week thugs of the fascist National Front (FN) militarily occupied the center of Marseille and terrorized a neighborhood in Lyon for hours, both times under the protection of the police of "Socialist" president Mitterrand and conservative premier Chirac. On May 7, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the office of a Communist-led union in Rouen. That same night a fascist commando sacked the offices of an organization of immigrant youth in Lyon and stole its membership list. They left behind a portrait of Klaus Barbie, the Nazi "Butcher of Lyon" whose trial started May 11.

In Paris, more than 10,000 National Front supporters marched on May 10, the day commemorating Joan of Arc and a traditional rallying point for French reaction. In addition to saluting the FN *Führer* Le Pen and launching his candidacy for the 1988 presidential election, they applauded the portrait of Marshal Pétain, leader of the Nazi-collaborationist Vichy regime in World War II. The next day, a bomb was thrown at an immigrant cultural center in Marseille, wounding three. Meanwhile, Barbie's trial has provoked the resurgence of tracts peddling the Nazi Big Lie that the murder of six million Jews never happened. This proliferation of fascist provocations and attacks is an alarm signal for the entire working class.

Last December hundreds of thousands of workers joined students demonstrating in Paris alongside immigrant families and youth against the racist murder of Malik Oussekine. And in a strike wave this winter, the most powerful since May '68, French workers forced the reactionary government to backtrack on a number of proposed retrogressive social measures. Since then the proletariat has remained ready for action. A working-class counter-offensive to this escalation by the fascists is now a burning necessity. But it has run up against the barrier of the bureaucratic misleaders who hamstring any real workers mobilization with their class-collaborationist politics. The struggle against fascism is above all a struggle to forge a new revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Le Pen Gangsters in Action

On April 4 in Marseille, France's "segregation city," Le Pen put himself at the head of some 20,000 "demonstrators" screaming racist insults. Their goal—"recover the Canedière"—was an outright racist provocation. The Canedière, the main avenue of Marseille, is adjacent to the predominantly North African immigrant neighborhood of Belsunce. In an earlier mass rally Le Pen demanded "resistance against decadence and foreign occupation" as his shock troops made ready to act on these calls to racist murder. Unfortunately, they found only a few hundred combative immigrant youth and not thousands of the city's dockers and railwaymen in their path: the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations (controlled respectively by the Stalinists and the social democrats) refused to mobilize in defense of Belsunce.

Le Pen's thugs went berserk, sending several anti-racist demonstrators or simple passers-by to the hospital. One rabid fascist even fired a pistol shot at a window from which an anti-Le Pen slogan had been shouted! The government's CRS riot police turned their tear gas grenades against the immigrants, then launched their own racist anti-immigrant riot. A few days later at Vitrolles, near Marseille, a local leader of the National Front fired his P-38 at a Jewish youth—demonstrating again that Arabs are not the only intended victims of the fascists' program for genocide.

In Lyon after another of Le Pen's rallies a commando of 40 fascists invaded the Croix-Rousse neighborhood on the night of April 10-11, armed with clubs, iron bars and pistols. For two hours they attacked immigrants and youth, besieging neighborhood residents in North African cafés and vandalizing the offices of community groups, a theater and mailboxes with Arab names. The Lyon FN gloried in this assault, calling on the population to drive out "leftist committees, gangs of hoodlums and the foreigners that they organize." Croix-Rousse was not chosen by accident: it is well known for being racially integrated and a center of leftist activity.

The Lyon local of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, issued a leaflet April 14 calling for mobilizing the power of the working class in Lyon's industrial suburbs "to protect this neighborhood by defense groups based on the trade unions and supported by neighborhood residents. The defense of the organized workers movement which Le Pen dreams of crushing under an iron heel is imperatively posed in the form of the defense of our immigrant class brothers and all those who the fascists consider as 'degenerates' and 'subhumans' and want to exterminate."

The Fascist Danger and How to Fight It

In 1934 Trotsky characterized French fascism as follows:

> "It is still too weak for the direct struggle for power, but it is strong enough to attempt to beat down the working class organizations bit by bit, to temper its hands in its attacks, and to spread dismay and lack of self-confidence among the ranks of the workers.... Nothing increases the insolence of fascists more than 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers organizations. Nothing destroys the confidence of the middle classes in the working class as much as temporizing, passivity, and the absence of the will to struggle."
>
> —*Whither France?* (October 1934)

Fascism mobilizes and arms the lumpenproletariat and petty bourgeoisie hit by the economic crisis and driven to a frenzy by the impotence of parliamentary democracy and the reformist workers parties to resolve the crisis. Designating "Jewish capital," immigrant workers and "communist agitators" as scapegoats, fascism aims at nothing less than the physical destruction of the organized workers movement, and the liquidation of all democratic rights.

After 1981 Le Pen benefited not only from the impact of the popular front's "left" austerity program on the petty bourgeoisie, but also from the anti-Soviet and anti-immigrant policies of the Mitterrand government that rendered his program of racist and anti-Communist terror increasingly respectable. Today he offers up his shock troops to the bourgeoisie as a spearhead of social reaction. Some members of Chirac's shaky parliamentary majority, eager for revenge on the working class and frustrated by the government's paralysis after the shock of the railwaymen's strike, are beginning to take this offer seriously.

AFP

AP

Mitterrand's popular front paved way for fascist Le Pen (left), whose thugs (right) beat immigrant workers in Marseille, April 4.

Today's reformist saboteurs of the anti-fascist struggle, after having decided to "ignore" the fascists as insignificant, now argue that the National Front has grown too strong to permit successful workers mobilizations against these scum! But it is not too late to turn the situation around.

On a small scale in Elbeuf, a working-class suburb of Rouen, a de facto united front of left organizations mobilized several dozen worker militants, including from the nearby Renault-Cléon plant, against the fascist thugs. Their action successfully prevented a repeat of the February 28 fascist attack on left newspaper salesmen at the local market in which a member of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) was sent to the hospital. The LTF played an important role in this mobilization, as it is well known for having initiated the 11 December 1981 Rouen demonstration under the slogan "Stop the fascists!" which drew support from several trade unions and other organizations, mobilizing some 400 persons including a number of trade unionists. It is this kind of workers action which is now needed on a much wider scale to sweep the fascist scum off the streets.

But recent "protest" demonstrations organized by the Communist Party (PCF), the Socialist Party or "SOS Racisme," supported by the "far left," put the defense of the victims of racist terror in the hands of the class enemy by *calling on the cops* to intervene! Workers and immigrants can only rely on their own strength, their own organization and their own mobilizations to defend themselves.

The leadership of the main workers party, the PCF, bears the main responsibility for the lack of response to the fascist provocations. A leading PCF spokesman, Charles Fiterman [ex-minister in the Mitterrand government], actually attempted to "unmask" Le Pen as unpatriotic (!) for his support to the Common Market: "He is ready to liquidate French independence and

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Cochin/Keystone

Student strikes rocked France last winter, protested cop murder of immigrant youth.

Victory to Midwest Meatpackers Strikes!

No More Hormel Betrayals!

CHICAGO—Two thousand five hundred packinghouse workers in Sioux Falls, South Dakota honored a roving picket line on Friday, May 1, the working-class holiday, and they've been out on a sympathy strike ever since. The roving pickets were sent by Local 1142 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) at the John Morrell & Co. plant in Sioux City, Iowa. Local 1142 hit the street March 9, more than a month after Morrell unilaterally imposed a contract "agreement" that slashed wages by $1.25 an hour—this on top of the more than $3-an-hour cut forced on the 750 members of this local three years ago. Up in Sioux Falls, Local 304-A members know what's at stake. "When they've crushed Sioux City like a peanut, they're going to come here," explained business agent Jim Lyons, adding, "good union people honor picket lines" (*Des Moines Register*, 2 May).

Across the Midwest during the last six years packinghouse workers, particularly in the pork industry, have been given the shaft with almost 20,000 jobs washed down the drain and wages cut to the bone—and then some. In addition to the Morrell strikes, 850 members of UFCW Local P-40 in Cudahy, Wisconsin have been on strike for four months, as 700 scabs cross their lines. Iowa Beef Products (IBP), the notorious anti-labor subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, meantime, is going all-out to smash a strike by UFCW Local 222 at its Dakota City, Nebraska beef slaughtering plant (just across the state line from Sioux City).

UPI

National Guard broke militant Iowa Beef Processors strike in 1982.

IBP's union-busting is notorious: in the 1969, 1977 and 1982 strikes they ran scabs into the plant under the guns of state troopers or National Guardsmen. Workers at the plant are slaughtered along with cattle, as over *one-third* of the workforce is injured annually on the job. "The union says the lost workday rate was 43 percent higher than the average for the meatpacking industry, which is already one of the most dangerous manufacturing industries in the country.... In 1986 alone, more than 1,500 employees quit work at the plant" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 March). IBP has recruited 800 Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese (out of a workforce of 2,900), in an effort to find replacements for the workers it has maimed.

On April 12, three thousand unionists from southeastern Wisconsin converged on the Milwaukee suburb of Cudahy to back the P-40 strikers. Leading the march was an integrated motorcycle squadron organized by Allied Industrial Workers Local 409 from the Harley-Davidson engine plant in Milwaukee. Black and white Milwaukee transit workers chanted "We hate scabs!" As the march passed the 99-year-old Cudahy packinghouse, unionists chanted "Scabs Out, Union In!" P-40 hit the bricks January 3 after rejecting Cudahy's demands for massive wage cuts, benefit reductions and work rule changes. The company's arrogant demands are the final straw for P-40 members, who have already been through the concessions mill twice in the last six years, losing over $3 per hour.

Unionism itself is on the chopping block, as non-union outfits pop up and older companies try to give recalcitrant locals the "Hormel treatment," imitating the way Hormel (and the UFCW International tops) wiped out the combative Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota last year. A workers offensive must be mounted to organize the non-union houses and win a decent uniform industrywide wage scale and benefits. Labor can bring the packinghouse bosses to their knees only by reviving the weapons of militant working-class solidarity—mass picket lines that no one crosses, "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) struck products, plant occupations, and an industrywide meatpackers strike.

UFCW Tops—Labor Cops

The misleaders of the UFCW International, who act as labor cops for the packers, have sent one isolated local after another to the giveback kill floor. When P-9 tried to fight back, UFCW chief William Wynn helped Hormel smash the local *and then organized the scabs into the union!* Now the International uses the P-9 defeat to peddle more betrayals—from Dakota City to Cudahy. UFCW official Lewie Anderson recently told the *New York Times* (18 January), "We examined the Hormel situation very carefully and we concluded that to follow the tactics that they did of putting large numbers of people on the picket line to try and stop scabs from working was a disaster."

This time, at Cudahy, the strike is being run by the UFCW tops—right into the ground. At the April 12 rally, P-40 president Mark Rosenbaum attacked the courageous P-9 strikers for dividing the union! P-9 battled a "united front" of cops, courts, National Guard, Democratic Party politicians and the UFCW tops. But their leaders diverted strikers from the crucial fight to shut down the plant, and into a useless consumer boycott to "Cram Your Spam." It is the pro-Democratic Party union tops who are setting up Cudahy workers to be slaughtered, by placing their faith in another toothless consumer boycott and an unfair labor practice charge against the company issued by the National Labor Relations Board—with the next hearing not scheduled until June 3!

WV Photo

Cudahy, Wisconsin: 3,000-strong labor rally backs striking meatpackers, April 12.

Cudahy bosses have exploited the desperation of blacks in Milwaukee, as the state unemployment office provides scabs from the disproportionately black unemployed. In recent years, plant shutdowns and layoffs have hit Milwaukee hard, and black Milwaukee hardest: the city's official unemployment rate is 28 percent, second only to Detroit (*Milwaukee Journal*, 16 January). Meanwhile the capitalists and their government have enforced a system of metropolitan segregation with the Milwaukee ghetto surrounded by white suburbs like the company town of Cudahy. The significant number of black P-40 members employed at the packinghouse face housing discrimination if they try to live in the city where they work. Cudahy is one of two dozen towns currently resisting a Milwaukee Board of Education lawsuit that would allow inner-city black students to transfer to suburban schools. Even this minimal integration measure is too much for the racists who killed busing.

The racial antagonisms fueled by the company's move to take hundreds of blacks across P-40's picket lines erupted in the second week of the strike, when, according to Local P-40 secretary-treasurer Ken Toepel, hackward white pickets taunted the scabs with racial slurs. This kind of disgusting racist crap has no place on a union picket line, and threatens the survival of the integrated union! After the racist slurs, the P-40 leadership dished out liberal lectures on the plight of the strikebreakers and ordered its pickets not to interfere with them. Later, union spokesmen at the April 12 rally denounced Cudahy and the capitalist press for attempting to foster racial divisions in the strike. But it is the refusal of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy to fight this deeply racist system that allows the bourgeoisie to set up the working class for race war.

The disastrous consequences of letting the bosses play the race card can be seen in the decimation of the 1919 Chicago meatpackers strike (see our review of the TV film *The Killing Floor*, "Chicago 1919: Racism and Union-Busting," *WV* No. 422, 20 February). What's needed now is integrated mass picketing to stop the scabs and shut Cudahy down tight—inextricably linked to putting the power of labor in the vanguard of the fight against black oppression. Union locals like P-40 must take the lead in organizing labor/black power to break down the walls of segregation in education and housing, against racist cop and Klan attacks, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to end unemployment at the bosses' expense. Black unionists as militant labor fighters linking up with the oppressed ghetto poor will play a leading role in waging *class* struggle against racist capitalism.

Dump the Bureaucrats—Break with the Democrats!

Both the UFCW International labor traitors *and* their "progressive opponents" in the union (like the former P-9 leadership) are lined up behind the strikebreaking Democratic Party. Featured at the Cudahy rally was black Democrat Jesse Jackson, darling of the reformist left, which brought him to Austin during the Hormel strike. Jackson gave his now-familiar presidential campaign speech tailored to the mainly white farm belt communities of the Midwest. He explicitly counterposed "economic violence" to racist terror as the "real" issue in America today. What's needed, he said, is a coalition to get rid of Reagan and bring about "new corporate behavior" based on "sound economic morals." Preaching "morals" to the class that takes food stamps from the poor to pay for its anti-Soviet war drive, that butchers thousands of workers from the kill floors of the Midwest to the coal mines of West Virginia? Jackson, who pointedly met with the Cudahy bosses and scabs in the plant, went to Cudahy and Austin to *bury* class struggle by chaining the working class to the Democrats.

The liberation of working people and oppressed minorities will only come about through a revolutionary struggle to overturn the decaying profit system, in which Wall Street barons pocket the billions they make ripping the industrial heart out of America. The only answer to this imperialist rot is a nationalized planned economy administered by a workers government. Worker militants must unchain labor and blacks through a fight to oust the labor fakers from the unions and build a class-struggle workers party. With Reagan on the skids, *now* is the time for some good hard class struggle to rout the packinghouse bosses and their flunkeys! Victory to the Cudahy, Morrell and IBP strikes! ■

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New York on the Edge

From Howard Beach, Queens to Columbia University, the racist terrorists are running wild in New York. Attacks on blacks are mounting week by week and everyone knows the city could blow up at any time. Black police commissioner Benjamin Ward warns about an "agenda for this summer" with "more taking to the streets and more demonstrations." A *New York Times* (19 March) editorial voices NYC rulers' worry about a "long hot summer." Ward ought to know. For years it's been Mayor Ed Koch and the murderous NYPD whose "official" onslaught against blacks has whipped up the racist bigots. And what is Koch's message to the ghettos today? Under the new proposed city budget, 2,000 more killer cops will be put on the street. The city is at the brink of a racial explosion and there are sinister forces trying to push it over the edge.

With New York already at the flash point, on April 27 the trial of Bernhard Goetz opened in Manhattan State Supreme Court. The skinny white bespectacled electronics nerd made headlines worldwide as the "subway vigilante" when he shot four black teenagers trying to rip him off on the IRT downtown express on 22 December 1984. Goetz is

Francisco Gonzalez

"Subway vigilante" Bernhard Goetz (left) and lawyer Slotnik.

charged with four counts of attempted murder, assault, reckless endangerment and unlawful weapon possession in the incident. Goetz was immediately hailed as the "IRT avenger" by forces of racist reaction, such as Rupert Murdoch's *Post*, out to fan the flames of vigilantism, while limousine liberals sermonizing about gun control denounced him for "taking the law into his own hands." Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau initially gave Goetz kid-glove treatment, but switched tack as the rulers realized something had to be done to defuse black outrage over *police* murders of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs.

Biggart/City Sun

Brooklyn, April 11: 2,000 riot-equipped cops seal off Crown Heights.

Now the people who run things in this city are going after Goetz, the *Post* included, precisely because he's not a cop. Above all they're concerned to protect the state's monopoly of armed force. As the trial began, Goetz' lawyer Slotnick leveled a barrage of racist filth against the black youths in court, railing about "savages" in suits. Outside the court, assorted radicals and liberals picketed on opening day with signs reading "Racist Rambo" and "Bernhard Goetz/KKK: Different Names, Same Game." In contrast, we have insisted from the beginning that the Goetz case is rent with contradictions. The man was some kind of a law-and-order freak, "a loner turned vigilante," we wrote, yet he was also a walking "mark" who "had mug me written all over him."

> "Goetz certainly violated the formal police rules of engagement; by any humane standards he responded with excessive violence. Very possibly a valid defense would be temporary insanity, as a result of his previous mugging. On the other hand, one of the youths is paralyzed for life, and his life presently hangs in the balance. That, too, counts for us."
>
> —"NYC 'Subway Vigilante': On Contradiction," *WV* No. 371, 25 January 1985

If Goetz' response was excessive, his fear was justified. His statement in the New Hampshire police videotape that when somebody turns to you on a New York subway and says "How are you?" this can be a "real threat" is flatly true—especially when they "ask" for $5! At the same time, the tape showed Goetz as a real sociopath, a concentrated expression of the social pathology of New York City, as are the menacing black criminals who cornered him. While the liberals and fake-radicals close their eyes to it, lumpen crime is an ugly reality in New York, particularly for black people—which is why there was substantial *black* support for Goetz. We stand for the right of armed self-defense, and actively defended black subway token clerk James Grimes who the Brooklyn D.A. and the TA tried to frame up for defending himself against a gang of muggers. To deny or ignore this fundamental right is to leave blacks utterly defenseless in the face of criminal and racist attacks and to push whites into the arms of the racist mobs.

Racist Rampage

Since the Howard Beach lynching last December, when 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith was savagely beaten (along with two black companions) by a mob of white thugs outside a pizza parlor and then murdered, there has been a wave of racist attacks in NYC. And the cops have been leading the pack: witness the case of black transit worker Wajid Abdul-Salaam who died in a police holding pen February 12 after being arrested and hogtied. On March 22, two dozen Columbia University football jocks and frat rats screaming racist epithets set upon any black male they could find (the *New York Times* called it a "brawl" between blacks and whites). But these are only some of the most publicized incidents—this spring there has been one racist attack after another. Among the *reported* cases:

- On March 9, at 3 a.m., Brooklyn cops beat and arrested a pregnant black woman and her mother outside their home, then charged inside to club other family members and another pregnant woman.
- On March 18, three black youths on their way to play basketball were attacked by six whites shouting "Remember Howard Beach!"
- On March 20, Hispanic worker Alberto Flores was clubbed senseless by the cops on the Upper West Side; unknown to the cops a neighbor had filmed the entire assault from his apartment window—later thousands of horrified New Yorkers watched the videotaped beating and heard the screams as this graphic example of the cops' standard M.O. was played on TV.
- On March 12, white racists, one with a gun, surrounded three black men whose car had broken down in Canarsie. Luckily, one of the black men was a retired cop. "The only thing that saved our lives was that I identified myself as an officer," he said.

The assaults have grown increasingly bold. On the afternoon of April 13, at the busy intersection of Avenue N and Utica in Canarsie, Brooklyn, a bus crowded with mostly black passengers stopped to let off riders. Suddenly 20 white punks charged the bus with ax handles, baseball bats, spiked clubs and tire irons. Screaming racial epithets, the mob rocked the bus, smashed the window and almost ripped the door off. The attack lasted for 15 minutes before the thugs fled in pickup trucks and vans; no cops arrived. This story was reported by Peter Noel in the *Daily Challenge* (24 April) but was not "fit to print" in the *Times* or the tabloids.

And on April 20, racist homeowners in Flushing, Queens torched a house which the city had leased to house black and Latin foster care infants. (There's also been a violent backlash in the boros about setting up shelters for the homeless.) Unlike Columbia, where Koch sent his cops wading into demonstrations, arresting black victims of the racists, burning down a shelter for minority babies was so socially explosive that the mayor went out to Flushing to say he wouldn't stand for this "terrorist act." But everyone remembers how he earlier called the Howard Beach murder a "lynching," only to drop it after getting the heat from his racist constituents in Queens.

When they let off killer cop Sullivan, the triggerman in the eviction-by-death of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, the cops knew they had a green light for racist terror. The day of the verdict, February 26, the Bronx court was turned into an armed camp, with police cordons and dogs in the corridors, hundreds of cops ringing the block, sharpshooters on the rooftops, a police helicopter overhead and a veritable army camped out at nearby Yankee Stadium. Two days later police executed black Muslim street vendor Nicholas Bartlett at 125th and Lenox in Harlem—now Morgenthau's grand jury has declared that no cop will stand trial for this crime. In March, when the MTA announced it would back minor perjury charges against one cop in the chokehold murder of black artist Michael Stewart, while *refusing* to bring charges against ten other cops, a mob of 500 armed transit police furiously swarmed outside TA police headquarters.

Newsday

From left: Black preachers Herbert Daughtry, Calvin Butts, Lawrence Lucas and Wendell Foster support racist mayor Koch's campaign to put 2,000 more killer cops on the streets.

Reagan Wants Race War

With this show of bonapartist cop power, the police are itching for an excuse to move in and use their murderous arsenal. Repeatedly they have mobilized hordes of cops against demonstrators: at a March 10 protest at Police Plaza over the killing of Bartlett, cops everywhere, surrounding NYPD headquarters and City Hall as if prepared for an assault; on March 20 at the UN, hundreds of police face off against 300 demonstrators; on April 2, again hundreds of police on rooftops, in unmarked vans, at a demo against "Dr. Death," NYC coroner Elliot Gross. But, ominously, there are forces which

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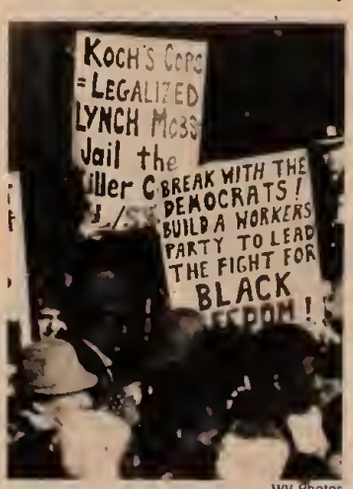

WV Photos

Spartacists, militant workers protest hideous cop murder of Eleanor Bumpurs. Capitalist courts let killer cop Sullivan walk.

Garbage Doesn't Walk By Itself

What Makes BT Run?

Here's something that is positively weird and getting weirder. It goes under the heading of the Bolshevik Tendency (BT), which formerly styled itself the "External Tendency" of the Spartacist tendency. These people mainly individually quit our organization during the "Reagan years." When people quit an organization, they generally don't want to have anything more to do with it; they have other fish to fry. But the ET/BT has always pursued an unnatural obsession with the SL. A BT forum to be held in New York is devoted solely to the topic: "Spartacist League: From Trotskyism to Political Banditry." The BT has spent five years bewailing our "degeneration." Are we that important? Not according to the BT: in the pages of its bulletins and its *1917* magazine, the SL is "over the brink," on a "plunge toward political irrelevance," "can no longer be considered, in any sense, a revolutionary organization."

To camouflage its obsession with us, the BT sought to pass itself off as having an *orientation* toward the SL. Mimicking historically familiar language, they put themselves forward as critical supporters of the international Spartacist tendency, prior to its "degeneration" of course. Thus, they claimed to be dissidents unjustly excluded, external factionalists seeking to return the iSt to a correct course or, at least, win its remaining healthy elements to a new group refounded upon former principles. But this is transparently a fraudulent posture. Far from being expelled, the BTs mainly quit, as a trickle of individuals, with relief, and mainly admitting to long-standing differences they hadn't fought for. Subsequently, in every way imaginable, the BT has approached the SL in a manner calculated to *harden* organizational lines and *repel* party members—and ex-members retaining the least shred of loyalty to us or admiration for our work. The BT sneers at everything iSt members hold dear. The most elementary tactics of critical support aimed at "setting the base against the top" are *exactly* what the BT eschews.

How would one express an orientation toward an organization? Well, you find a supportable party campaign and you support it. You get involved in the work, creating a sympathetic environment for pointing out to other campaigners how the party's inconsistencies undermine its best work, how the bizarre or opportunist sides of the degenerated party are in contradiction to survivals of its revolutionary past. Of course you welcome the obligation to defend the party against victimizations. And to share with its remaining decent supporters those emotionally charged moments when, despite your differences, you can stand shoulder to shoulder as the cops decide it wouldn't be safe after all for the Klan to try marching down this street today.

Not the BT. Whenever the SL has engaged in the exemplary work that our members are proudest of, the BT was never there. But any time our party was under attack they were always there, to add their own slanders and provocations. And like a garbage dump attracting flies, this outfit has predictably attracted only the most hostile, embittered ex-members and elements expelled for gross violations of proletarian morality. Talk about "degeneration"—this group has some genuine items.

WV Photos

Renegades' gallery: "Rat on the Waterfront" Howard Keylor chatting up cop. Ex-Berkeley radical Bob Mandel feeling "Big Chill"? BT heavy Fred Ferguson.

Of course the SL has had some problems during the past ten years or so, because it hasn't been the easiest time to be a communist; many-sided bourgeois reaction has intimidated the workers and oppressed from undertaking struggles, increasing the pressure on our small party of up-front American communists. We have neither been shattered by internal crisis nor have we gone forward toward our goals; most comrades have stood at their posts while some weaker elements have dropped away. History will no doubt show that the cadre has acquired some deformations. And the BT *is* the degeneration product of the SL, the quintessence of every flinch and every deformation that these years have brought out, with something sinister added that gives the BT a pathology all its own. Craven, virulently anti-Soviet, openly scornful of issues of racial oppression, the BT has big points of similarity with garden-variety American popular-frontists. But whereas the latter wouldn't cross the street to spit on us unless we encroach upon their "turf," the BT is single-mindedly obsessed with us and devoted to our destruction.

Fraudulent Politics

The BT continues to claim to hold many positions in common with the Spartacist League, like our opposition to the Solidarność counterrevolutionary power bid in Poland in 1981. This should be anathema to the anti-Soviet swamp in which the BT mingles, where "Solidarity with Solidarity" is the *sine qua non*. But of course the British Workers Power group recently invited the BT to participate in its propaganda bloc of Trotskyoids. Because everyone knows that the BT's positions on Poland and Afghanistan, for example, are not seriously held. And that is why the BT is *never excluded* from any of the pro-Democratic Party pop front meetings or demonstrations, like the April 25 "spring mobe" for which the BT mobilized so heavily. Compare this to the treatment the rad-libs and reformists have dished out to the SL.

So here we have a very unusual situation: a group which continues to devote all its time and energies to the SL contrary to their own obvious political interests of sucking up to the pro-Democratic popular front. And the outfits the BT hangs around with do think it's weird. The Morenoites in a 1985 article, "ET: Forget 'Home'," urged Bob Mandel, Howard Keylor & Co. to renounce Spartacism root and branch if they expected to make it as opportunists (*Working Class Opposition*, July 1985). Now Mandel has apparently followed this advice and split from his BT comrades, seemingly reverting to his New Left adolescence. But the BT goes right on with its main business: anti-Spartacist provocation.

BT: A Profile of Provocation

In 1982, when the then-ET had come together outside the SL as an "external" "opposition," the reformists and rad-libs were engaged in a frenzied "Big Lie" violence-baiting campaign against us. At the same time, the Reaganites were equating political opposition with "violence" and "terrorism." Did the BT defend us against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its fake-left camp followers? In fact, they were on the other side. In a provocation worthy of the FBI's COINTELPRO, they ran an international petition campaign accusing us of assaulting Mandel. This was a complete fabrication. The BT's only "witness" said he'd seen no physical attack, just loud yelling. Months later Mandel admitted he had *not been assaulted* but was worried that he might have been!

At the same time the BTs joined with their cohorts in Germany circulating a petition proclaiming that our German section had violated the "democratic rights" of one Uli Sandhaus by expelling him as a dangerous proto-Nazi. This scum surrounded himself with the regalia of the Third Reich, like a steel helmet with a swastika on it, and was drawn to the beat of fascist skinhead punk music. (By the way, BTer Ursula once complained that people made too much of the Nazis' genocide against the Jews while presumably underplaying their persecution of German social democrats.)

The following year the BT aided a bureaucratic union witchhunt against Stan Gow, at the time a member of the executive board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and an SL supporter. Keylor redbaited Gow and other members of the Militant Caucus. When local ILWU bureaucrats put Gow on trial, Keylor stood aside when caucus supporters were dragged out and the cops called in.

Over the past year the BT's activities have become more sinister. On September 19, the BT staged a violent premeditated attack on an SL forum at the University of California at Berkeley. The campus cops, notorious for their Gestapo-style attacks on student protesters, were on the scene in record response time. Two months later the BT's attempt to stage a larger version of this provocation at an SL forum on the same campus was averted by our change of the meeting's locale. The Morenoite paper reported: "On November 21 the Spartacists are holding another event in Berkeley. The BT is planning to form a bloc of different groups to 'teach the Spartacists a lesson' at that forum" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1986). In the latest issue of *1917* the BT claims that the intention was simply to engage in "a political debate." If that was the case then why did a simple change of locale and a weapons search dissuade them from attending? Why didn't they come to the same forum the next night in San Francisco?

Bloodthirstiness in Whose Service?

While the BT clearly stands to the right of us, on occasion they have struck a posture as anarcho-crazies grooving on violence, reminiscent of the 1960s Weathermen, in order to attack us from the "left." Thus they accused us of selling out to U.S. imperialism because we didn't hail the senseless killing of 240-plus Marines in Lebanon in 1982 (many of whom were black and sent there in the first place because they were "expendable"). They claimed this was an act of "anti-imperialism." But in Lebanon no side was fighting imperialism—as the sequel has amply and hideously shown (in the one case when there was an anti-imperialist stand, when the Palestinians resisted the Israeli blitzkrieg in Lebanon, the BT denounced us for hailing this resistance). As we said in "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984): "*We are for the victory of just causes*... the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers." Why doesn't the BT also accuse us of selling out to the Argentine junta when we decried the sinking of the *Belgrano* during the Falklands/Malvinas war, a gratuitous act of mass murder personally ordered by Britain's Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher?

The BT has even argued that the SL flinched on the defense of the Soviet Union because we were not happy that the passengers aboard KAL 007 were killed in Reagan's Cold War spy provocation. The Soviets took the only

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WV Photo

BT journal 1917, a "political" fig leaf for provocations like their bizarre stunts at Oakland Geronimo Pratt rally (left). This issue of 1917 available from SL as No. 4 of our "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" series.

Glinn/Magnum

Castro's rebel army enters Havana, New Year's Day 1959.

Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution

UPI

Victorious Sandinista guerrillas celebrate in Managua, July 1979.

The following article is adapted from Le Bolchévik *No. 73, May 1987.*

More than 100,000 people poured into the streets of Managua on 19 July 1979 to celebrate their overthrow of the bloody Somoza dictatorship in an insurrection led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). It was the first victorious popular revolution in Latin America since Fidel Castro's guerrilla army marched into Havana 20 years earlier, and a serious defeat for Yankee imperialism. As in Cuba, a corrupt and universally hated tyrant installed by the United States was replaced by radical nationalist guerrillas in power. The Carter administration worried that Nicaragua would "follow the Cuban model internally and also become a base for trying to export subversion to other parts of Central America and the Caribbean," in the words of the *Washington Post* (25 July 1979). Today, in Year Eight of the Nicaraguan Revolution, with its outcome hanging in the balance, the U.S. bourgeoisie is still haunted by the spectre of "another Cuba."

Throughout the Reagan years, Washington has linked Nicaragua with Cuba. Despite tactical differences, Democrats and Republicans alike share the 1984 Kissinger Commission report's obsession with the "use of Nicaragua as a base for Soviet and Cuban efforts to penetrate the rest of the Central American isthmus." In opposing aid to Reagan's "contra" mercenaries last year, North Dakota Democrat Byron Dorgan emphasized: "I do not want another Cuba in this hemisphere. If the Soviets were to decide, and the Nicaraguans were to decide to accept, to move MIG fighters into Nicaragua, I would support a blockade, I would support getting those airstrips wiped off the face of the map."

Yet the Sandinistas have never claimed to be building a "second Cuba." And Fidel Castro himself advised them against following the "Cuban road," urging the FSLN to avoid "premature frontal attacks on the bourgeoisie." The FSLN comandantes have taken Castro's advice. In an interview with *Time* (11 August 1986), Daniel Ortega said of Nicaragua's future: "it's not going to be a Cuban model. We had elections five years after our triumph. We have not promoted state collectives.... The revolution is most like the Mexican Revolution when it started." Even today, faced with new threats of imperialist attack, the Sandinista regime is wedded to the trinity of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment," recently codified in a new constitution (see "U.S. War Maneuvers Target Nicaragua," *WV* No. 425, 3 April).

So if Castro and the Sandinistas (and the Soviets) all agree that Nicaragua will not be a "second Cuba," what's Washington railing against? The rad-lib "solidarity with Nicaragua" crowd, including a host of self-styled socialists, say it's simply a Reaganite red herring. Yet the imperialists have made Central America the front line of their anti-Soviet war drive. For U.S. rulers, the road to Moscow goes through Managua. From the November 1981 NSC directive authorizing the CIA to set up its contra army and plans for "a petroleum quarantine and/or retaliatory air action against Cuban forces and installations," to the current U.S. Caribbean maneuvers, including a "simulated evacuation" of the American base at Guantánamo, Cuba as part of a scenario for a blockade, the Spartacist League has declared "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!"

Bosio/Gamma-Liaison

Castro advises Sandinista leaders Ramirez and Ortega against following the "Cuban road."

For the imperialists understand, even if the reformists and nationalists do not, that there is a global contest between capitalism and socialism. The FSLN came to power on a program for a political revolution with social reforms. But by overthrowing a one-family dictatorship they began, willy-nilly, a social revolution. Today that revolution is still stuck in midstream, its survival threatened by the refusal of the Sandinistas to *complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution.* The contras and their masters in Washington are fomenting bloody counterrevolution that would make the tyrant Somoza look like a "moderate authoritarian" indeed. It is the duty of American workers to thwart these plans by sharp class struggle in the heart of U.S. imperialism.

"Institutionalizing the Revolution"

As the crisis-wracked Reagan administration tries to distract attention from Iran/Contragate by revving up its war machine and the contra scum prepare for one last try to lay waste to the country, the battle over Nicaragua is coming to a head. Saner voices of U.S. imperialism, such as the *New York Times* (12 April), are seeking to tie down the Nicaraguan leadership with negotiations, appealing to their "self-interests that could breed restraint." The Sandinista leadership, meanwhile, has sought to codify its "middle road" in a new constitution as part of "institutionalization of the Revolution," as Daniel Ortega declared in signing the document before tens of thousands of supporters in Revolution Plaza. And in an interview with the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina last July, reputed FSLN hardliner Tomás Borge stressed that "we have accepted the existence of a mixed economy and political pluralism just as Norwegians have accepted the existence of low temperatures."

Yet while the FSLN is forever seeking an alliance with a "patriotic bourgeoisie," the economy has gone to hell as the black market overwhelms the "official" sector, capitalists refuse to invest and the hard-pressed working class is in danger of dissolving, unable to make ends meet. The future of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires an authentically communist vanguard to lead it forward to socialist revolution. Yet two of the small so-called leftist parties in the country—the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) and Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN), both pro-Moscow Stalinists—are so wedded to the dogma of "two-stage revolution" that they have actively joined with the right-wing bourgeois parties against the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN. The Sandinistas' program for "national unity" with the nonexistent "patriotic" bourgeoisie is not enough for them—they want a "popular front" with the Somozaist National Guard! But then the PSN and PCN called the FSLN-led insurrection which toppled Somoza "adventurist"!

The latest ploy of this right opposition to the Sandinistas was a February 5 document by the Liberals, Christian Democrats and the PCN *together with the "Democratic Coordinating Committee" formerly headed by CIA/State Department contra "leader" Arturo Cruz*, calling for a cease-fire, a general amnesty for all political crimes, new elections at all levels, and a "permanent process of national dialogue." This would mean nothing less than calling off the revolution, consolidating a bourgeois state, including the murderous contra leaders, and capitulating to Washington. These people are indeed ready to "cry uncle," as Reagan demanded. The headline of the Sandinistas' *Barricada Internacional* (12 February), "Parties offer White House a helping hand," is right on target. Yet a couple weeks later, Ortega expressed willingness to discuss with other Central American leaders the "peace plan" put forward by Costa Rican president Arias calling for the very same demands!

The only left opposition in the National Assembly against the FSLN's constitution came from the two deputies of the Marxist-Leninist Party (PML—formerly MAP-ML). MAP-ML won a certain following among workers and peasants through the active participation of its militias in the struggle against Somoza, and its leadership of land takeovers and strikes following the victory (which landed them in Sandinista jails). In 1984, MAP ran in the Assembly elections on a platform calling for a workers and peasants government. And last fall a PML radio program declared that "the draft constitution is a carbon copy of any liberal bourgeois constitution, guaranteeing that capital continues exploiting and oppressing the working people" (*Prensa Proletaria*, October 1986).

Yet while declaring that the Sandinista constitution represents the "juridical birth of a bourgeois state," they call on workers "to demand a revolutionary Constitution from the National Assembly"! As if this bourgeois-style parliament, in which capitalist parties hold almost a third of the seats, could be a vehicle for socialist revolution! In frequently contradictory terms, the general orientation of these "Marxist-Leninists" has been to push the FSLN to the left. Thus PML deputy Carlos Cuadra said in an interview, "we have never raised the anti-Sandinista banner, only the anti-bourgeois one. We reject the Sandinista proposals to the extent that they are proposals for class conciliation" (*Envío*, November 1986).

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WV Photo

Spartacists say: Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Young Spartacus

Columbia University

Drop All Charges Against Anti-Racist Protesters!

"If you don't move, I'm going to crack your fucking head open," barked a New York City cop to an anti-racist protester at Columbia University. On April 21, for the first time since the 1968 Columbia student strike, the NYPD was brought onto the campus in an effort to end through brute force protest by students, workers and Harlem residents. This year's protests at Columbia began in response to a vicious attack in the early hours of March 22, when a white lynch mob of 20 fraternity members shouting racial epithets assaulted Mike Jones, a black student, and chased eight blacks onto a busy street. It recalled the gruesome Howard Beach murder—only this time no one happened to be killed. Shortly thereafter, a Confederate flag was displayed from a dorm window and Ku Klux Klan pamphlets appeared in classrooms.

Racist cop and mob attacks at Columbia occur in a context of an ominous tide of provocations and assaults against blacks, gays, Jews and Asians on campuses across the country. Emboldened by a Klan-endorsed president whose administration is committed to rolling back every gain of the civil rights movement, sections of the white middle class whose own economic position has gone to hell with the rest of the American economy are lashing out against minorities from Amherst to Ann Arbor to Austin. This eruption of open, raw racism on the campuses has not been seen since the 1920s, when the Klan had five million members nationwide. But today, every racist provocation has met immediate resistance by integrated student mobilizations, indicating the potential to crush the racist scum.

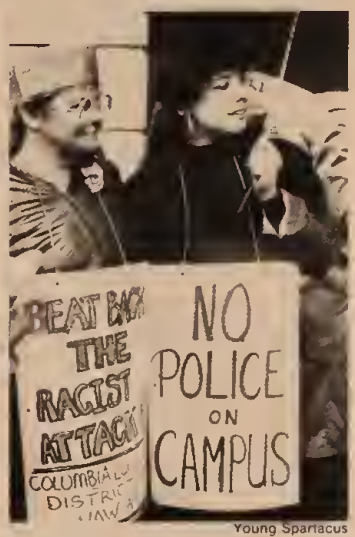
The attacks at Columbia are fueled by the *system* of racist terror in New York City, from the murder of a black man in the white Howard Beach enclave, to the acquittal of the cop who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, to "Gross the Ghoul," the city coroner who covers up every racist atrocity by the NYPD. There is widespread anger in this city and a burning desire in the ghettos and black working-class neighborhoods to avenge the victims of the racist onslaught.

On April 21, Columbia's administration issued an outrageous whitewash report on the March attack, charging one anonymous frat rat with "verbal" harassment, accusing the black students of lying, and denouncing them for failing to cooperate with this hoax of an "investigation." Students responded by chaining the doors to Hamilton Hall shut and forming a human blockade outside the building. The Concerned Black Students at Columbia (CBSC), an ad hoc group formed in response to the racist attacks, challenged the university's cover-up, announcing that they had word from a source in the "justice" system that university president Michael Sovern directly asked police commissioner Benjamin Ward *not to arrest* the four fraternity members the black students had identified and filed charges against.

By midday, 80 students had joined the blockade, and Sovern unleashed his cops. In a deliberate move to decapitate the leadership of the protest, the cops singled out Mike Jones and several other prominent militants. Jones was dropped on his head on the pavement and taken to the hospital *in handcuffs* to be treated for an open gash on his forehead. Marcellus Blount, one of the very few black faculty members at Columbia and a public supporter of the black students, was hauled off to jail on the say-so of Columbia security chief Dominick Moro. As word of the arrests spread across campus, dozens of shocked and angered students joined the blockade.

By 8 p.m., the university had amassed 80 New York City cops on Amsterdam Avenue and gave the go-ahead to Koch's cossacks to storm the blockade. Students were pushed down the steps, choked, dragged and dropped repeatedly on the concrete. Over 50 were busted. When the editor of the *Columbia Spectator* showed her press card to a cop, he said, "I'm press too," and slammed his nightstick into her rib cage. One student spent 20 hours in jail and sent a note out which read, "I've been kicked, bit, twisted and mangled. I've had handcuffs on so tight that my black skin is turning purple from blood clots." All arrested students face possible criminal prosecution by the state and disciplinary action, including expulsion, from the university. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: Drop the charges against the anti-racist protesters! Cops off campus! Abolish the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the university!

Deborah Autor



Young Spartacus

Mike Jones, leader of Columbia student protest, mauled by burly security chief and cop, April 21. Campus workers' rally on May 4 protests administration/cop attacks on students.

Columbia students have reacted courageously to the university's coordinated and cruel attacks on the *victims* of racist violence. But it will take more than courage alone to beat back the racist attacks. What's necessary is militant, united strike action by students, labor and the Harlem community to *shut down Columbia!* If labor flexed its muscles in defense of the black community, the "stars and bars"-waving frat boys would be history! President Sovern, who serves on Koch's task force for the homeless, might deepen his understanding of their plight if some of the Harlem residents who've been evicted by slumlord Columbia seized Sovern's office and, backed by unionists and students, turned him out on the street for a few days!

The ingredients for such united action are already apparent. Campus workers held a support rally on May 4 for the black students, noting the connection between Columbia's union-busting and institutionalized racism. Students have gone into Morningside Heights to protest Columbia's evictions and Harlem residents have come to the campus to take a stand in defense of the victimized students. But the social power of labor, on campus and beyond, has yet to be mobilized on a

Cops Off Campus!

Not One Penny, Not One Man for the Imperialist Army!

Letter

[received 21 April 1987]

Dear Comrades,

I have for a long time disagreed with the Spartacist League's policy of attempting to run ROTC and Marine recruiters off college campuses.

Given the servility of the mass media and the barrage of propaganda coming from the government, college campuses are about the only place in this country where ordinary people can be exposed to left-wing thinking and left-wing ideas. Any college student, no matter how right-wing or privileged, cannot attend a university in this country without gaining at least some awareness of American imperialism's crimes in Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines, or South Africa.

As Trotsky said, a Communist party fights not so much against the army as for the army. Because of this it is very valuable indeed for future Army, Navy, and Marine officers to be exposed to left-wing ideas. Many of these young men are not hardened reactionaries but merely middle-class students who have never been exposed to alternative political thought. In addition, the ROTC program offers working-class and black men a chance to become officers. To take ROTC and others off of the campuses would be to completely cut future officers off from these ideas, leaving their political opinions to be formed by their drill instructors.

In addition, mobilizations and confrontations between young Communists and ROTC men only hardens the ROTCers' anti-communist opinions. By contrast, in my own experience I have found that on an individual basis fraternization can be extremely effective in changing the political thinking of ROTC personnel. ROTC and other such programs give the left the unique chance to be able to familiarize army personnel with our ideas.

The Marines and the ROTC are not the KKK. Whereas mass mobilizations are the necessary tactic when dealing with the CIA or the KKK, when dealing with ROTC or Marine recruiters they merely smack of gangsterism.

I suggest that we follow Trotsky's advice and fight for the army instead of against it.

Sincerely,
Glenn S.

Young Spartacus replies: For Marxists there is a fundamental distinction between the rank-and-file soldier and the bourgeois officer corps, as well as a distinction between the volunteer army and an army of forced conscripts. In his letter, Glenn S. overlooks this, misrepresenting Trotsky's views and the necessary attitude of Marxists toward the armed fist of the bourgeois state.

The armed forces are the core of the state, what Lenin called the "special bodies of armed men" who are separated from the population as a whole and constitute the main tool of suppression and control for the bourgeoisie. The armed forces are the international police force of U.S. imperialism, and have been deployed domestically as the front line of defense of capitalist property relations against striking workers, to occupy the ghettos and barrios, and gun down anti-Vietnam War and civil rights protesters at Kent State and Jackson State. Unless one entertains notions of reforming the army, one must oppose the state's methods of building and strengthening that apparatus. As Lenin wrote:

> "We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, 'not a penny, not a man,' not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc."
> —"The 'Disarmament' Slogan" (1916)

As Marxists we are opposed to working-class youth being used as cannon fodder for imperialist war and oppose the direct use of the universities for military training and recruitment, which is what the Reserve Officer Training Corps is all about. ROTC is the government's main vehicle for generating a killer elite: the top brass and career "lifers" like Lieut. William Calley, the sadistic butcher of My Lai. During the Vietnam War, fully half of the officer corps came from ROTC. And before these professional soldiers ever saw combat, they were used by J. Edgar Hoover as a direct conduit to the CIA for surveillance of antiwar militants.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist youth activists protest ROTC at University of Wisconsin, Madison.

"ROTC Off Campus!" became the rallying call for a generation of anti-imperialist militants who targeted the military presence on campus to protest America's genocidal war in Vietnam. Well before these protests hit the mainland, tens of thousands of youth at the University of Puerto Rico mobilized against ROTC, understanding that they had no interest in fighting a dirty war for their own colonial oppressor. Between 1967 and 1969, large-scale antiwar protests drove ROTC off 100 college campuses and 141 out of 161 schools with compulsory ROTC training were forced to eliminate the program.

ROTC is now returning to the campuses as part of the biggest "peacetime" military buildup in U.S. history and an integral part of the anti-Soviet war drive. Today ROTC provides some 70 percent of the officer corps for the imperialist army and trains for military maneuvers to "roll back Communism" from Sandinista Nicaragua and Soviet-backed governments in preparation for the big one, the USSR. Glenn S. argues that we should "expose" these junior butchers to left-wing ideas, and outrageously charges students who mobilize against ROTC with "gangsterism." Today's ROTC represents militant anti-communism on American campuses. They've not only been "exposed" to but have actively mobilized (at Harvard, e.g.) against leftist protests of the American invasion of Grenada, the U.S. Marine presence in Lebanon, and military and CIA recruiters.

Marxists never volunteer for the capitalist armed forces. In the absence of mass conscription, a call to work from within the armed forces is akin to telling people to become world cops and gives direct support to the anti-Soviet war drive. In this regard, it is no accident that Progressive Labor Party, which considers the Soviet Union a "fascist state," calls on its members to *join* the army and the National Guard! A draft army is different. We are not petty-bourgeois pacifists who hide behind student deferments or other special class privileges, but stand with the working class, which does not have ready access to such advantages. Revolutionaries, *if drafted*, bring an understanding of the class differentiation within the armed forces that can win the soldier ranks (and even sympathetic officers) to the side of the workers and the oppressed. The real enemy is at home!

Army life magnifies the race and class oppression inherent in American capitalist society. Today's army is disproportionately black and Hispanic youth who join mainly out of sheer economic desperation. In a combat situation this represents the Achilles' heel of American imperialism, because minority youth are not exactly gung-ho about slaughtering Cubans in black Angola, Nicaraguans or Russians for a government that's deprived them of every democratic right at home. Our policy is to exploit this class differentiation between the enlisted men who are pushed out front and the predominantly white officer corps who stake out cushy positions in the rear.

The struggle to win the army is not simply or primarily a question of organization within the army ranks. The army is won to the side of the proletariat when the working class shows itself as a contender for power on the basis of its own independent organizations. As Trotsky wrote in *1905*:

> "Only when the soldiers become convinced that the people have come out into the streets for a life-and-death struggle—not to demonstrate against the government but to overthrow it—does it become psychologically possible for them to 'cross over to the side of the people'."

For American Trotskyists, the tasks of defending the Soviet Union and fighting for black liberation are completely intertwined. Our job is to mobilize youth against all forms of militarism by the capitalist warmakers, to build a party that will lead a proletarian army to victory over a system which has brought only death and destruction from Harlem to Hanoi. ■

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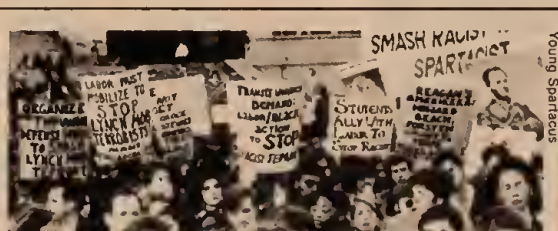
class-struggle program.

Aspiring black capitalist politicos like attorney C. Vernon Mason (a former contender for the top-cop position of district attorney in this city) have cynically channeled the anti-racist outrage into pointless appeals for action by the capitalist state. While the university is suing Mason for interfering with "Columbia's right of property" by defending evicted tenants, Mason has filed suit to make Koch's cossacks "responsible" and "do what is required of them." In this he's joined by the demagogic nationalist reverends like Daughtry and Butts who are "all fired up" to get black youth to *join* the racist police force!

The CBSC has grossly capitulated to these right-wing pseudo-nationalists, undercutting the mass, integrated support evidenced in the first 1,000-strong protest. At a rally on April 4, CBSC spokesman Tanaquil Jones told anti-racist whites to butt out and go "raise consciousness" in the racist fraternities. This separatist crap plays directly into the hands of the racists who are trying to segregate the campus under the banner of the Confederate flag of slavery!



Young Spartacus

Columbia University, March 26: Mass protest against Ivy League racists. Spartacists say: "Students Ally with Labor to Stop Racist Attacks!"

The Communist Party distributed a leaflet at Columbia which calls on the state to "Outlaw Racist Violence," premised on the same absurd notion that the ruling class can be persuaded to "give up" its racist brutality. In late April, a black student from Medgar Evers University was beaten by the police after asking three cops why they were thrashing a defenseless black man. Handcuffed and in the squad car, the student was threatened by a racist cop who pulled a noose out of the glove compartment and said, "This is what we have for you niggers who fight the police." This is the scum the reformist Communist Party would have enforcing their new laws against racist violence!

Racist terror won't be stopped by prayers, candlelight vigils, boycotting white businesses, voting Democrat, liberal pleading with cops and administrators, calling on the state to "Ban the Klan," confrontations with the cops when the relationship of forces is overwhelmingly in their favor, idealistically ferreting out racism in our hearts, or any other backward and ineffective strategies. What's needed is hard class struggle. What's needed is an understanding of who our friends and our enemies are. The administration, the cops, the courts, and the political bosses who run them are the class enemy of working people and the oppressed. Facing a particularly brutal, racist, capitalist society in decay, the struggle for black liberation requires overcoming the false program and dead end of nationalism. Anti-racist militants must be won to the Marxist program of *revolutionary integrationism*, to take their place alongside the working class mobilized in struggle to smash racist terror at its root—the capitalist system. Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

The pro-Albania MAP/PML, which has frequently been mislabeled Trotskyist, calls for a "Nicaraguan proletarian revolution," implicitly rejecting Stalin's dogma of "two-stage revolution," at least at home. But they remain Stalinist, still evidently believing in building "socialism in one country." Above all, the Russian question is the stumbling block for these ex-Maoists. The PML's *Prensa Proletaria* is silent on the class character of the Soviet Union, referring only to Kremlin "revisionists" and elliptically to "the superpowers." Mainly, they try to duck the issue, to the point that they don't even mention where Nicaragua's SAM missiles come from. And they're virtually silent on Cuba. It is impossible to wage a genuinely revolutionary struggle in this front line of imperialism's global war drive without having a clear position in defense of the Soviet Union and Cuba against imperialism.

Four years ago we asked, would the Sandinistas respond to Reagan's war as "Cuban Castroites or Spanish Loyalists"? ("Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!" *WV* No. 329, 6 May 1983). As the Spanish workers valiantly defended Madrid against Franco during the 1930s Civil War, they chanted "*¡No pasarán!*" (They shall not pass!), a favorite slogan in Nicaragua today. But the Francoists *did* pass, because Stalin & Co. erected the Popular Front as a barrier to proletarian revolution, in order to "win the war" and "not frighten the democratic bourgeoisie." The Popular Front of class collaboration, the consequence of Stalin's nationalist line of "building socialism" in the USSR alone, was proclaimed by the Kremlin in 1935, spelling the liquidation of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky. It doomed the Spanish Revolution to defeat, as the FSLN's trinity today threatens the survival of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Morenoites for the Cuban Road

The other left tendency opposing the Sandinista constitution is the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), affiliated with the International Workers League of the recently deceased Nahuel Moreno. The Morenoites are the largest ostensibly Trotskyist current in Latin America, and the PRT grew out of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, organized by Moreno & Co., which rushed to the scene during the FSLN's final offensive in 1979. The Brigade, which marched under the Sandinistas' red-and-black colors, was rounded up by the FSLN police shortly after the triumph when they attempted to organize a workers demonstration in Managua demanding "Power to the proletariat." The non-Nicaraguans in the Brigade were expelled to Panama where several were beaten by the police of nationalist strongman Omar Torrijos, a Sandinista ally.

On the sixth anniversary of the revolution, the PRT published a bulletin entitled "Where Is Nicaragua Going?" (*Cuadernos de El Socialista* No. 1, July 1985) ending with an 18-point "Program of Struggle Against Imperialism and the Capitalists." The program called for support for a military victory of the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador, opposition to the Contadora negotiations, for defeating imperialist aggression through militant solidarity with the workers of the world, "especially the workers of the United States and the USSR," and for a revolutionary federation of Cuba and Nicaragua. The PRT called as well for workers control of production and supply, nationalization of the factories and haciendas, and a workers and poor peasants government based on a national assembly of democratically elected worker, peasant and "popular sector" delegates.

World Wide

AP

Left: Cuban militia guards former U.S. oil refinery, nationalized in 1960. Right: CIA terrorists blow up oil depots at Corinto, Nicaragua in 1983.

The PRT pamphlet, however, refers to the Sandinista government as a "bourgeois government" and as a "bonapartist regime *sui generis*" (of a unique type). This latter characterization was used by Trotsky to refer to the Cárdenas government in Mexico, which was indeed a bourgeois regime, albeit one that sought the support of the workers and peasants in its conflict with U.S. and British imperialism. In the Mexican case, a new capitalist state was indeed reconstituted following the defeat of the radical peasant forces of Zapata and Villa in the civil war which saw the triumph of a bourgeois "constitutionalist" army led by large landowners. That is precisely what hasn't happened in Nicaragua, where the Somozaist army was sent packing and the present Sandinista Army is firmly controlled by the FSLN. The petty-bourgeois Nicaraguan regime is certainly bonapartist, but it has not reconstructed a bourgeois state, i.e., the executive committee to enforce capitalist class rule. If it had, the present contra war wouldn't be taking place.

Marcelo Montecino

Albania-line Stalinists of MAP/PML in Nicaragua call for "Workers and Peasants to Power," but refuse to defend the Soviet Union and Cuba against imperialism.

A year later, the PRT published a second pamphlet, "The Revolution at the Crossroads" (*Cuadernos de El Socialista* No. 3, July 1986), containing its presentation to the special constitutional commission of the National Assembly. The PRT representatives called for a constitution "capable of solving the concrete problems of the Nicaraguan revolution: to end the war of aggression and solve the economic crisis." A "Constitutional Motion of the PRT" issued in September calls for expropriating the imperialist-owned companies, the large factories and haciendas, arming the workers, and imposing workers control. Yet they present these demands to the parliament of what they call a bourgeois government! Such demands can only be realized through the independent mobilization of the workers at the head of the exploited and oppressed masses.

But most noticeably absent from the PRT's programs is the key element for a successful proletarian revolution—the forging of a Trotskyist party. In the 1986 "Crossroads" document, this glaring omission becomes a positive program of pressuring the Sandinistas. The PRT concludes:

> "We are faced then with two major alternatives: either the FSLN advances, breaking all its political and economic ties to the bourgeoisie and imperialism...; or ultimately the bourgeois counterrevolution can prevail, in one or another of its variants....
>
> "In Cuba, Fidel Castro was forced by the blockade and the pressure of imperialism to nationalize the principal means of production and to construct a bureaucratic Workers State."

Yet in Nicaragua, unlike Cuba, there was a large-scale insurrection that mobilized the urban masses to bring down Somoza; today, there are 300,000 armed workers and peasants ready to defend the revolution. And again unlike Cuba, in Nicaragua despite the FSLN's bureaucratic control, one can name numerous factories in which leftist opposition parties are strong: FANATEX, METASA, IMEP, ENAVES, TEXNICSA, plus various sugar mills, state farms, etc. What is needed above all is revolutionary leadership to mobilize the working masses to complete the revolution and extend it.

Increasingly, the Morenoites have identified the fate of the Nicaraguan Revolution with the Cuban "model." A resolution by Moreno's International Workers League dated 19 July 1986 speaks of "transforming Nicaragua into a new Cuba, that is to say, into the second free territory of America." It goes on: "The Sandinista leadership is at a crossroads. Hopefully it will choose this road, the same taken by Fidel Castro more than 25 years ago when his country too was under attack by imperialism. Castro expropriated the bourgeoisie, converting Cuba into a workers state. Thanks to this it was able to resist the aggression. The best defense of Nicaragua is to make it a new Cuba" (*Working Class Opposition*, October 1986). And in one of his last documents published before his death Moreno wrote: "We must demand from the Sandinistas that they carry out that expropriation measure, indispensable for ending imperialist aggression" (*Working Class Opposition*, December 1986).

At various stages in his multicolored career, Moreno masqueraded as a Peronist, Maoist, Guevarist, black nationalist, Sandinista, even a Khomeinite, and recurrently on the Argentine terrain he flew the banner of social democracy. Yet through all his gyrations and support for one Third World strongman after another, Moreno's "anti-Stalinism" has really been anti-Sovietism. The IWL's claim in its 1985 congress that there is a "Holy Alliance of Washington, the Kremlin, the Vatican" (*Working Class Opposition*, May 1985) could come from a "state capitalist" group which denies any conflict between the Soviet Union and imperialism. Authentic Trotskyists are the *best defenders* of the conquests of the October Revolution. From Afghanistan to Poland to Nicaragua, the Morenoites' line can only lead to support for Yankee imperialism.

Castroism or Trotskyism

The Cuban Revolution was an acid test for Trotskyism. The British Healyites and French Lambertists denied the existence of a social revolution in Cuba. On the other hand, the American Socialist Workers Party's Joseph Hansen declared Castro's Cuba a "workers and peasants government" which evolved into a "healthy" workers state, albeit "not yet possessing the forms of workers democracy," and led by "the unconscious Marxist, Fidel Castro." It was this support for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Castroites which provided the basis for the SWP's "reunification" with Ernest Mandel, and the creation of the "United Secretariat." Contrary to Moreno's self-serving claim of a "Castroite turn" under Hansen's epigone Jack Barnes around 1979, the USec was wholeheartedly pro-Castro from its inception. It is the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) which has uniquely upheld the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution in characterizing Castro's Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

Already in 1961, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, forerunner of the iSt, declared that "Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China" (Minority resolution to the 1961 YSA convention, reprinted in the Spartacist League's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"). While hailing the revolutionary expropriations of both the imperialist and Cuban capitalists, and defending Cuba against U.S. military and economic aggression, the RT insisted on the need for a struggle for workers democracy and an internationalist revolutionary policy against the bureaucratic and nationalist straitjacket imposed by the Castro regime. Above all, it emphasized the need to forge "a mass revolutionary-Marxist party" in which the small Trotskyist groups have a vital role to play in politically combatting the influence of non-proletarian leaderships.

Today, 25 years after Castro proclaimed the Cuban Revolution "socialist" following the U.S. Bay of Pigs invasion, the social and economic achievements of Cuba, limited to a single Caribbean island besieged by Yankee imperialism, are a beacon to the poor and working people of all Latin America. Cuba is the only country of the region where there are no festering slums and no one goes hungry, where infant mortality has dropped to 15 per thousand live births, life expectancy at birth is 74.2 years, 96 percent of all adults have achieved at least a sixth-grade equivalency, education is free, and after graduation there are jobs for all. In Cuba, 37 percent of the workforce are women, as are more than half the

Ben Linder...

(continued from page 1)

himself "in harm's way." But as Congress "investigates" the Contragate conspiracy that financed this Murder Inc., David Linder pointed to the perpetrators of his son's death: "He was killed by someone, they were hired by someone, and they were paid by someone, and so on down the line to the President of the U.S."

Two weeks before he was killed, Benjamin Linder told the *Washington Post* that he and the other members of his crew were on a contra death list. Two Nicaraguans associated with such projects had been killed the previous month. Asked how he felt about the danger of attack, he replied with the Sandinista slogan, "For our dead, we swear to continue with the revolution." Linder was part of a lawsuit filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights last fall which sought to halt U.S. funding of the contras on the grounds that it threatened American citizens. In his affidavit Linder wrote, "The danger to my physical safety is immediate, and unless an injunction is issued, I may suffer irreparable physical harm as a result of the unlawful activities of the U.S. government." A U.S. district court judge threw out the suit, calling it a "political question" for Congress and Reagan.

Many Nicaraguans knew the popular young volunteer, who also used his talents as a clown to encourage children to participate in a vaccination campaign. Thousands lined the streets in the provincial capital of Matagalpa for Benjamin Linder's burial. Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega joined dozens of other Nicaraguans, Americans and other *internacionalistas* in the guard of honor, carrying his coffin and burying him in Nicaraguan soil as he had requested. The Sandinista government decorated Linder with its highest civilian citation, the Order of Commander José Benito Escobar, the first time it was awarded to a foreigner. International volunteers vowed that rather than being intimidated they would continue to stand alongside the Nicaraguan people. In the U.S., a candlelight vigil of 2,000 people was held in Linder's home town of Portland, Oregon and a thousand came out to honor him in San Francisco.

García/AP

Benjamin Linder's family, joined by Sandinista president Daniel Ortega (left) in funeral procession in Matagalpa, Nicaragua.

In 1983 Benjamin Linder decided to use his technical skills to support the Nicaraguan Revolution. Recently graduated from engineering school at the University of Washington, he joined thousands of European and American *brigadistas* in Nicaragua. International assistance, especially Cuban teachers and technicians and Soviet military and economic aid, has to some extent offset the U.S. imperialist siege. Linder worked for the Nicaraguan Energy Institute, courageously building small power plants in the contra-infested northern provinces. He brought electricity for the first time to the remote hamlet of El Cúa, where he lived. Benjamin's father spoke his epitaph:

> "He had a commitment to the revolution. And by the revolution, he defined it as giving people schools, giving them medical care, giving them a little respect, giving them a little land, and he was trying to give them a little electricity. That's what he called the revolution, and that's what they're trying to destroy."

In Washington, D.C. at the April 25 "peace" crawl, liberal Democrats called for a "negotiated solution" in Nicaragua. But there is nothing to negotiate with the psychopathic killers who murdered Linder along with thousands of Nicaraguans. There will be no peace in Central America until the contras and death squads are crushed, their capitalist masters expropriated and their imperialist patrons driven out. Defense of Nicaragua means completing the revolution and extending it throughout the region. The example of courageous individuals like Ben Linder, who has now been martyred, points to the need for international brigades, including American volunteers, fighting to defend Nicaragua against the contras and a possible U.S. invasion. The government has already "brought the war home" with its witchhunting and hounding of volunteers connected with TecNica and other groups.

We salute Benjamin Linder. We also know that his fate could have befallen one of the number of Spartacist comrades who have visited Nicaragua in solidarity and to witness firsthand a revolution under way. Anti-imperialism abroad means sharp class struggle at home, including labor strikes against U.S. war moves. It will take the revolutionary victory of the proletariat to provide the conditions for the Ben Linders of the world to effectively fight to improve the lives of the planet's poor and oppressed. ■

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country's technicians. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (9 July 1986) admits:

> "When Fidel Castro marched into Havana in 1959, one of his first moves was to abolish segregation in Cuba's deeply racist society. Twenty-seven years later, blacks continue to be among the foremost beneficiaries of his revolution, as race increasingly fades as a barrier to social mobility."

In fact, by many social indexes, Cubans are better off than Americans. And there is no comparison with the mass misery next door in Haiti. This is the night-and-day difference a social revolution makes.

But Cuba is still a poor country, living off the subsidy provided by an estimated $4 billion in Soviet aid annually, and a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The leadership is a tight group consisting of Castro and his immediate associates; who happens to be riding alongside the *líder máximo* on his jeep ride is still more important than any vote by the empty "people's power" assemblies or even a Communist Party congress. In more than a quarter century under Yankee guns, Havana has undertaken internationalist missions from Grenada to Angola, where Cuban troops have held off South African invaders for more than a decade. But following the nationalist logic of Stalinism, they have also supported bloody butchers like Ethiopian strongman Mengistu, who has slaughtered Eritreans, Somalis and a generation of Ethiopian leftists. And while Cuba has sent teachers and military trainers to Sandinista Nicaragua, the State Department's wild claims of vast Cuban aid to Latin American guerrillas, particularly in El Salvador, are unfortunately a myth.

For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

At the heart of the Nicaraguan question is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Not even the limited gains won in the overthrow of Somoza, much less a workers revolution, can be defended in a Nicaragua surrounded on all sides by Yankee neocolonies. To survive, the Nicaraguan Revolution must break out of this vise, inspiring and aiding revolutionary class struggle throughout Central America—in the first instance, El Salvador—and extend it to the many million-strong Mexican proletariat, groaning under IMF-imposed austerity. Above all, to transcend the incredible poverty of this region of banana and coffee republics, *the revolution must be taken to the imperialist heartland*. This is the special responsibility of North American communists.

Der Spiegel

Sandinistas pursue suicidal policy of "political pluralism" and a "mixed economy."

Yet just as under the watchwords of "political pluralism" and "mixed economy" they have allowed a pro-contra bourgeois "fifth column" to operate inside the country, in the name of "nonalignment" the Sandinistas have refused to aid the Salvadoran guerrilla struggle, at least since the Reagan administration put on the heat in early 1981. And they will do nothing to upset their ties with Mexico, even as the latter increasingly capitulates to Washington and the possibility for explosive class struggle mounts in the land ruled by the "Institutional Revolutionary Party." This only underlines the need for forging an authentically communist party openly fighting to complete a socialist revolution. As Leon Trotsky wrote in summing up the lessons of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (and their negative confirmation in the failed Chinese Revolution of 1927):

> "No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party....
>
> "The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfilment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution."
>
> —*The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

In Nicaragua today, a Leninist-Trotskyist party must fight for a genuine agrarian revolution, expropriating in particular the large landowners (the backbone of the internal contras), who produce almost all of the country's exports. Such measures, as Trotsky wrote, would directly pose the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

But in response to enthusiasm for the Nicaraguan Revolution, various ostensibly Trotskyist outfits have openly renounced the program of Trotskyism. Most notorious is the American SWP of Jack Barnes, who in a December 1982 speech dismissed Trotsky as "ultraleft" (see our Spartacist pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary*). Barnes is just putting the final touches on the SWP's anti-Trotskyist course which began with its capitulation to Castro. Yet most of those who have claimed to defend Trotskyism against the renegade Barnes have taken a line toward the FSLN indistinguishable from the SWP's. USec superstar Mandel, for instance, whips off a 30,000-word document "In Defense of the Permanent Revolution," while the USec's 1985 world congress resolution on "The Central American Revolution" declares that "power passed into the hands of the workers" on 19 July 1979, and says nothing about defending the right to strike or about organs of workers power; rather than a Trotskyist party, the Mandelites call for "building the *Sandinista revolutionary party*"!

The lessons of the Cuban Revolution for proletarian Marxists are quite different from the liquidationist conclusions of these *anti*-Trotskyists. As stated in the 1963 RT resolution, "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," one of the founding documents of the Spartacist tendency:

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat."

The road to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution is the road of Lenin and Trotsky, of permanent revolution and the reforging of the Trotskyist Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Reagangate Cover-Up...

(continued from page 1)

Secord named him as the chief conspirator. But they wouldn't even let him rest in peace. At Casey's funeral, Bishop John McGann denounced "the violence wrought in Central America by support of the contras." Occupying a front-pew seat, President Reagan must have longed to give His Eminence the Archbishop Romero treatment—where's a death squad when you really need one? He had to settle for the closest substitute, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who rose to condemn the troublesome priest's "mean-spirited and ill-informed comments." But Bishop McGann concluded with a prayer that Casey "will now live forever in the presence of Creation's central intelligence"—the great DCI in the sky.

You don't have to be a canary to sing—sometimes pigs squeal. As Congressional hearings were about to open, former U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica Lewis Tambs said he was just following orders. Ambassador Tambs set up a contra "southern front," arranged for a secret airfield to be carved out of the jungle, provided logistical aid for contra arms flights and threatened the Costa Rican president. But when Tambs found out some of his contra pals had targeted him for assassination to facilitate their Colombian drug connection, the same ones who carried out a bomb attack on "Comandante Zero" Edén Pastora when he fell afoul of the CIA, it loosened his tongue. "Now the people who gave us the orders are trying to paint us as running amok," he complains.

Fawn Hall knew all, while other secretaries in Washington (like State and War) are pleading ignorance. Maybe they didn't want to know, but the Reagan gang conducted their conspiracy pretty openly, and now they're being hit with it. Tambs' orders came from the "Restricted Interagency Group" headed by Elliott Abrams (about whose denials of U.S. involvement with "private" contra supply operations Republican Senator Durenburger remarked last fall, "I wouldn't trust Elliott Abrams any further than I could throw Oliver North"). And what they did in Iran was fairly shocking, by their own standards. Here was a half-colonel going around telling people: My name is Lt. Col. Oliver North, I believe deeply in Jesus Christ, I work for the president and I will get you a tax exemption if you will pay to send arms to the ayatollahs. Texas billionaires, Israeli arms merchants, Saudi princes and Brunei sultans bought it, but saner minds in Washington decided it was time to cart some of these characters off to the looney bin. That was the job of the Tower Commission.

The Congressional hearings show what we all knew all along—that the Great Prevaricator was the No. 1 unindicted contra co-conspirator. Secord takes the stand as the patriotic American, just carrying out the president's policy: "There's no question that the covert operation was designed to be concealed from Congress." Everyone in Washington politics was in on the "secret," including Congress and the press. The managed media buried the story until Meese handed it to them on a platter at the November 25 news conference. The *Wall Street Journal* (1 May) now admits that it and other papers "delayed stories about the Contras naming Lt. Col. Oliver North" from 1985 on. Congressional intelligence committees asked for details of North's operation, then dropped it on White House assurances that laws were not being violated. And Congress bought all the fairy tales the administration concocted to sell contra aid, and as the PBS *Frontline* (21 April) TV special on the "War on Nicaragua" said flat out, "The so-called Boland Amendment has the effect of ratifying the secret war—not curbing it." CIA director Casey himself supported the Boland Amendment.

The Democratic-controlled "investigation" is a cover-up in part because it is their own crimes they are camouflaging, and partly because as committee chairman Inouye stressed: "In the last quarter century, we have seen how foreign perception of weakness in the Oval Office contributed to crises for three Presidents." Damage control is the name of the game. And meanwhile the U.S. war on Nicaragua goes on, "Stinger" missiles are sent to Afghan mullahs so they can shoot down civilian airliners, and the U.S. is still secretly shipping arms to Khomeini, all for the anti-Soviet war drive, a bipartisan enterprise of the partner parties of American capitalism.

Crisis of the Imperial Presidency

At the heart of the affair is the war drive against the Soviet Union, aiming at the overturn of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. In his May 11 testimony, McFarlane put forward the basic rationale of the operation, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome":

> "...if we could not muster an effective counter to the Cuban-Sandinista strategy in our own backyard, it was far less likely that we could do so in the years ahead in more distant locations. There's a corollary to that proposition: For if we did prevail in Nicaragua, the President might go far toward inhibiting Soviet pursuit of this strategy in other areas.... We had to win this one."

But now this gang of crusaders against the Soviet "evil empire" is going down and their desperation is showing. Jeane Kirkpatrick, formerly Reagan's favorite Dragon Lady, asks "Is the Soviet Union under Gorbachev really in control of the international agenda" and wonders if the U.S. has "entered a period of historical decline" (*Newsday*, 29 March). And now with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, things Soviet are the rage in the U.S. as T-shirts sporting Lenin's portrait, "CCCP" and hammers and sickles are "in."

The unraveling of the Reagan regime exposes a broader crisis of leadership at the helm of American imperialism's "ship of state." The White House couldn't find a new head of the CIA with clean hands, so the Senate had to settle for ex-FBI boss William Webster, despite his claims to have "lost" the report of a 1985 investigation into North's contra operations. And several top Reaganites have turned down the directorship of the FBI, which for half a century under red-hunter Hoover was a key position to blackmail anyone including presidents. The Democrats are faring no better, and could even snatch defeat from the jaws of victory in '88. For the first week in May, the Gary Hart sex scandal pushed Reagangate into second billing as some "anonymous" tips to an easily manipulated press knocked out the Democratic front-runner. This left a field of barely-knowns (except for black Democrat Jesse Jackson) derisively known as the "Seven Dwarfs." The response was a lot of hand-wringing over how U.S. capitalism selects its leaders.

Scandals over sex and secret wars are a staple of American bourgeois politics in recent years, just as endless affairs over financial swindles and the mercenary press marked the French Third Republic in the 1930s. Until the 1960s, Americans uniquely among Western "democracies" believed "their" government; today the presumption of public prevarication is so widespread that TV ads for imported cars feature blatant lies with grandmothers struck dead by lightning. But beyond the national differences in subject matter, the prevalence of such debilitating affairs reflects the sapping of the strength of the respective bourgeoisies. They've been running a not-so-secret war in Nicaragua because after the "American Century" went down to defeat in Vietnam, the American population and large sections of the ruling class have no appetite for getting bogged down in another Third World military adventure. And the business blows up because the contras are losers.

Washington Post

Der Spiegel

Reagan (far right) and Lt. Col. North with Nicaraguan contra leaders. North associate Carl Channell's TV commercials were front for gunrunning to counterrevolutionary terrorists.

Democrats and Republicans alike are up to their eyeballs in the Iran/Contragate conspiracy, but the present ruling clique have a distinct quality. The fervor of the Reaganites when they took office was similar to when Nixon came in, except "Tricky Dick" was less an ideologue than a simple crook. There was also something of the flavor of when the Nazis took over, a righteous political (not social) revolution that took over (rather than smashed) a state machine they were at odds with. This created quite a contradiction, and on top of it they tried to carry out the "Reagan revolution" without much of a majority in Congress. As liberal Vietnam historian Frances FitzGerald noted in an essay on "Reagan's Band of True Believers" (*New York Times Magazine*, 10 May), they had Reaganite fanatics heading offices whose functions they oppose: put someone in charge of mine safety who doesn't believe in mine safety, and the same for environmental protection, air safety, civil rights, human rights, education, arms control, etc. And from the day they took office, they were finagling to get around legislative and bureaucratic restraints. As their field of maneuver narrowed, the gang in the White House basement saw the rest of the administration as part of the obstacle. In the code language of Secord's "enterprise" North was "Mr. Good" and the State Department was "wimp."

A number of the chief operatives in the affair were military men who were passed over for promotion or resigned under fire. Secord didn't make it to Lieutenant General because of his association with Edwin Wilson, one-time U.S. superspy now sitting in jail for selling explosives to Qaddafi. Another top Contragater, General Singlaub, was cashiered for opposing Carter's planned reduction of U.S. troops in Korea; now he's head of the "death squad international" (the World Anti-Communist League), while still sitting on a Pentagon "advisory committee" on "low-intensity warfare." The prevalence of veterans of the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the U.S.' "secret wars" in Laos and Vietnam in the Iran-contra operation is reminiscent of the role of former paratroopers from the Algerian dirty war in French fascism today. Such sorts easily go over into a Nazi-like mentality over frustrations with the "restrictions" of bourgeois democracy, however limited. So they were out to line their own pockets: Göring also grew quite rich off his crusade.

But while Reagan is discredited and widely hated, and the administration in disarray, the U.S. imperialist state is immensely powerful...and dangerous. Capitalists intend to keep on taking back union gains, cops think they have a green light to terrorize the ghetto, and frustrated "neo-conservatives" would like to revive McCarthyite witchhunting to strike at the "enemy within." Thus around the April 25 "peace" crawl, there was a burst of redbaiting, from the Moonies' *Washington Times* (which accused the Sandinistas and Qaddafi of financing the protests) to Cold War liberals such as *Washington Post* columnist Stephen Rosenfeld, who denounced this supposed "Mobilization Against Democracy," and William Randolph Hearst, Jr., who bellowed about a "communist-sponsored propaganda stunt." Similar ravings came from teachers union president Albert Shanker and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland.

Anti-Reagan liberal James Ridgeway hoped (*Village Voice*, 5 May) that the April 25 march "could eventually be a spinal transplant for the Democrats in '88." The Democrats want to return to the White House to administer "rational" Reaganism with a populist face. In Washington, Jesse Jackson called for protectionism (in the guise of fighting "slave labor"), for a "Camp David" style accord with the Sandinistas (to negotiate away the "danger" of revolution in Central America), for "all foreign troops out of Angola" (removing the valiant Cuban forces who for the last decade have prevented the South African apartheid army from reestablishing colonial rule), and proclaimed, "we must not only march together and pray together, we must coalesce and vote together." And the reformist left tail on the Democratic donkey tags along repeating the "Rainbow" rhetoric. In the Atlanta convention, Jackson will try to turn this support into some "clout," perhaps in exchange for delivering a block of delegates to some Dixiecrat warmonger like Georgia Senator Sam Nunn.

Imperialism is not a policy, but a system—capitalism in its epoch of terminal decay. By itself, the effect of a Watergate or Contragate crisis will pass as the personnel directing the imperialist state machine are switched. What's needed is a class-struggle workers party to mobilize the proletariat and its allies, leading all the oppressed—all the victims of Reaganism and their Democratic partners in crime—in a struggle for socialist revolution that will sweep out the White House, the Pentagon, Wall Street and the capitalist class. The aim of the Spartacist League is to put an end to their increasingly despotic, wantonly vicious and capricious rule, that brings untold misery to the planet. ■

Navy Gunning for Maritime Strikers

ILWU: Shut Down Coast Ports!

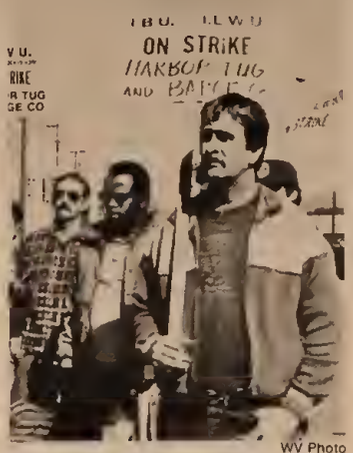
OAKLAND, May 11—A concerted effort is under way by the Navy, maritime employers, Democratic Party politicians and the union bureaucrats to tighten the screws on the Bay Area shipyard and West Coast Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) strikes. On May 8 the Navy threatened to cancel its contract with Todd Shipyards, the largest of the struck yards, fueling rumors that it will be permanently closed. In Seattle, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) tops ordered boatmen to take down their picket line against Crowley Maritime so that scabs could tow a barge to Alaska with DEW-Line anti-missile materiel for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

While Todd floats shutdown rumors, another struck yard, Southwest Marine, is using scabs to work the USS *Wichita* at the Alameda Naval Air Station. And the union bureaucrats on the Metal Trades Council, who have fought to crush the shipyard strike ever since it began six weeks ago, "voted unanimously to not consider work aboard the [amphibious transport USS] Vancouver 'struck work' if the Navy decides to move the ship" from dry dock at Todd ("Bay Cities Metal Trades Council Strike Update," 7 May). The backstabbing union tops have already allowed Pacific Dry Dock, *a subsidiary of Crowley*, to bring in scabs.

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses have targeted the ILWU. They long to replicate the two-tier wage-slashing agreements and erosion of union jurisdiction in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. Already Alaskan cargo has been taken away from the ILWU in Seattle and Puget Sound, and the PMA has the union hiring hall in its sights.

West Coast maritime workers are being ripped up because they are saddled with a leadership which has chained them to the Democratic Party and the bosses' courts, and bows down before the capitalists' "national security." The bureaucrats' "friend of labor," San Francisco mayor Dianne ("Confederate Flag") Feinstein, is echoing Todd's threats that "it would be cheaper to close the yard" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 May). And the pattern for the massive cuts sought by the Bay Area shipyards was set in Seattle and Portland when the union tops capitulated to a court-imposed wage cut at Marine Power and Equipment Co. in July 1986. The Navy is gunning for shipyard workers from Norfolk to Seattle. They want to break the unions, just as the bipartisan war drive is aimed at smashing the Soviet workers' conquests in the 1917 October Revolution.

The union tops are doing everything in their power to isolate the maritime and shipyard workers and make them take on the bosses and the capitalist government alone. This is how strikes are lost. To win, the social power of all the maritime workers must be combined. Longshoremen, whose contract expires June 30, must take the lead in a *coastwise shutdown*, welding together shipyard workers, the IBU and related transport workers in a fight against the years of concession takeaways. Victory to the shipyard and IBU strikes! Bring out the power of the ILWU! ■



WV Photo

Striking boatmen at the Port of Oakland, February 22. For a coastwise maritime/watertront strike!

What Makes BT Run?...

(continued from page 6)

defensive action they could have in shooting down what looked to be a military aircraft. We and the Russian government deplored the loss of innocent lives, victims of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. But not so the BT.

The BT's theoretical bloodthirstiness has always been extremely vicarious and in direct proportion to their distance from where the blood was being shed. The BT's "live like pigs, die like pigs" slogan for the Marines in Lebanon hardly fits in with its sidling up to the social-patriotic "No More Vietnams" crowd. And how does its KAL 007 position square with the "third camp" swamp in which the BT is so comfortably ensconced? We surmise that the BT would love to push us into hailing the gratuitous spilling of blood, the better to feed the anti-communist fantasies of government witchhunters, perhaps. Except for such a twisted purpose, why should the BT seek to paint us as social-patriots and take up themselves a bloody-minded posture? Particularly after the departure of Mandel (about which the BT has provided no word of explanation), the BT's leading light is unquestionably Howard Keylor, a man who to this day *supports the U.S. imperialist side in World War II!*

BT Spits on the Black Oppressed

Obscenely the BT has called our work to mobilize against racists "ghetto" work. They declare that by mobilizing the biggest anti-fascist demonstration in decades, in Washington, D.C., in November 1982—based squarely upon the power of organized labor—the SL was abandoning "union work." Indeed, the fight for black liberation is counterposed to the BT's idea of union work: conciliating the racist labor tops.

The SL raised the biggest outcry we could over the hideous government murder of eleven black people, including five children, incinerated in the 1985 bombing of Philly MOVE. The BT's response was to smear MOVE supporter LaVerne Sims as a cop fink and denounce the SL for offering her a platform at our meeting honoring the MOVE martyrs.

When we mobilized over 5,000 blacks and unionists to stop the Klan from marching in Washington, the BT didn't bother showing up. Instead they wrote us a letter accusing us of selling out to Stalinism because we called one of the buses to the demonstration the "Yuri Andropov Brigade." Of course the BT could have no appreciation of the pleasure of deeply alienated blacks, infuriated that the White House intended having the Klan parade through the nation's capital, at the idea of a contingent named for their enemy's chosen enemy, the head of the "Evil Empire." Meanwhile the American apologists of the Soviet bureaucracy, the CP, were like the BT nowhere near the anti-fascist mobilization, being engaged in the counterposed strategy of preaching reliance on federal courts, black mayors and the Democrats' "Rainbow Coalition" to "ban" the Klan.

The BT whines that the SL has accused them of being racists. Well, if the shoe fits... We can simply empirically show that the BT doesn't give a damn about the oppression of black people. The latest *1917* says not a word about escalating racist terror from Howard Beach to Forsyth County. When our supporter Richard Bradley scaled the flagpole in the S.F. Civic Center to rip down the hated Confederate flag, the BT called it an adventurist stunt.

And what about Geronimo Pratt? The BT tried a real provocation to get on the platform of our rally in defense of this framed-up Panther leader. Why? They had shown no interest in the case. They didn't even endorse the rally until we observed that supporting the case was a precondition for speaking there! The lousy one dollar bill they tried to give us as a "statement" of "support" was an insult to a man who has been behind bars for 17 years. And then the BT speaker resurrected FBI lies about "factionalism" that were used to set up Panther leaders for jail and assassination. The BT spits on the victims of racist state terror, from MOVE to Geronimo Pratt. Anybody the BT can recruit from us based on such a posture is somebody we don't want.

WV Photo

"We Stopped the Klan!" said 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League, 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. Where were the BTs?

BT Dancing to Whose Tune?

The latest issue of *1917* says that the Spartacist League believes "in a gigantic web of intrigue connecting most of the organized left to various police agencies in a sinister conspiracy aimed at—what else?—the Spartacist League." No, most of the left are surely not cop agents. We point out that when the popular-front leftists call us cops while calling the cops to keep us out of "their" demonstrations, they run point for repression against the left. But the reformists and rad-libs who hate our politics aren't obsessed with us. Their appetites lead them in another direction; they just wish we would go away.

But how can one explain the BT? Writing on the BT two years ago ("ET: New Name, Same Game?" *WV* No. 388, 4 October 1985) we observed:

> "Those who are guided by intense subjective malice as a political program are just asking to be someone's tool, willing or unwilling (sometimes both).... But applying the criterion *cui bono* (who benefits) to the ET/BT suggests answers ranging from the merely unsavory to the downright sinister."

The whole tone of the BT recalls nothing so much as the insinuating style associated with the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO. The aforementioned Mandel petition urges people to condemn a presumed act while admitting they have no idea if it actually took place: "While I did not witness the assault... I condemn this and any use of physical violence within the workers movement." Or take the comments from the first issue of *1917* on the spectacular implosion of the Healyite tendency. Noting that the Healyites are notorious for beating up internal opponents, the BT opines that "This is something which the SL is not guilty of to our knowledge," adding that "intimations of such appetites are increasingly common." This is like asking, "When are you going to *start* beating your wife?"

Ex-members of the socialist movement do sometimes bear malice toward the organizations that "failed" them. But people who voluntarily leave even very bad organizations normally find that their grievances recede as they go on with their lives. Hostility doesn't make a program and ex-membership in a party doesn't provide a sufficient reason for publishing a newspaper or crossing North America and Europe year after year seeking others similarly inclined. The BT is manifestly an assemblage of garbage, a heap made up of worse than worn-out people, the worst of those who have departed from the SL, which we think is a pretty good revolutionary organization. But to take that refuse heap and make it move like a loathsome living thing requires something more, an animating principle like the electric charge Dr. Frankenstein used to imbue his monster with life. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

laager (camp). As even the *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) noted, the "spiritual and intellectual molds of this nation's elite...are being rent by debate and doubt about the wisdom of apartheid." At Stellenbosch University, the center of Afrikaner nationalism and the political elite, comparable to Harvard or Oxford, a group of senior faculty resigned from the ruling party in a bitter protest of Botha's failure to institute "reforms." There is a developing split in the Afrikaner ruling class—reflected as well in the courts, which this week briefly relaxed press restrictions on coverage of the unrest, while Pretoria ordered the police to ignore the court rulings in many places.

ABC-TV

Apartheid cops attack integrated student protest which shut down University of Witwatersrand, May 3.

Far more significant is that anti-apartheid protest shut down Witwatersrand University. Even after the police attacked the largely white protesters with tear gas, beat them with whips and batons and arrested 120 students and teachers, the crowd defiantly regrouped with the help of sympathetic faculty. "Dancing, chanting students cheered professors wearing academic gowns as a faculty spokesman, Prof. Doug Hindson, said they would back the students' call for a two-day closure of the university to protest the white election" (*New York Times*, 5 May). Clearly many South African white youth do not look forward to living in Botha's police state. There is even a growing "End Conscription Campaign" which opposes the drafting of youth for the oppressive army.

This development provides opportunities for revolutionary proletarian class struggle in South Africa. Guaranteeing a place for white South Africans in a black-centered workers government could assist in neutralizing the dangerous military machine of apartheid which threatens a genocidal slaughter. Moreover, whites can provide technical and cultural skills which will help secure a decent life for all in a socialist federation of southern Africa.

But instead of making use of the polarization among privileged whites to press for workers revolution, the 600,000-strong COSATU is shackled by the nationalist-reformist perspective of seeking to pressure the (increasingly less) "liberal" wing of the ruling class. Before the elections, the ANC had correctly ridiculed the upcoming vote, but after PFP member of parliament Helen Suzman attacked the ANC's comments as "sinister" for "not giving us a last chance," Winnie Mandela came out for a "vote against apartheid" at her planned speech at the University of Witwatersrand. This could only mean a vote for the PFP, the political arm of the mammoth Anglo American mining and industrial conglomerate.

This is in keeping with the ANC's traditional strategy of seeking to pressure the English-speaking bourgeoisie, and Anglo-American imperialism, to move against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. Such a strategy can only lead to disaster by politically disarming the black proletariat and fostering illusions in their exploiters. As we wrote in our last issue: "Class exploitation is the motor force for the disenfranchisement of apartheid's victims; their emancipation requires a *social revolution*. What is urgently needed in South Africa is an integrated revolutionary workers party, a Bolshevik party, committed to the expropriation of South Africa's wealth by its producers in a black-centered workers government. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution!" ■

Free South African Black Unionist!

Moses Mayekiso Must Not Die!

Moses Mayekiso, head of the 61,000-member Metal and Allied Workers Union in South Africa, is under threat of execution by the vicious apartheid regime. Accused of having tried to "overthrow, usurp or endanger the authority of the state," Mayekiso is being tried on treason charges. Four others are also facing the death penalty for their political activism in the black township of Alexandra: Mayekiso's younger brother Mzwanle Mayekiso, Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane and Obed Dapela. In Britain, National Union of Mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill, Labour MP Tony Benn and others have called for his release. The international workers movement must be mobilized to demand freedom for Mayekiso and all victims of apartheid repression. Messages of support may be sent to: MAWU, Fourth Floor COSATU House, 268 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

New York...

(continued from page 5)

seem to be seeking confrontations with the cops in which the demonstrators can only lose. At the Bumpurs trial, with black demonstrators sandwiched by an army of police, nationalists began taunting the cops with the chant "Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon!" On April 4, they marched on a Harlem station house and then to Columbia, baiting trigger-happy cops with chants of "Pigs have got to pay!" and trying to drive white students away from integrated anti-racist protests.

Behind the provocative "off the pig" hype and poisonous race-baiting are the likes of Sonny Carson (whose "Black Men's Movement Against Crack" is an anti-drug vigilante squad Reagan would love), Al Sharpton (who led racist rallies against Arab storekeepers in Harlem), Calvin Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church (whose "National African Youth Student Alliance" looks to the politics and methods of the anti-Semitic bigot Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead). Who benefits from their antics? If New York City is engulfed in race war, Ronald Reagan would be the winner, unleashing the forces of deadly repression against the ghetto and cutting off the possibility of integrated class struggle (while whacking out the Democrats in the elections). *Black people* would be the biggest losers. But that is exactly the logic of ethnic nationalist politics.

In Crown Heights in particular the stage is set for a repeat of the 1978 clash between blacks and Jews, when Herbert Daughtry deflected black outrage over the cop murder of black community leader Arthur Miller into pogromist marches on Hassidic synagogues. This February, the home of a black woman, Willie Mae Reddish, was firebombed; witnesses saw two Hassidic youth running from the house into a dormitory for rabbinical students, but the police didn't pursue it. Meanwhile, a vigilante patrol run by the synagogue has been beating and harassing blacks, trying to run them out of the neighborhood. On April 11, the sabbath before Passover, black leaders massed 600 people to march through the Hassidic area to the home of the Lubavitcher Grand Rebbe.

Biggart/City Sun

Massive show of police force at UN against demonstrators protesting attacks on black community, March 20.

Some 2,000 riot-equipped cops moved in, sealing off the neighborhood and preventing a march on the synagogue where an estimated 10,000 people were celebrating the rabbi's birthday. It would have been West Beirut in Brooklyn...and the only force between blacks and Jews was Koch's killer cops!

Who are these "leaders" working for? One answer was provided in early May when 22,000 posters went up around the city in a Police Department recruiting drive for black cops. Bearing a photograph of four prominent black clergymen—Herbert Daughtry, Calvin Butts, Lawrence Lucas and Wendell Foster—the poster bore the slogan, "We are New Yorkers looking for 'The Finest'." What an obscenity in Reagan's America, in Koch's New York, where the names of black people murdered by the police are witness to the deadly system of racist capitalist terror! This is no fluke. Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan has linked himself with the KKK, inviting California Klansman and Democratic Party candidate Tom Metzger to his anti-Semitic tirades in Los Angeles. After the Howard Beach lynching, "former" KKK "Imperial Wizard" David Duke showed up at the pizza parlor to recruit for his latest racist hate group. Borrowing a line from Democrat Jimmy Carter, Duke said, "Communities in this country should have the right to maintain their ethnic purity" (*Daily Challenge*, 2 March).

Jet

Rev. Al Sharpton's "crack-down" campaign: anti-drug vigilantes Reagan would love.

Break with the Democrats—Forge a Workers Party!

Black people in this country are kept in thrall through their leaders' ties to the racist Democratic Party. In New York, black lawyers Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason have championed the cause of black victims of police brutality and murder, and been themselves the target of racist threats of disbarment. Yet they channel the just anger of the ghetto into illusions in Mario Cuomo's "special prosecutors." And meanwhile, Maddox whips up racism with his despicable racist-baiting of young white model Marla Hanson, the victim of a hideous razor slashing, for identifying two black attackers.

Nationally, Jesse Jackson is now the Democratic Party front-runner. But behind his populist Rainbow rhetoric, Jackson will be brokering black votes for racist Dixiecrats like Sam Nunn in '88, just as he sat down to tea and pecan rolls with Alabama governor George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace in the '84 election. As Malcolm X said, if you vote for the Democrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats, and Jesse Jackson is determined to prove him right.

The fight against the racist terrorists requires a sharp break from the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism. Key to liberation of the black masses is forging a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. With racist terror on the rampage in New York City, powerful workers action is urgently needed to stop the killers cold. After Howard Beach, militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU called on their union brothers to fight for integrated union patrols to make the streets of New York safe for every decent person! Outside the Bronx courthouse where the dead victim Eleanor Bumpurs was on trial instead of the cop who killed her, on the Morningside Heights campus where city police haul off anti-racist protesters while the "Heil Columbia" racist punks go free, the Spartacist League and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense have called for labor/black mobilizations against lynch mob terrorists and Koch's killer cops.

Had the transit powerhouse of NYC labor mobilized defense guards at the time of the 1982 lynch mob murder of black union brother Willie Turks, Michael Griffith and Brother Wajid Abdul-Salaam might be alive today. It is the absence of integrated labor struggle against the racists which opens the doors to those who seek to fan the flames of race-hate in this city on the brink. The "long hot summers" of the 1960s were massive outbursts of rage and frustration following the failure of the liberal civil rights movement to change the conditions of black people in the Northern ghettos. Twenty years later, the black condition in America has worsened by every indicator, from infant mortality to youth unemployment to the hundreds of blacks on death row. Now more than ever, it is urgent to win the ranks of labor, the youth, the black and Hispanic masses to the program of socialist revolution. When thousands of black workers take their place as proletarian leaders in the revolutionary vanguard party, the days of the racist terrorists will be numbered. ■

Geronimo Pratt...

(continued from page 16)

because he symbolizes the best of the millions who participated in the civil rights and antiwar activism of the 1960s and 1970s. And the heinous denial of freedom for this innocent man is once again openly *political*. He is "still a revolutionary," raged Los Angeles deputy district attorney Diane Vezzani at the parole hearing (*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 6). Pratt survived a 1969 murder attempt by the state, when police death squads laid siege to the L.A. Panther headquarters. Because he survived, Pratt was framed on a murder rap in a travesty of a trial in which the star witness was a paid police and FBI informer who perjured himself by denying his relationship to those agencies. FBI wiretaps proving Pratt was 500 miles away from the scene of the crime were suppressed and then "lost." A retired FBI official, Wesley Swearingen, later testified: "Pratt was set up." He has endured 17 long years in prison including *eight* in solitary confinement. He has withstood the attempts to break his spirit and assassinate his character. Unbowed, like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Pratt remains deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed in fighting for his own freedom.

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee joins protest demanding Pratt's freedom May 5 outside parole board.

At the May 5 hearing, the parole commissioners displayed a vindictiveness and an open hatred for what Pratt represents that shocked even prison guards and newspaper journalists covering the case. They especially went after Pratt's honorable political past as a Black Panther and humanist. The board arrogantly dismissed the latest in a long series of reports praising Pratt from San Quentin's own prison counselors and from staff psychologist Randall Bruce that described Pratt as a "principled individual and an idealist and supporter of human rights" whose "prognosis for parole should be excellent." The board cites Pratt's courageous refusal to perjure and frame himself, to "jump through hoops," in his words, by walking into the trap of "admitting guilt" for a crime he did not commit. They smear this highly decorated Vietnam veteran as a "walking time bomb."

The parole system which keeps Pratt in prison just caused a storm of public outrage when it released one of California's most brutal *real* murderers: Lawrence Singleton, a (white) psychopath who savagely raped a 15-year-old girl, cut her arms off with an ax and threw her in a ditch to die, just walked out of prison a free man after serving a little over half of a 14-year sentence. No one wants Singleton in their community. But a senior editorialist at the Oakland *Tribune* wrote on the day of the hearing that Pratt "sounds like a model citizen to me." Meanwhile, the same Edwin Meese who scrambles to save his "legacy" of repression by keeping Pratt in prison just went all-out trying to protect Nazi war criminal Karl Linnas from extradition to face justice in the Soviet Union. Such is racist "justice" in capitalist America.

Who sits on this parole board, accountable to no one but their capitalist masters, seeking to do their dirty work in the dark like the star-chamber inquisitors of the Middle Ages? Appointed by California's staunchly Reaganite governor George Deukmejian and approved by the state senate, the board that denied Pratt's parole was chaired by Edmund Tong, a former member of the Democratic Party's National Committee. The other two members are deputy commissioner Robert Roos, a professional "civil servant," and Maureen O'Connell. O'Connell, in particular, stood out as a vicious witchhunter. For ten years O'Connell was a sheriff in the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, which works hand in glove with the Alameda County district attorney's office—a historic recruiting ground for Reagan reaction that spawned Edwin Meese and his protégé Lowell Jensen, the D.A. who directed the reign of terror against the Panthers in the 1960s.

At a protest called by the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt before the May 5 hearing, Pratt's attorney Stuart Hanlon noted that the rogue's gallery of frame-up artists who railroaded Pratt used his case as a steppingstone: Jensen became a top official in the Justice Department and was recently rewarded with a judgeship in San Francisco; trial prosecutor Stephen Trott is now head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division; Michael Nash, who fought Pratt's appeal, is now a California judge; Richard Wallace Held now heads the FBI's San Francisco office. All of them share with their godfathers Meese and Reagan a deep, vested interest in keeping Pratt behind bars. As Hanlon said, the parole hearing was "rigged from the beginning in a very ugly racist and political manner."

What James P. Cannon, then leader of the International Labor Defense, wrote in 1927 of the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti applies fully to those who rob Pratt of his freedom:

> "They want to know if...they can wreak their revenge upon these rebels, who have not feared to defy them, *by burying them alive and at the same time liquidating the movement which must free them!*"
>
> —*Notebook of an Agitator*

At the parole hearing Assistant D.A. Vezzani lashed out at the many who have come forward in the cause of Pratt's freedom: "He has a network of people who will assist him in any way he wishes," she railed.

This frenzy is indeed testimony to the breadth of support for Pratt's cause. Newspaper journalists like the S.F. *Chronicle*'s Jack Viets are among those who over the years have prevented the case from being buried away from public view; *Examiner* columnist Warren Hinckle and *Tribune* editorial writer Austin Long-Scott wrote powerful pieces calling for his freedom. More than 100 trade-union, civil rights and community organizations endorsed the February 21 labor/black demonstration called by the Labor Black League and the Partisan Defense Committee. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Radio Moscow covered the demonstration, noting that Pratt is among the prominent "dissidents suppressed by the United States." At a February 27 Oakland news conference former Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale urged support for a letter-writing campaign demanding freedom for Pratt. Over 2,000 individuals and organizations across the country responded to appeals from the PDC and others to send letters to the parole board, and more than 1,000 letters have so far been sent to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals where Pratt is fighting for a new trial.

The government's efforts to isolate Pratt from his supporters will backfire; more and more enemies of social oppression and racist injustice must make his cause their own. Step up the fight—all out for "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" ■

Pratt: "I Intend to Keep On Struggling"

The following statement from Geronimo Pratt was read by Ashaki Pratt to the rally called by the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt on the morning of his hearing before the California parole board.

I want to thank everyone for your active support—the letters, the petitions—and your presence here today.

I want you to know that whatever the Parole Board decides today, I intend to keep on struggling—not only for my own release—but for the release of all the political prisoners and prisoners of the war of injustice, incarcerated in the dungeons of the U.S.

All around the world, human beings fight against injustice and for their people and their nations—in Azania, in Ireland, in El Salvador, in Chile. And all around the world governments lock up and criminalize people who resist oppression, racism and COINTELPRO-type repression. No matter what they do to me, I will always affirm the right to resist, the right to struggle for freedom. This is something that they can never take away. I am 100 percent innocent of the charges for which I have spent 17 years of my life in prison. But I am and always will be a freedom fighter for Afrikan people—and for all people.

In the spirit of Nelson Mandela and Leonard Peltier, and also Anna Mae Aquash, Haydee Torres, Marilyn Buck and Watani Tyehimba, I wish to thank you again for your support, and encourage you to join hands and form a solid bastion against the evils of oppression that starve and murder us and make us suffer so.

Asante,
A luta continua,
geronimo ji Jaga

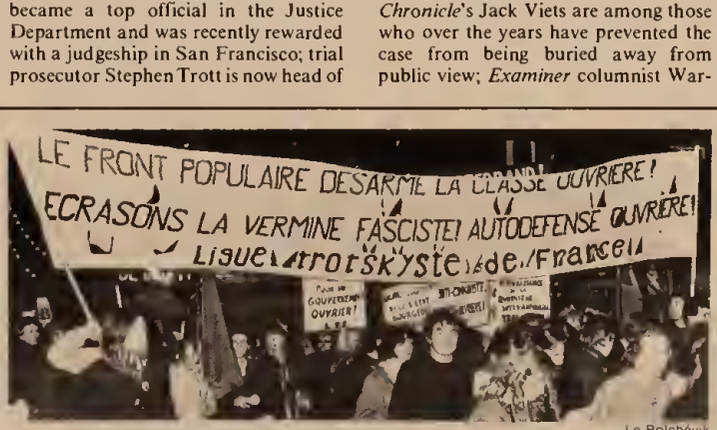
France...

(continued from page 3)

national sovereignty by locking up our country in this European and Atlanticist conglomerate" (*L'Humanité*, 28 April). This is a revolting attempt to rival the fascists in French chauvinism.

Fiterman ducked the central question: anti-immigrant racist terror. Appealing to the white labor aristocracy and trying to hold on to its municipal offices, the PCF won't touch the burning issue of racial oppression. Even worse, the Marchais leadership grotesquely tried to prove its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie by attacking African workers in an immigrant hostel at Vitry in December 1980! The social-chauvinist PCF tops pretend to counter the fascist threat by simple economic struggle, as if any such struggle actually capable of wresting significant gains from the bourgeoisie would not have to be physically defended from the fascist bands!

The so-called "*rénovateurs*," the heterogeneous opposition inside/outside the PCF (now being frantically courted by the LCR), postures as an "anti-racist" alternative to the Marchais leadership. But while criticizing the social democracy for not combatting Le Pen from the beginning, these *liquidators* line up behind Mitterrand's SP and *cover up* the racist police terror under the Mitterrand popular front which paved the way for the fascists' current success. Even today the "Socialists" are the organizers of racial segregation in Marseille and Lyon (where the aspiring Bonaparte Charles Hernu, Mitterrand's ex-minister of war who was responsible for the murder of a Greenpeace activist, regularly expels immigrants from *his* municipality).



Le Bolchévik

French Trotskyists initiate united front, Rouen, 1981: "Popular Front Disarms the Working Class! Crush the Fascist Vermin! For Workers Self-Defense!"

The current trial of Klaus Barbie, the bloody butcher of Lyon, should be a reminder of the horrors of fascism... and of the virulent anti-Semitism which went far beyond the open collaborators. The working class must mobilize *now* against fascist terror. This means opposing the new popular-front alliance being pushed by the reformists aimed at putting Mitterrand back in the presidential palace in 1988. Today Le Pen's strength lies only in the cowardice of the proletariat's treacherous misleaders. And the fascist killers wouldn't even exist if it hadn't been for the Stalinists' betrayal of the revolution in 1945, when the French workers rose up in arms against the retreating German occupiers and their Vichy fascist puppets. But the PCF disarmed the workers, politically and physically, on the altar of the popular front with General de Gaulle.

A militant and massive counterattack could check the fascist offensive and galvanize the entire working class, particularly its immigrant sector. For the final victory against fascism—the product of decaying capitalism—the proletariat needs the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party armed with an internationalist program which poses the fight against racist terror and racial discrimination as a strategic question for socialist revolution in France. No platform for fascists! Abolish the CRS and other special police forces specializing in anti-working-class and anti-immigrant repression! Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Worker/immigrant defense guards based on the trade unions! Fight for workers power! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Former Black Panther Steadfast in Freedom Struggle

WV Photo

Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.

Outrage! Pratt Parole Denied

OAKLAND—On May 5 the California Board of Prison Terms summarily denied parole to former Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner. A government conspiracy, spearheaded by Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese, locked Pratt away 17 years ago for a crime he could not and did not commit. Because this courageous black fighter for freedom refuses to deny his political commitment and upholds his innocence, the state keeps him in bondage today. Pratt was a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program"), the government's murder machine that killed 38 of his Panther comrades. Meese used this frame-up to launch himself into the big time as Reagan's sinister attorney general. Now this Contragate co-conspirator stands exposed to the world as a liar and one of the foremost criminals of the Reagan gang, a prime candidate for the jailhouse. To shore up the completely tarnished reputation of Meese & Co., the state treats Geronimo Pratt like the fugitive slave Dred Scott, who the Supreme Court decided in 1856 "has no rights that the white man is bound to respect." COINTELPRO is alive and well on the California parole board.

Pratt was framed and imprisoned

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South Africa Student Revolt

Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid Election

One and a half *million* black workers and students shook the foundations of apartheid capitalism on May 5-6 in a two-day nationwide stayaway from work. South African president P.W. Botha had planned to bolster the racist Pretoria regime by conducting another racist "election" among the 2.5 million white voters—entirely excluding the country's 25 million blacks. (The fake parliaments for three million mixed-race coloureds and one million Indians were not up for a vote.) "If voting could change the system, it would be illegal," was a telling comment on a button in Cape Town, noted South African trade-union organizer David Lewis (*Nation*, 25 April).

But the massive display of black proletarian power that day exposed the election as a futile exercise in white supremacy. On May 5, for instance:

> "More than half of the black workers in the Witwatersrand industrial area around Johannesburg refused to go to their jobs, and in the eastern Cape Province region, the walkout of blacks was 98 percent effective, according to the independent Labor Monitoring Group.
>
> "Three-quarters of the black public transport workers here and in Natal Province stayed home....
>
> "The Durban area reported 60 percent absence of black factory workers in one of the most sweeping strikes in the region in years."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 6 May

For almost three years the South African state has been racked by massive black resistance in the face of savage police-state terror and repression. White support to these anti-apartheid struggles has, however, been pretty much limited to a small number of courageous individuals. But this time, significantly, students and faculty at the *predominantly white* Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg joined the stayaway protest against the racist elections. Police using tear gas attacked 3,000 Wits students who had gathered to hear African National Congress (ANC) leader Winnie Mandela.

The whites-only "elections" took place in the aftermath of a militant six-week strike by black railroad workers which paralyzed the apartheid state's commercial center. Rail transport is far more strategic to South Africa's economy than to the American. The strike was only suppressed with massive police raids, in which several strikers were killed, followed by the mass firing of 16,000 strikers who defied a back-to-work order. The police also raided the downtown Johannesburg headquarters of the black-centered labor federation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

Yet on May Day, even though the regime banned 20 protests, mass defiance of the police continued as the workers dared to celebrate the traditional proletarian holiday with demonstrations. In Cape Town 10,000 people came out for a May Day rally, "the largest anti-government gathering since emergency rule was imposed in June" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 May). The success of the two-day stayaway of May 5-6, called by COSATU and the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, proved again that the combativity of the black proletariat continues unabated.

AP

Cops fire on University of Cape Town students protesting apartheid army raid into Zambia.

Miller/Impact Visuals

Founding rally of COSATU, 1985. Massive May "stayaway" shows combativity of South African black proletariat.

Fissures in the Laager

Within the confines of the ever-more-constricted apartheid white "democracy," the elections registered a shift to the right—particularly among the English-speaking voters—no doubt the product of the racial hysteria generated by the ruling National Party of P.W. Botha. The "liberal" Progressive Federal Party (PFP), political arm of the English-speaking bourgeoisie, lost seven of its 26 seats in the all-white parliament, while the diehard reactionary Afrikaner Conservative Party emerged as the main parliamentary opposition to the ruling National Party.

But at the same time, major fissures to the left have appeared in the white

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Blood and Oil and Imperialist War Drive

U.S. Up the Persian Gulf?

Once again Ronald Reagan is trying to drape himself with the flags covering the coffins of U.S. military men killed as he was playing cop of the world. This time 37 hapless U.S. sailors died May 17 when two Exocet missiles fired by an Iraqi jet slammed into the frigate USS *Stark* on patrol in the Persian Gulf. But after 241 Marines were killed in Beirut on a supposed "peacekeeping" mission in the Lebanese hornet's nest, and now with Navy ships set up like sitting ducks in the middle of the Iran-Iraq war while "protecting" the flow of oil, even conservative Republicans like Robert Dole are wondering "just exactly what we

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U.S. Navy

Crippled frigate USS Stark: 37 dead seamen are latest victims of U.S. war moves in the Middle East.

Avenge the Victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!

Kill Nazi Barbie!

MAY 25—For the past two weeks the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie has gripped France. As head of the Gestapo in Lyon from 1942 to 1944, Barbie was responsible for the murder of more than 10,000 Jews, Communists, Gypsies and others, who were tortured and killed on the spot, or shipped off to Hitler's death camps. After the war, he was hired by the U.S. as a Cold War spy, then sent down the "Rat Line" to Bolivia, where he set up death squads and concentration camps. According to the Bolivian official responsible for Barbie's expulsion, he was a key adviser in the CIA's murder of Che Guevara. Although Barbie was brought to France in 1983, the "Socialist" Mitterrand government never brought him to trial.

When the proceedings finally got under way May 11, it was a grisly spectacle. The first days were dominated by Barbie's obscene smile, the smirk of a murderer who knows his prosecutors' hands are also covered with blood. He played on the hypocrisy of the French imperialist state, its personnel shot through with Nazi collaborators and those guilty of heinous crimes in colonial wars, from Vietnam to Algeria. Then Barbie made his grandstand play, walking out of the "trial." There ensued a ludicrous squabble among the prosecutors over whether the SS killer's "rights" would be violated by forcing him to face his surviving victims.

Kill Nazi Barbie! This beast is a certified war criminal who has twice been sentenced to death. When the Estonian collaborator and death camp commandant Karl Linnas was finally handed over to the USSR, despite desperate attempts by the White House to "save" him, we said that however the Soviet courts disposed of this butcher would be fine by us. But we have no confidence in the French bourgeois state, itself riddled with collaborators and war criminals, to dispense justice for the victims of the torturer and sadistic killer Klaus Barbie. The grotesque proceedings in the Lyon "trial" prove this. And with Le Pen's fascist bands on the rise, if Barbie isn't executed, he could end up in the pantheon of the French New Order along with Marshal Pétain!

Serge Klarsfeld

Der Spiegel

SS Obersturmführer Klaus Barbie (left), chief of Lyon Gestapo, responsible for deaths of over 10,000 in Nazi genocide. Vichy police deport French Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz in 1941 (above).

While the Lyon court is juridically "investigating" the loading of Jews into boxcars to be sent to Auschwitz, Ravensbrück and Buchenwald, rightist interior minister Charles Pasqua announced he was prepared to "put together a train" of immigrants for deportation! And the ultraright is mobilizing its shock troops. In Paris, a 10,000-strong mob headed by the fascist National Front (FN) leader Le Pen marched on "Joan of Arc Day," May 10. Armed FN bands have terrorized immigrant neighborhoods of Lyon and Marseille. This past weekend, a Jewish primary school in Paris was burned to the ground.

Barbie walked out of the Lyon trial precisely at the point the testimony of his victims was to begin. Lise Lesèvre, 86, arrested 13 March 1944, recounted how she endured 19 days of torture at Gestapo headquarters, tied face down on a chair and flayed by Barbie with a whip with a spiked ball: she never talked. Simone LaGrange, deported at the age of 13 in June 1944, her mother gassed in August 1944, saw her father again in January 1945, when the Nazis hauled off their victims before the advancing Red Army. A guard noticed they had recognized each other, pushed her father to his knees and put a bullet in his head. These and countless other victims of the Nazi Holocaust demand vengeance!

Instead the "trial" was turned into a platform for fascism. On the second day of the trial, the judge actually asked

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Last month the U.S. Supreme Court again upheld the death penalty, opening the floodgate for hundreds of executions. In ordering this legal murder, Reagan's racists in black robes declared irrelevant the fact that it is overwhelmingly blacks—especially those accused of killing whites—who are slated for execution. Georgia wasted little time, executing Joseph Mulligan on May 15. In the Deep South legal executions supplement the extralegal terror of the KKK to keep black people "in their place." On May 20, 26-year-old Edward Earl Johnson was gassed for a murder he denied committing but which he was forced to confess to at a sheriff's gunpoint in a Mississippi backwoods. Black prison activist Johnny "Imani" Harris has been on Alabama's death row since 1974, framed up for the murder of a prison guard.

"Up South" in Huntington, Pennsylvania, MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row, separated for the past five years from his wife Wadiya and children. Well known in Philadelphia as an outspoken supporter of MOVE and former Black Panther, Mumia was framed up for the murder of a Philadelphia cop in 1981. We print below two excerpted letters from Mumia, who wrote to the PDC of the state's efforts to silence by murder this fighter for black liberation.

April 15, 1987

Ona MOVE, Paul,

...Thanx for sharing your info w/ me, man—I found ya *Defense Notes* & otha publications to be damn well done—miles ahead of otha allegedly revolutionary media—ala *Guardian*, *In These Times*, *et al.*,—the otha organs are consistently apologist in tone, and always portray the victimizer as the victim (ex., Goode)! Because his carcass is black, and his party registration "Democratic," he is portrayed as a hapless victim of May 13th, 1985, instead of a rabid lapdog of this system, and a malevolent mass murderer to boot! The Spartacist literature has dared to go beyond the illusion of "party" and expose the deception of systemic politics, and further, has dared to speak in strong, public support of the Africas, specifically, our strong, revolutionary sista, Ramona—kudos for such refreshing candor! *Long Live John Africa!* It is long overdue!

As my Brotha Chuck [Charles Sims Africa] may have told you, I am now on Pennsylvania's Death Row—after a charade of a trial that saw a man removed from court for daring to fight for own defense; after I was ordered silenced as I sought to represent myself—after I was stopped from picking my own "jury of peers"—after a parade of street hustlers and whores strutted on the witness stand, one to say she saw a "short" man, of roughly 200 lbs., shoot the victim (I am 6 ft. 1; and was about 170 lbs. at the time); another ho said she was there, but *never* saw the first ho—after a white cab driver described the shooter as a man wearin an "afro" (and I've worn long locks for several years *prior* to 1981); a mostly white jury returned the state's verdict of death. As for "appeals," I am now before the State Supreme Ct., aided by Marilyn J. Gelb, Esq.... An *amicus* brief was filed in my appeal by Karl Baker, of the Nat'l. Conf. of Black Lawyers & ACLU.... The *amicus* concentrates on penalty phase argument, and the D.A.'s elicitation of my Black Panther days (I was Party Communications Sec'ty in my teens); needless to say, altho' I harbor no shame of my Panther past, it was ripe w/ prejudice before a white (mostly) jury. That appeal is pending—

I remain a revolutionary journalist, and still write & contribute to selected projects.... I was also a widely-known, and among cops, widely-hated, MOVE supporter, who went into the jails to get the Africas' side of Aug. 8, '78 confrontation—where my "colleagues" were too chicken-shit, to interview MOVE, (but *not* too "uppity" to interview Rizzo!) I did human, warm pieces on some of the most beautiful folks I ever met—for that, I've been shunned by former "professionals," and persecuted by the state—long an unpopular target of cops for my widely-reported MOVE stories (and personal appearance, and political, militant background ala BPP), the "otha shoe dropped" on Dec. 9th, '81—the rest is history—

Incidentally, as a youth, I briefly worked in the editorial staff of the *Black Panther*, in N. California, and there met Elmer Geronimo Pratt, then Dep'ty Def. Minister, of LA—give him my warmest revolutionary regards....

Your articles on Ramona are *right on point*, and virtually the *only* organ/ medium which exposes the blatantly unconstitutional nature of the religious, political, familial oppression of the nature of her parole denial—it's fitting that this happens in the year the bourgeois media blathers on about the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution—have the bastards in Harrisburg read the thing? Under their draconian ultimata, Ramona could be re-imprisoned for visiting her husband (in MOVE)! If her own *mom* were to accept the teachings of *John Africa*, she would be precluded from seeing her—family, spouse, religion, *be damned*, the gov't of Pa. sez; ironic that this gov't was itself the "cradle" of that lofty document, which *life* has consistently *ignored* for 2 centuries, as it related to Africans, Indians, Latinos, and whites without property, purses, or political power.

Ona MOVE!
Long Live John Africa's Revolution!

Mumia

May 4, 1987

Dear Paul: *Ona MOVE!*

...Our objective is *also* to garner support against this hypocritical and harbarous system, which bombs babies in the name of civic evictions, then whitewashes the mass murderers responsible for the premeditated carnage and human holocaust of May 13th. If I was "judged" guilty of murder, and sentenced to death, what of those judged guilty by the people of mass murder?

Revolutionary Worker

Framed-up MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal faces execution.

Can we expect Goode, Sambor, Brooks & Co., to take up lodging on Pennsylvania's Death Row? If not, Paul, the very notion of "justice" and "no respecter of persons or positions under the law" is a cruel sham indeed.

Sullivan, the cowardly cop who shotguns old women to death, never truly faced a jail cell in that fixed farce of a trial up in N.Y.; but Eleanor Bumpurs faced a death most foul, because in this system, a black grandmother "armed" w/ a butterknife is expendable—her life, like the aggregate lives of Africans in America, is *dirt cheap*. Surely, in the recent U.S. Supreme Court case, *McCleskey v. Kemp* did little to dispel that bitter truth. *Kudos* to Rachel W. for her interests in the state censorship of reading materials to Ramona & otha Africas at Muncy. Similarly, I have instituted several civil suits against prison officials; 1) For punishing me for the practice of my "First Amendment Rights" of free exercise of religious beliefs, by placing me in the "hole"; 2) For effecting a *de facto* total ban of *Burning Spear* newspapers, *Revolutionary Worker*'s many issues, and other material of a leftist nature—my *pro se* suits are now pending in the Middle District of Pennsylvania....

It's an honor to be adopted into your class-war stipend tradition—it's a greater honor to find a voice which dares to shed the sheep's clothing of "democratic socialism" to condemn the puppet-Democrat Goode in Philadelphia—so many so-called "revolutionaries" have rushed to protect Goode, as a political entrée into black potential support, that it's sickening—Goode is little more than America's version of Emperor Bokassa, of Central African Republic, the mad francophile who gunned down schoolkids—their difference is only one of degree—his "supporters" among those who should know better are guilty of naked hypocrisy—*Long Live MOVE!* For exposing his true treacherous nature!

Ona MOVE!

Mumia

* * *

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! Down with the racist death penalty! We urge *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Socialist Revolution or Fascist Barbarism

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the Communist Manifesto, *written in the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels posed the alternatives facing humanity as "socialism or barbarism." In its epoch of decline, capitalism knows no other way out than imperialist war and fascist genocide. In a draft article dictated shortly before his assassination by Stalinist agents, Trotsky condemned the opportunists who paralyzed the proletariat and obstructed it from taking power. It was this failure of proletarian revolution which allowed the coming to power of Hitler and his French collaborators of the bonapartist Vichy regime, headed by Marshal Pétain.*

The regime of the senile Marshal Petain represents a senile form of Bonapartism of the epoch of imperialist decline. But this regime too proved possible only after the prolonged radicalization of the French working class, which led to the explosion of June 1936, had failed to find a revolutionary way out. The Second and Third Internationals, the reactionary charlatanism of the "People's Fronts," deceived and demoralized the working class. After five years of propaganda in favor of an alliance of democracies and of collective security, after Stalin's sudden passage into Hitler's camp, the French working class proved caught unawares. The war provoked a terrible disorientation and the mood of passive defeatism, or to put it more correctly, the indifferentism of an impasse. From this web of circumstances arose first the unprecedented military catastrophe and then the despicable Petain regime....

The successes of fascism easily make people lose all perspective, lead them to forget the actual conditions which made the strengthening and the victory of fascism possible. Yet a clear understanding of these conditions is of especial importance to the workers of the United States. We may set it down as a historical law: fascism was able to conquer only in those countries where the conservative labor parties prevented the proletariat from utilizing the revolutionary situation and seizing power. In Germany two revolutionary situations were involved: 1918-19 and 1923-24. Even in 1929 a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still possible. In all these three cases the Social Democracy and the Comintern criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power and thereby placed society in an impasse. Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of fascism and its gaining of power prove possible.

—Leon Trotsky, "Bonapartism, Fascism, and War" (August 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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At the Barbie Trial in Lyon

As the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie opened in Lyon, France, a reporter for Le Bolchévik, *newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, was present. We print below her eyewitness account of the first week of the trial.*

Monday, May 11: I joined the hundreds of journalists milling around outside the Palace of Justice in Lyon. The first person I recognized was the Soviet correspondent for *New Times*, Bezymensky. His picture was published with an interview he had recently given in Moscow to one of the Lyon papers. He is wearing many rows of military decorations as an anti-Nazi statement. Later I learned that he was at Stalingrad and served as translator there when Wehrmacht general Paulus surrendered to the Red Army in 1943. He also interrogated Göring in Nuremberg.

Barbie arrives in his bulletproof, windowless van. Inside the courtroom, 700 journalists are trying to find their seats. An American reporter happens to notice that Charles Hernu [Mitterrand's former war minister] is up in the mezzanine holding court, posturing for the photographers. Hernu, the French army's favorite "Socialist," has blood on his hands including ordering the bombing of Greenpeace. And now he expels North African families from the neighborhoods of "his" municipality, Villeurbanne, a working-class suburb of Lyon.

The court enters. Barbie is brought in; his handcuffs are removed; he chats amiably with his translators; he smiles graciously at his lawyer, Jacques Vergès. Vergès is cynically playing on his past reputation as an anti-colonialist fighter; today he is the lawyer for pro-Nazi anti-Semitism. Barbie/Vergès intend to dominate the proceedings. They do. All eyes are riveted on them. Then, slowly, for the first time since the presiding judge had him brought in, the Butcher of Lyon deliberately turns his gaze toward the public and stares back. There is a smiling grimace on his face and it does not go away: contempt, insolence, confidence. A sort of shudder sweeps the courtroom. The Nazi torturer is amused. It is unspeakable, bloodcurdling.

Asked to state his name, he replies, "*Ich bin Klaus Altmann*," citizen of Bolivia. This is the name given him by U.S. Army intelligence. He does not budge, and the court cedes. Then a court clerk reads the names of all the witnesses who have been subpoenaed. Grotesquely, he stumbles over and mispronounces every Jewish name he reads.

There is a last minute request to accept other plaintiffs. Robert Cohen would like to give evidence of Gestapo terror in occupied Lyon. As a child, he was the only one to escape an April 1944 SS roundup at L'Hôtel de France Saint-Claude. His lawyer explains that his mother had been able to obtain a false passport for him, a passport which had a name that was... and here the lawyer stops, choosing his words, but he knew he was going to blow it... a name which was *French*, of the French nationality. All the Cohens in France are thus declared non-French. The state *prosecutor* made an energetic polemic against the prospective lawyer for the *prosecution*, arguing that Robert Cohen could not be a victim of a crime against humanity because he had never been sent to a concentration camp.

Novovitch/Reuters

Barbie's empty chair in Lyon court room. This Nazi butcher should be turned over to a tribunal of his victims and executed.

Tuesday, May 12: They're reading the charges and the legal decisions that have already been invoked in preparation for the trial. It takes about six hours altogether. What stands out is the terrible repetition of the list of names, the names of the people tortured by the sadist Barbie, the names of the children he personally sent to the death camps.

This makes me think of other names also. Thimbault, the French CP militant executed by a Nazi firing squad who died proclaiming, "Long live the German Communist Party!" Our Trotskyist comrades in Brest who were hideously executed or deported for having successfully set up clandestine cells among the German submariners. The Resistance of the FTP-MOI, Polish Jews who had emigrated to Paris, Communist Party members who resisted their leadership's chauvinist policy of shooting individual German soldiers because "he might be a Communist worker from Hamburg," the people who wanted the defeat of *capitalist* France through internationalist workers revolution.

This morning's press expressed revulsion at Barbie's demeanor yesterday. Some attributed it to personality traits of Barbie, others to Vergès' "tactics." Yet the insolence of the monster in the dock is based not only on the "revelations" that Vergès keeps promising us about French collaboration with the Nazis. Yes, Barbie knows just how complicit the French rulers were in the Holocaust. French capitalist society regularly vomits its undigested barbarism in the form of virulent anti-Semitism. But in addition, World War II was not a war of "democracy" against Nazi barbarism, it was a war among the imperialists to divide up the world.

The Western "democratic" allies always regretted that rather than Nazi Germany defeating the Soviet workers state, it was the Soviet people, with their 20 million dead, that defeated the Nazi war machine. In this trial, accusation and defense are united in their anti-Sovietism. Decadent, racist capitalist "democracy" cannot stop this fascist terrorist from using the trial as his "last act of war." Barbie's smiling grimace is a smile of contempt: he can beat the French state court simply by following its own rules, since he is willing to say the equivalent of what French rulers have believed for more than a century: better Hitler than a workers commune (soviet) in Paris.

The Barbie trial has become the rallying cry to the present-day fascist shock troops, some of whom raided the offices of an anti-racist group in Lyon the Saturday before the proceedings opened, stealing the mailing list and leaving a picture of Barbie. The trial began one week after National Front *Führer* Le Pen made front page headlines with his tirade against the AIDS victims—"*SIDAïques*," he calls them, who should be sent to "*SIDAtoriums*." No one missed the evocation of "Judaïques" (Jews) and "crematoriums." The same week the trial begins, interior minister Charles Pasqua will say that if there are not enough charter planes to expel "illegal immigrants" he will be happy to load them onto trains.

Coming out of the trial, I cross paths with Bezymensky. I ask him about the Soviet trials against Nazi criminals, can he explain how they are different from this circus? He says, well, you know, all war criminals have the same psychology, they all say that they were just following orders. But what counts, is not what's happening today in this trial, but what happens at the end. "You mean in the Soviet Union they are shot at the end?" Yes, he answers.

Wednesday, May 13: Lyon is not Marseille. Even cab drivers hate Barbie. This morning, my cabbie said, "This guy should be gotten rid of. If I ever got my hands on him, I'd know how to take care of him." He added that this was especially true because support for Le Pen, that "little Hitler," was growing in France. Perhaps the so-called indifference of the Lyon population, deplored by the condescending liberals of *Libération*, is just that people think it's grotesque that a Nazi butcher, twice condemned to death, is permitted to stage this sinister show. Up to this point the trial has rivaled the Cannes Festival (going on at the same time) in fatuous hoopla. The Lyon mayor's office issued a "press kit" on the city, and there are restaurants which are featuring a special "Barbie menu" for the duration of the trial. Grisly.

Inside the courtroom, the presiding judge is continuing the interrogation on the accused's biography. Barbie flagrantly refuses to answer all significant questions. "I can't remember the oath that we took as SS officers." "I don't know why my superiors praised me so highly." This equivocation disappears when he is asked to explain how he had been recruited by the American CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) after the war. On this subject he waxed eloquent: "I've been a staunch anti-communist since my youth." He did not even try to hide the fact that he was working for the Gehlen Organization, the Nazis' anti-Soviet counterintelligence apparatus which had been taken over practically in its entirety by the Americans after the war.

At the end of this interrogation, Barbie dramatically announces that he refuses to be present for the rest of the trial. As a Bolivian citizen kidnapped by France, the trial was, he claimed, illegal. Huge consternation among the prosecution lawyers. A number of the lawyers argue he should be required to be present at the trial. The last major political case where the accused refused to be present and was brought by force to the trial was that of Laval, head of the bonapartist [Nazi-allied] Vichy government, who was executed after his trial. Barbie is excused.

Thursday, May 14: The first testimony was from ex-vice minister of the interior of Bolivia, Gustavo Sánchez, who turned Barbie over to the French government. He documented Barbie's involvement with the fascist networks in Latin America, and Barbie's connection with the cocaine traffic. He says that it was legal to expel Barbie from Bolivia because he had applied for his citizenship under a false identity.

Dahringhaus, one of Barbie's controllers for the U.S. Army CIC, testifies this afternoon. With Barbie he infiltrated the German Communist

continued on page 13

Bundesarchiv Koblenz

Novosti Press

Jews of Marseille, surrounded by French and German police, being transferred to death camp trains. Above, the ovens of Auschwitz.

FREEDOM FOR MORDECHAI VANUNU!

Faces Death Sentence for Exposing Israeli Nuclear Arsenal

Mordechai Vanunu is the 32-year-old Israeli nuclear technician whose spectacular revelations exposing the Zionist state's nuclear force of 100-200 bombs were published in the London *Sunday Times* last October. (We first publicized Vanunu's case in our article, "Zionist Madmen Target Russia," *Workers Vanguard* No. 416, 21 November 1986.) For his courageous act, the working people, indeed all of humanity, owe Vanunu a tremendous debt of gratitude. Instead this heroic man now languishes in solitary confinement in an Israeli prison, heavily guarded by the Shin Beth, the sinister Zionist secret police which are a cross between the FBI and the Gestapo. In the Zionist fortress, "security" and the brutal secret police enforcers are treated as sacrosanct. This underscores the unprecedented ruling of the Israeli Supreme Court on May 24 that Shin Beth had tortured and framed up a Circassian Muslim army officer on charges of espionage and treason, and that he must be immediately released. Vanunu is charged with disclosing state secrets, "aggravated espionage" and aiding the enemy in wartime, charges which carry the *death sentence*.

Kidnapped from Rome last September by the Mossad (the Israeli CIA) Vanunu was spirited to Israel where he was held *incommunicado*. Only a protest by his family and friends saved him from possibly being "disappeared" in the Shin Beth dungeons. Even after a 33-day hunger strike Vanunu is still deprived of even the modicum of rights ordinarily granted prisoners. The legal proceedings against him are conducted behind closed doors under Israel's draconian security regulations.

AP

Jerusalem, December 1986: Courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu flashes message to reporters from police van, saying he was hijacked in Rome by Israeli agents.

In the intensely chauvinist Zionist fortress, governed by the "Labor"-Likud alliance which includes the entire Zionist spectrum and is presently headed by notorious terrorist and murderer Yitzhak Shamir, the government has orchestrated a campaign to vilify Vanunu. But Israeli society is deeply polarized. The brutally oppressed Palestinian Arabs make up 20 percent of the population inside Israel and another 1.2 million live under the Zionist jackboot in the Occupied Territories. And even within the Hebrew-speaking majority there are deep divisions between the relatively privileged Ashkenazi (European) Jews and the Sephardic or "Oriental" Jews who, like the Moroccan-born Vanunu, come from North Africa and the Near East. While Sephardic Jews make up the mass base of the right-wing Zionist and religious parties, the discrimination they suffer can also produce a Vanunu. The polarization of Israeli society profoundly deepened after the Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon and hideous massacre of thousands of defenseless Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra, which engendered maniacal enthusiasm from some and deep revulsion from others.

In a foreword to a recent collection of materials translated from the Israeli press on Vanunu, the distinguished Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak notes that Vanunu not only revealed the extent of the Zionist nuclear arsenal but "the *changed mentality* among an important part of the younger Jewish generation.... Not only in the better part of the press, but also among the wider public, *including the Oriental Jews*, one can hear a lot of sympathy and understanding to Vanunu, his motives, his courage and even his act" (emphasis in original).

Another example of this changing attitude was demonstrated in response to the Shamir government's announcement of a 50 percent tuition hike for Arab students to subsidize a cut for Jews. This attempt to extend the Zionists' vicious anti-Arab discrimination to the universities was met with the largest binational protests in Israel's history. In May, thousands of Arab and Hebrew-speaking students marched together demanding "Down with a racist society!" and "Stop the apartheid policies!" Vanunu's courageous stand has no doubt inspired this small but nevertheless significant Hebrew-speaking minority to question the growing militarism and racism of the Zionist state.

As *Workers Vanguard* has pointed out in earlier articles on the importance of Vanunu's revelations, the extent of the Israeli nuclear strike force means the Zionist madmen have more than Arab capitals in their sights. They have a much bigger target in mind: the Soviet Union. As Dr. Ernesto Kahan, chairman of the Israeli Committee for the Prevention of Nuclear War, told the *Boston Globe* (4 February): "Nuclearization of the Middle East is of concern to the whole world because if nuclear war starts here, we will all blow up."

Vanunu acted in the cause of humanity. Now the international working class must champion his cause. Support for Vanunu has come from New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Britain. But here in the U.S., the quartermaster for Israel's nuclear death machine, the only organized effort for Vanunu has been the steadfast fight of his close American friend Judy Zimmet. With the aim of seeking to broaden that effort into an international campaign of protest centered on the power of the organized workers movement, we are pleased to publish here an interview with Zimmet conducted by Reuben Shiffman on behalf of *WV* and the Partisan Defense Committee. We call on our readership to raise this issue in their unions, civil rights and civil liberties organizations. Hail Mordechai Vanunu—Make his freedom your fight! *Donations can be sent to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145.*

Sunday Times [London]

Photos of Israeli nuclear bomb factory beneath Negev desert from London Sunday Times, 5 October 1986.

Interview with Judy Zimmet:

"Motti Did Something for Humanity in the Name of Peace"

Judy Zimmet and Mordechai Vanunu, at ruins south of Beersheba, Israel in January 1986.

C. Zimmet

WV: Judy, could you tell me a little bit about the background of Mordechai Vanunu, especially as it had a bearing on this particular courageous act of revealing to the world the scale of Israel's death machine?

Zimmet: Motti was born in Marrakesh, Morocco. He has five other brothers and sisters. In 1963 his parents and family moved from Marrakesh to Israel, and they were forced to settle in Beersheba. They had wanted to settle elsewhere, but according to articles and reports from the family, they were taken back physically to Beersheba.

WV: What's unique about Beersheba?

Zimmet: Beersheba is the fourth largest city in Israel, but in actuality it's a large settlement town. Immigrants from Morocco, Iraq, Iran, India, and more recently the Russians, have just been put there. The atmosphere is a lot different than if you go to Haifa, Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. I remember Motti telling me that his father came to Israel because there were hardships in Marrakesh, there was anti-Israeli feeling. He had promises of the land of milk and honey, but when he arrived there things were quite different. Motti had a very strong vivid image

Reuters

Vanunu in 1985 demonstration at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba for Palestinian rights. Sign reads: "Israel-Palestine. Two states for two peoples."

of his father breaking down and crying in front of the family.

I think his father has been sort of crushed by the Israeli society and what he's had to deal with being there. In Morocco, they had a store and I think were considered middle-class. But their standards were much lowered, and I remember seeing his father in a very small stand, selling religious articles. I know that not much income could be generated from these sales. I know he's a very deeply religious man, and was also considered to be like a rabbi and was responsible in one of the congregations near their household.

So they lived a very simple life. Three of the female children are extremely religious. All of the men are not. They are traditional and they keep in touch with the parents to different degrees. Motti was educated in the yeshiva [Jewish religious academy]. I remember him saying that when he was younger something inside of him would question religion and his upbringing. I think there was something about what happened in yeshiva that made him turn away from the Jewish faith, from practicing religiously. But I think he was still searching spiritually for answers. And he then went to army service, and from what I understand he rose to the rank of first sergeant and was a trained sapper.

Afterwards he started his studies, and then started work at KMG (Kirya Mahakar Garin, Negev Nuclear Research Center) which is the nuclear power plant at Dimona. There he received training as a technician. While he was working at Dimona, over the years, he then started studies at the University of Ben-Gurion in Beersheba. He received two bachelors, one in geography and one in philosophy. Shortly thereafter he started a masters in philosophy. He had many, many questions, was deeply concerned about the nature of the way the world was going. I think he was exposed to ideas other than the Jewish faith in those courses. And I think he'd been questioning many things about religion and spirituality.

In terms of his politics, he was active in helping the Palestinian students. He had many friends who were Bedouins and Palestinians from the north. He was a representative in the student government, and his platform was campaigning for their rights. I'm told that he was instrumental in helping these students gain equal access to housing at Ben-Gurion, as well as attending various protests against the Lebanon war and for equal Palestinian rights. He was a very good listener and many of the students did come to him with their problems, and he tried to help in whatever way he could. He believed very much in equality and equal rights.

He became progressively more left, more liberal. He might have been a member of [the left Zionist] Mapam, and then before he left, I know that he was attending meetings of Rakah, which is one of the Communist parties in Israel. And right before he left in November, he joined Rakah as a candidate member.

Then he left Israel January 19, 1986. And he said he did this out of support for the Palestinian and Bedouin students that he was trying to help. I know that he was looking for things. We corresponded, and he said that when he was in Southeast Asia, I believe in Thailand or Nepal, he went to a Buddhist monastery and stayed there for several days, and felt that that was not the direction that he wanted to take. Then he went to Australia, and shortly thereafter he went to an Anglican church and he became acquainted with the Rev. John McKnight. He felt very comfortable with the Reverend and also the community there, and felt that Christianity and the Anglican church was the path that he wanted to pursue. He converted to that faith and is now a practicing Christian. He sees himself as a man of peace, as well as what he did as something for humanity and in the name of peace.

WV: Now, let me ask you for a brief sketch of yourself, and how you came to meet Mordechai. I'm sure readers would be interested.

Zimmet: Well, I'm originally from New York, and grew up in a Jewish neighborhood, Kew Gardens Hills, Flushing, and went to the local high school there. Many of my teachers were very liberal. One in particular had been openly a communist, and taught classes that were very socially minded. We didn't really discuss literature for literature's sake, but more for the issues that were involved; there were stories from Jack London and other writers, like the young black teenager who wrote his story.

I then was trained as a nurse, and I also have a degree in biology. Then I went on for further training as a nurse-midwife. I was a member of the National Health Service Corps in the United States. I worked in an inner-city hospital in Boston and then worked with Mexican migrant workers and Russian Old Believers in Oregon. I had also worked previously in other places, mostly in governmental institutions, working with underserved and indigent populations. I went to Israel at that point hoping to help my own people in a place that would be also underserved. Beersheba met those needs, they are desperately in need of midwives there.

WV: When is this?

Zimmet: I went to Israel in 1984. Then I started work in Soroka Hospital in 1985, and I stayed there for a little bit over a year. The population there is about 40 percent Bedouin, most of whom speak Arabic and don't have much education.

I had friends and they arranged a meeting with Motti, knowing both of our social situations, and I agreed and he agreed, and we ironically went to a going-away party for them. Motti talked about the activities that he was involved in at the university, and I spoke about my concerns working in the hospital and the things that I had seen in terms of the treatment of the Bedouins and the other patients where I didn't feel that their rights were upheld. Things progressed from there, and eventually he moved in, and we were together. Then he left Israel, January 19, to travel, and consider a life outside of Israel where he could live away from all the politics and live in peace. I had wanted to maintain the relationship, and we kept up a correspondence and were considering meeting at a point in the future.

WV: So when did you leave Israel?

Zimmet: I personally left Israel July 9, 1986. Motti called me Labor Day weekend and said that his plans in Australia were changing and he would be leaving sooner than he anticipated. Shortly thereafter his brother Meir who had been living in Somerville, near where I was then living, received an aerogram saying that Motti was going to go to London to tell what he knew about the

continued on page 12

Reuters

Jerusalem, May 18: Chanting "Stop the apartheid policies!" Arab and Jewish students at Hebrew University jointly protest racist anti-Arab tuition policy.

Tidewater Labor Faces Layoffs, KKK Terror

Workers at the Newport News shipyard and in the surrounding Virginia Tidewater area—a beachhead of integrated labor power in the open-shop South—are facing a joint company/government assault. As the government pushes to build Reagan's "600-ship Navy" it has engineered givebacks, lockouts and layoffs at shipyards across the country. At Newport News shipyard, United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8888 faces a contract expiration on May 31. In the past year the heavily black and unionized Tidewater proletariat has been subjected to an eruption of racist attacks, from Klan cross-burnings to the wiping out of school busing.

But the Tidewater area is not an isolated company town like Austin, Minnesota where the Hormel meatpackers strike of Local P-9 was broken by National Guard troops and knifed by their own union tops. The shipyards and docks of Newport News, Portsmouth and Norfolk have a powerful, integrated workforce capable of defeating the union-busting and racist terror. But it will take a conscious, class-struggle leadership which refuses to bow down before the anti-Soviet war drive, a leadership that fights to break the labor movement from the racist, capitalist Democratic Party.

The contract expiration at Newport News follows the announcement of massive layoffs at the yard: in November 1,250 workers were thrown onto the street after busting ass to complete the nuclear aircraft carrier USS *Theodore Roosevelt* 17 months early (earning the company a $21 million bonus); another 4,000 workers are slated to be laid off when submarine and carrier overhauls are completed this spring and summer. Tenneco Inc., the giant conglomerate that owns the yard, has eliminated 1,500 other jobs since February 1986 through attrition and slashed benefits for salaried employees.

Government Whipsawing and Union-Busting

Nationally, Navy contracts account for over 80 percent of all shipyard revenues, as commercial shipbuilding has collapsed. Reagan and the Democratic-controlled Congress are using this economic muscle to break the shipyard unions. In March 1986 the Navy began "whipsawing" public and private yards against one another, putting "tremendous pressure on the shipyards to lower their bids by cutting the workers' wages," according to *The Unifier*, May 1987. "Nationwide, 30 shipyards have closed in the last six years with a permanent loss of 65,000 jobs."

Waterfront workers from the Gulf to the Pacific Northwest are facing wage cuts, two-tier contracts and the massive erosion of union jurisdiction. The International Longshoremen's Association uniform contract has been broken as the ILA tops sold out the strike of North Atlantic ports last fall. With its strategic position on the docks and heavily black membership, the ILA strike was a key opportunity to strike a blow for all of labor. On the West Coast, the maritime companies are preparing an attack on the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, whose contract expires June 30. Like giant Crowley Maritime, which is trying to break the ILWU Boatmen's strike, the bosses want to roll back the union gains of 50 years, particularly the union hiring hall.

At Newport News, the reliance of the USWA tops on the bosses' courts and labor boards, and their refusal to take on Tenneco and wage an aggressive organizing drive against the open-shop laws, has taken its toll. According to recent reports, union membership has fallen to less than one-half of the workers at the yard.

At the Norfolk Naval Station, the capitalists' "low bidder" rules led to a Yugoslav contractor getting a contract to supply steam to the Navy. This set off an orgy of flag-waving anti-Communism by the chairman of the Tidewater Metal Trades Council (MTC), Thomas Rinehart: "I don't understand why these communists need to build all these missiles and such. They can just low-bid us and come in and we'll just sell them our national defense." (*Virginian-Pilot*, 7 March). The union tops' support of capitalism's "national defense" is what kept the 8,000 Naval Shipyard workers without a contract from 1979 until last year, and exposed them to deadly asbestos hazards and dangerous nuclear work.

While the union tops wave the stars and stripes, the capitalists show their true colors: 120 years after the smashing of the slavocracy, the Confederate flag flies again over the Norfolk Naval yard. The racist banner came down when the yard was recaptured from the slave states by Union forces on 10 May 1862. The fact that it flies again today is a sharp reminder that while the Civil War abolished chattel slavery, it will take a workers revolution to finish the Civil War and end black oppression and wage slavery.

WV Photos

Union beachhead in "open shop" South: Steelworkers Local 8888 on strike in 1979 (left) against Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co.

For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!

Last November the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a federal appeals court ruling that upheld the Norfolk School Board's dismantling of busing. The plan returns "to virtually all-black status 10 of the city's 36 elementary schools; the same schools were all-black by force of law during the era of officially mandated segregation" (*New York Times*, 9 November 1986).

The racists' defeat of busing coincided with a series of KKK attacks last spring and summer, as crosses were burned in front of black families' homes, including Navy personnel, in Portsmouth and Virginia Beach. Foreign-born workers in Tidewater area shipyards have been thrown out of work, as the government excludes non-citizens from Navy work in the name of "national security." If the big guns of waterfront and maritime labor in Hampton Roads had been mobilized with integrated labor *action* in defense of busing, against KKK terror and for the rights of foreign-born workers, Tenneco wouldn't be so quick to take on Local 8888 at Newport News. The mobilization of labor in defense of black freedom is inseparable from the battle against givebacks and union-busting.

Tidewater labor and blacks face not only the Tenneco union-busters and their Klandidate in the White House, but backstabbing by a section of the local black "leadership"—organized in Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. It was the 1986 "Hardy Compromise," sold by Jackson supporter Bishop L.E. Willis, Sr., which capitulated to the racist school board and helped knife 15 years of busing in Norfolk. Jackson himself came to Norfolk in 1983, not to defend busing, but to hustle votes for the Democrats, announcing before a march of 10,000 pro-busing black workers and black rights and stay chained to the racist Democratic Party.

Defend the Unions, Defend the Soviet Union!

Even as Reagan, with the backing of the Democrats, pours trillions of dollars into Star Wars and the "600-ship Navy," war industry workers from shipyards to aerospace face givebacks and union-busting. The labor bureaucracy, firmly wedded to the "defense" of capitalism and terrified of class struggle, crawls before the bosses and their Bonzo in the White House. The latest gimmick emanating from the AFL-CIO International is called the "Inside Game." Instead of strikes defended with mass picket lines, now it's "staying on the job and working from the inside." "'Taking a lockout' is in most cases, far preferable to a strike," the labor traitors counsel (AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, *The Inside Game: Winning with Workplace Strategies*). Like the AFL-CIO's consumer boycott, this is a death sentence for labor struggle. At the huge McDonnell Douglas aerospace plants in Southern California, the "Inside Game" has kept Machinists and auto workers chained to the assembly line while the company arbitrarily imposes its givebacks.

But "defense" workers are well-placed to *crack* the years of Reagan reaction with some hard class struggle. Above all this means *breaking* with the labor traitors' defense of dying capitalism. When the Russian workers took power in October 1917, creating the Soviet workers state, they put a stop to the imperialist slaughter of World War I and placed the working class at the helm of society. Both capitalist parties, Democrat and Republican, have been united for 70 years in their hatred of this proletarian power. They seek to smash the Soviet Union, and they want to smash the workers' unions at home.

In November 1982, Tidewater unionists and blacks played a key role in building the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C. They showed the kind of power that must be wielded today by shipyard workers, longshoremen, auto workers, in an offensive against the union-busting and racist terror, ousting the labor traitors and forging a workers party dedicated to the fight for a workers government. ■

WV Photo

Norfolk, 1983: Union contingent marches for busing. Labor movement must take the lead in a real fight against segregation and racist terror.

Workers Strikes, Runaway Inflation, National Fissures

Yugoslavia in Turmoil

With prices doubling every year and the highest unemployment rate in Europe, East or West, Yugoslav workers have had enough. In the past few months the country has been shaken by a massive strike wave involving 10,000 workers in almost 200 separate work stoppages. Although so far the strikes have been uncoordinated and confined to individual factories (or parts of factories), reportedly about 40 plants have been shut down in Croatia alone. In Slovenia the staff of a hotel where Prime Minister Branko Mikulic was staying walked out and refused to serve him. In late April Croatian coal miners struck for more than two weeks.

The immediate spark for the workers' protests was the announcement in late February of new "intervention laws," savage austerity measures dictated to the Belgrade regime by the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Wages were cut to end of 1986 levels, and some workers were even ordered to *return* "overpayments"! While the strikes have forced the government to announce a 90-day price freeze as a conciliatory gesture, the situation remains explosive. At one point, Mikulic threatened to bring in the army to maintain the "constitutional order."

Yugoslav workers are certainly justified in resisting the demands of the bloodsucking IMF carried out by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Since 1980 they have seen their real incomes cut by 40 percent and half their wages already go just to buy food! The present economic situation cannot be sustained. Something in Yugoslavia has got to *change*... and radically. The working class must oust the criminally incompetent bureaucrats in Belgrade and Zagreb, tell the IMF and foreign bankers to shove it, and put the country's economic house in order. In the absence of such a perspective, strikes and work actions feed into a social turmoil which could rip Yugoslavia apart and open the door to capitalist counterrevolution. For the economic mess has not only sparked worker unrest but has further fueled national antagonisms.

Der Spiegel

Workers in Yugoslav motor factory. Recent strike wave protests savage austerity measures dictated by International Monetary Fund.

The imperialists are beginning to smell the breakup of the Yugoslav workers state, undoing Tito's revolutionary work and turning Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. into neocolonies of the Frankfurt bourse and City of London. Thus the house organ of international financiers, the London *Economist* (21 February), writes that Yugoslavia "may be more susceptible to genuine change than any other communist country, because of the weakness of its ruling party and the strength of its centrifugal forces," only regretting that "nothing remotely so dramatic as Solidarity [in Poland] is happening in Yugoslavia." Solidarność, the company "union" for the CIA and Western bankers, was pressing for counterrevolution (including calling for the IMF to run the Polish economy) until its power bid was spiked by the Polish army in 1981.

Problems of Communism

National divisions in Yugoslavia are aggravated by "market socialism."

The deepening crisis in the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state sharply underlines the *anti-socialist* nature of "market socialism" and the need for *workers political revolution* to establish a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans.

Descent into Chaos

Yugoslavia has become the weak link of Stalinist rule in East Europe. Decades of "market socialism" and so-called "workers self-management" have created an economic disaster area. National tensions and conflicts are on the rise. The foreign policy of "nonalignment" has in practice meant increasing dependence on Western capitalism. Marshal Tito's death in 1980 removed a major point of Yugoslav unity and symbolized the passing of that generation of Communists who liberated the country from the Nazi occupation *and* from the genocidal nationalist bands (Croatian Ustashi, Serbian Chetniks).

Yugoslavia's rulers have made repeated concessions to world capitalism to sustain the clumsy and bureaucratically bloated system of "workers self-management." Although the bureaucracy bails out unprofitable ventures (with rampant inflation as one of the consequences), unemployment has run at 14 percent or more for *years*. In 1976, Yugoslavia's new constitution further balkanized the already piecemeal planning system by giving every unit of production within an enterprise an independent planning ability. In order to run production in the plant, the agreement of *all* these units must be gotten; each has veto power on any proposal from the elected managers.

During the 1950s and '60s Yugoslavia bolstered its economy by exporting its surplus labor to the European Common Market, especially West Germany. Since remittances by Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* dried up in the early '70s, the Belgrade bureaucrats hocked the country to the banking houses of Frankfurt and Zurich and the City of London. Hard-currency foreign debt skyrocketed from $2 billion in 1970 to $20 billion today. "Heavy and irrational borrowing abroad," noted Dejan Jovovic of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat of Foreign Trade, "led Yugoslavia into a position of dependence on western bankers and on the International Monetary Fund... and included it into the inglorious group of the ten biggest debtors in the world" (*Review of International Affairs*, 5 October 1986). Now Western bankers and the IMF are demanding that "unprofitable" enterprises in Yugoslavia be allowed to go bankrupt, instantly throwing tens of thousands of workers into the streets.

The consequences of "market socialism" are coming home to roost, and not just in the economic arena. The atomized nature of the system breeds enterprise and regional particularism. Whenever a train crosses the border from one of the six constituent republics into another, the engine has to be changed! The whole system aggravates national tensions as relatively wealthier areas fight to hold on to their surplus:

> "Decentralization, along with economic stagnation, has rekindled age-old national jealousies. Serbs are prone to blame the 'selfishness' of the wealthier Croats for the country's ills, and the Croats lay them at the door of alleged Serb 'hegemonism.' Affluent Slovenes complain that poverty-stricken Kosovo and Macedonia are a 'bottomless pit' for their 'foreign aid,' and Macedonians rail at the Serbs and Hungarians of Vojvodina for selling their grains abroad. 'People in every republic now feel that each decline in their standard of living is the result of their exploitation by the other republics,' explained Branko Puharic, a hardline official of the Croatian government."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 13 April 1986

The most advanced republics enjoy a living standard similar to Western Europe's; poverty-stricken areas (for example, the heavily Albanian autonomous region of Kosovo) more closely resemble Turkey. In Kosovo, unemployment stands at 35 percent; the standard of living is less than one-third that of the country as a whole.

A truly *socialist* economic system would feature democratically administered, egalitarian and centralized planning—on both a national and international basis—by elected workers and peasants delegates. The lack of socialist central planning, combined with the *anti*-socialist Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country," is obstructing economic development in general and fans the flames of nationalist-inspired conflict in the former "Tinderbox of Europe," laying the basis for dangerous capitalist-restorationist forces.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

The centrifugal forces in Yugoslav society have strengthened since the death in 1980 of Josip Broz Tito, the leader of the Yugoslav federation from the time his partisans came to power. Now, they threaten to tear the country apart. The reasons for both Tito's success and the current failure of the federative system lie in Yugoslavia's history. Yugoslavia was an artificial creation of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference following World War I, as both a buffer against defeated Germany and part of the *cordon sanitaire* to seal off the victorious Russian Revolution. There are no fewer than 15 separate nationalities and ethnic groups in Yugoslavia; capitalism, which had just led to bloody interimperialist war, could provide no solution to the national question after the war. Continuing national conflict within Yugoslavia led to all-sided nationalist bloodletting under Nazi German occupation and quisling rule during the Second World War—genocide so horrible that even some Nazis objected.

The strength of Tito's partisans lay in the fact that they called for and fought for a resolution of the Balkan question on an *anti*-nationalist basis. Tito himself was a Croat while the ranks of the Communist movement were predominantly Serbian and Montenegrin. With myriads of nationalist groups—the monarchist Serbian Chetniks, the fascist Croatian Ustashi and quislings of every South Slav nationality—participating in genocidal slaughter, workers and peasants came to know they were safe when the partisans with the red star on their caps arrived in town. The partisans of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia managed the incredible feat of uniting the nationalities against the German occupiers, driving the Nazis out and exterminating the royalist and fascist movements of Yugoslavia.

To defend its own position, the petty-bourgeois Stalinist formation in power had to throw representatives of the old state apparatus out of the government and nationalize the means of production, smashing the rule of capitalism. The formation of the Yugoslav federation on the basis of proletarian property forms was an enormous step forward: "The common endeavor of driving out

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David Hernandez

May Day in Mexico City, 1987: 100,000 workers in independent union marches protest PRI regime's anti-labor austerity and union-busting.

Mexico Atop the Volcano

The earth is shaking under the feet of the Mexican ruling class. Workers, peasants, students and the middle class are fed up, and the ruling party is coming unstuck. Since the 1982 debt crisis, real wages have been slashed by a staggering 43 percent, something it took a bloodbath by military dictators in Chile and Argentina to impose. On top of this came the earthquake in Mexico City in September 1985, killing an estimated 20,000 people and leaving another 100,000 homeless. After these devastating events, everyone asked when the explosion of the Mexican masses would come, a question hotly debated at CIA headquarters in Langley, haunted by the spectre of revolution spreading north from Central America. Imperialist spokesmen like the *Wall Street Journal* (watchdog for the New York banks over Mexico's $100 billion debt) make much about the "stoicism" of the Mexican masses in the face of disaster. But this was just bowing before a crackdown by the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) and its semi-bonapartist regime. Now the stirrings of revolt are being felt among the millions-strong Mexican proletariat.

The middle classes were first to react: the economic crisis meant the affluent could no longer afford to shop at Niemann Marcus in Houston, families couldn't take their kids to Disneyland. This was reflected in the heavy vote in the north for the rightist PAN (National Action Party), mouthpiece for the most reactionary capitalist cliques, the church and New Rightists in Washington. Then last fall the students began protesting university "reform" plans that would exclude the poor from higher education. Twice they mobilized more than 100,000 to march on the presidential palace, and they had a 20-day strike at the national university, forcing the government to back off. The explosive student struggle awakened the Mexican masses from the "sleep of the dead" which has reigned since the bloody "Night of Tlatelolco," when the army massacred over 500 student protesters in October 1968.

WV Photo

Electrical workers protest with supporters March 3. As 500,000 stomping workers demanded solidarity action, the ground literally shook.

And now the workers are on the move. At the end of February the powerful Mexican Electrical Workers Union (SME) struck, disrupting power in the capital and presenting labor's greatest challenge to the PRI since the 1982 debt crisis. On March 3, a massive demonstration of electrical workers, joined by subway, telephone, garment and nuclear workers, residents of poor *colonias*, teachers and students, marched on the Zócalo, supporting the strikers' demand for an emergency 23 percent wage increase. Over 500,000 unionists called for solidarity with workers' struggles and demanded Mexico stop paying the foreign debt. An observer wrote to *WV*:

> "The most impressive thing was the spirit and the discipline of the Mexican workers. We were in the middle of a sea of almost half a million people, yet there was no pushing or shoving or even harsh words.... The chant "*¡Huelga, Huelga, Huelga!*" repeatedly erupted from the crowd, interrupting the speakers and prompting them to chant along. The Mexican workers have another interesting way of showing their enthusiasm: they jump up and down together while chanting. Mexico City is built on an old drained lake bed and is sinking at an incredible rate. It was simply amazing to feel the Zócalo [Constitution Plaza] moving as half a million workers jumped up and down on it. The world literally shook!"

Three days later the government declared the electrical workers strike "nonexistent" and forced the SME back to work. (President Miguel de la Madrid had earlier imposed a *requisa*, "requisitioning" the power plants under military control in order to maintain service.) But the wave of labor action has continued unabated. Teachers in the southern states of Oaxaca and Chiapas have been on strike since mid-February. Beginning March 1, the new Hermosillo Ford assembly plant in northern Sonora struck for 40 days. Earning a miserable $120-$150 per month, the workers at this brand new, ultramodern factory finally settled for a 54 percent increase (one-third the annual inflation rate). In April, 32,000 telephone workers across the country staged an eight-day job action demanding a 110 percent wage increase. De la Madrid immediately requisitioned the phone company, forcing workers to stay on the job. And in May, 150,000 textile workers walked out in their first national strike in 25 years.

The regime has responded to this labor upsurge with a full-scale attack on labor's right to strike. In the bitter teachers strike, the government refused to recognize the dissident local union, several teachers have been arrested and one was killed by PRI gunmen. And the regime has gone all out to keep the labor movement divided. On May Day, more than a million workers in the PRI-controlled unions were herded past the presidential palace to pay their respects to De la Madrid. One group carried an ironic sign, echoing the Roman gladiators, "We who are dying of hunger salute you." But a wall of several thousand police, grenadiers with dogs, a cavalry squad and firemen with water cannon sealed off the plaza from "dissident" unionists. Meanwhile, two separate marches totaling 100,000, affiliated with independent unions, denounced the government's economic policies and U.S. intervention in Central America.

For more than half a century, the PRI has kept the lid on Mexico, to the great relief of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which learned to live with the "revolutionary" demagogy and the nationalist posturing against Washington's foreign policy. But since the "oil bubble" burst in

Halstead/Time

UPI

Mexican president De la Madrid meets with imperialist patron; Mexican workers jobless due to IMF starvation policies.

1981-82, causing Mexico's worst economic crisis of this century, the PRI has become brittle, lacking the grease to keep the state machinery running with its traditional combination of populism, patronage, bribery and repression. As a result, this semi-bonapartist regime has had to rely less on the carrot and more on the stick. As De la Madrid prepares to unveil his hand-picked successor, a "democratic tendency" was drummed out of the PRI by party bosses at a congress in April. Political assassinations of leftist dissidents continue, with more than 500 "disappeared" persons. And the more De la Madrid talks of "moral regeneration" of this terminally corrupt regime, the more it sticks in the craw.

Mexico is indeed ripe for socialist revolution, or bloody counterrevolution. Until recently, *right-wing* reaction has dominated the protests, because there is no communist vanguard to lead the workers' struggles. Key to the PRI's success in maintaining a virtual one-party regime has been its co-optation of the left, via various satellite "*palero*" (straw man) parties and the successive incarnations of the Communist Party which has capitulated to the nationalist rulers for more than six decades. Now, with the '88 elections approaching, five leftist parties have formed the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), a wretchedly reformist hodgepodge. Yet while still tailing after the PRI, under the classless watchword of "democracy" the new PMS and other "leftist" parties have fostered an "anti-fraud" bloc with the rightist PAN!

Today Mexico is an all-round disaster area—economically, politically, even ecologically as the capital suffocates in deadly pollution and the countryside starves on worn-out land. What's needed is a revolutionary *working-class* solution to the crisis ripping the country apart. This nation of 70 million has not only millions of desperate landless peasants but also a powerful industrial proletariat, and is increasingly integrated in the economy of the North American imperialist colossus, including by the several million Mexican-born workers in the U.S. An internationalist leadership can mobilize this power in class struggle extending south to Central America and north beyond the Rio Grande. Instead of the "unity" of the opportunists, an intransigent Trotskyist party is urgently needed to lead the fight for workers revolution, for a workers and peasants government, to liberate all the oppressed.

Circuses, No Bread

Last June the World Cup soccer games in Mexico City were supposed to give debt-and-disaster-ridden Mexico a shot in the arm—if not financially, at least to the image of the PRI regime. But the "Mundial" circus did not divert attention from the doubling of the price of tortillas. In the opening ceremony at Aztec Stadium, De la Madrid could not be heard as his speech was drowned out by jeers from the crowd of 100,000 mostly middle-class spectators. Outside, the poor were protesting, "*No queremos goles, queremos frijoles*" (We don't want goals, we want beans). In July came elections in Chihuahua, where the rightist PAN hotly contested the governorship. In Mexico, the PRI does not lose big elections (it hasn't lost a governorship or senate seat, and the presidency has never been remotely challenged). So with an even heavier hand than usual, the army moved in on election day, and the PRI claimed victory.

UPI

Rightist PAN supporters in Torchlight protests over election fraud in Chihuahua, July 1986.

The London *Economist* (12 July 1986) commented wryly: "The government's ham-handed fraud seems mystifying. Many people thought it could have won legitimately, or at the worst, by cheating fair and square." But the PRI routinely rigs *everything*, if only out of habit, including the subsequent election of Miss Chihuahua! PAN mobilized the disaffected petty bourgeoisie in a five-week protest campaign, including blocking the bridges linking Ciudad Juárez with El Paso, Texas. The bishop of Juárez joined the PAN protest and local priests read homilies against the government. This is explosive stuff in Mexico, where three civil wars (the 1856-67 Reforma led by Benito Juárez, the Revolution of 1910-20 and the Cristero Rebellion of 1926-29) have been fought to keep the church out of politics and the imperialists out of Mexico.

The bridge takeover symbolized PAN's orientation of mobilizing U.S. pressure on its behalf, regularly lobbying in Washington under the auspices of the Heritage Foundation and privately meeting with U.S. ambassador John Gavin. Prior to the Chihuahua vote, Senator Jesse Helms mobilized his pals in the Reagan administration for an orgy of Mexico-bashing, lambasting the PRI for links to drug trafficking, corruption and election fraud, virtually calling for impeachment of President De la Madrid. And these New Right ideologues were operating in tandem with the gang in the White House basement. Last week the *Miami Herald* reported that Contragater "Spitz" Channell offered to throw U.S. support to the PAN in exchange for a $210,000 donation for a TV ad campaign in support of the Nicaraguan contra mercenaries. PAN leaders deny making the donation, but the Mexican Congress is up in arms over this attempt to "destabilize" Mexico.

After almost two decades in the doldrums, Mexican students exploded this fall, culminating in a 200,000-plus demonstration in the Zócalo on January 21 and a three-week strike by students of the National Autonomous University (UNAM) in February. This strike was over the outcome of 1968, which won the right for hundreds of thousands of students to enter UNAM with free tuition. But with the economic crisis, the university administration proposed raising fees from less than 10 cents a year to over $90, a month's salary for many workers. The Mexican student upsurge is strikingly similar to events in France and Spain, and as in Europe the Mexican government eventually "suspended" the "reforms." Yet the attitude of the Mexican left has been equivocal at best—many of the former '68ers, now ensconced in government jobs, identified with UNAM rector Carpizo.

Ediciones Era

Bonaparlism in action: Mexican army on "Night of Tlatelolco," October 1968, massacred over 500.

Mexican Proletariat: The Giant Awakes

Leon Trotsky noted in elaborating the program of *permanent revolution* that 'in the epoch of imperialism the massive export of capital produces in the backward capitalist countries a huge growth of the proletariat compared to the stunted native bourgeoisie. Even the tasks of the democratic revolution can only be accomplished by the proletariat's conquest of power, necessarily posing socialist tasks. Already at the time of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 the workers' Red Battalions played an important role in the fighting. However, they were subordinated to the bourgeois Constitutionalists, who used them *against* the peasant armies of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. Thus the *zapatista* agrarian revolution was *frustrated*. Having already experienced *three* bourgeois-democratic revolutions, it is clear that the future Mexican revolution must be socialist in character. Yet from 1915 on, the economically powerful Mexican proletariat has been politically impotent, a sleeping giant drugged by nationalism dressed in "revolutionary" colors.

Successive post-Revolution rulers have looked to Mexican labor for its backing. When in the late '30s President Lázaro Cárdenas sought to develop national industry within the capitalist framework, he appealed for organized labor support. This led to the birth of the Confederation of Mexican Labor (CTM) which backed him against Britain and the U.S. over nationalization of imperialist-owned railroads and oil companies. "Worker administration" of the nationalized properties was instituted by the government, in order to discipline the proletariat through the bought-off labor bureaucracy. The champion of this subordination of labor to the capitalist state was Stalinist fellow traveler Lombardo Toledano, whose barrage of hate literature prepared the climate for the assassination of Trotsky in his Mexican exile by an agent of Stalin. But Lombardo was soon replaced by openly anti-Communist bureaucrats, and the new CTM was officially incorporated as a sector of the ruling party. Here General Cárdenas anticipated the rise of the corporatist Argentine unions under the "protection" of General Juan José Perón.

When Fidel Velásquez took the helm in 1941, the federation's slogan was changed from "For the emancipation of the working class" to "For the emancipation of Mexico." For half a century, "Don Fidel" has policed labor on behalf of Mexican (and American) capital. After World War II, the McCarthyite red purge of the American unions was extended south of the border by Velásquez, as always tightly linked to anti-Communist, pro-imperialist U.S. labor misleaders (he escorted Samuel Gompers during a 1924 Mexican trip). The government replaced the leadership of the militant railway workers with a flunkey nicknamed "*El charro*" (the cowboy). Ever since, *charrismo* has stood for sellout, corrupt, gangster-ridden PRI "union" leaders. But by the early '70s, the Mexican "economic miracle" had come to a dead end, industrialization based on import substitution unable to expand further and agrarian reform ground to a halt.

As worker and peasant discontent spread, there appeared a number of "democratic tendencies" in key unions such as the electrical workers. Auto unions split off in an "independent" federation. But while talking "independence," these groupings did *not* represent a fundamental break with the PRI.

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Novedades/Sipa

Earthquake damage in Mexico City, September 1985. More than a year later, 90,000 still lack permanent homes.

Mexico...

(continued from page 9)

Their politics were vintage *cardenismo*, somewhat more militant perhaps than Velásquez, but still bourgeois nationalism. The left tailed after these "democratic" up-and-coming bureaucrats, and after a period of the usual PRI treatment, today the "independent" rivals of the sellout CTM have been reabsorbed by the system. They may march separately on May Day, some may have their own federations—but they are all reformists working within the framework of the capitalist state. *None have mounted a serious challenge to the IMF austerity programs which have driven the Mexican masses to their present desperate condition.*

The only genuine opposition to the company "white unions" and the PRI's corporatist unions is a programmatic fight for *revolutionary*-led unions. Trotsky's unfinished notes on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," found after his death, used the Mexican experience to demonstrate the tendency of trade unions in the capitalist world "growing together with the state power": "In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions and have, in the nature of things, assumed a semitotalitarian character." Thus the struggle for trade-union democracy, he wrote, requires the complete freedom of the unions from the imperialist or colonial capitalist state:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

This was Trotsky's last work. In August 1940, 100,000-150,000 came out for the burial of the co-leader of the Russian Revolution. To this day Leon Trotsky is widely honored as a revolutionary hero among Mexican workers.

Stalinism and Nationalism vs. Proletarian Independence

The decisive element in forging the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and leading its struggles to the conquest of power, as Lenin argued in *What Is To Be Done?* and demonstrated in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, is the communist vanguard party. Yet the Mexican proletariat has never had such a leadership, and certainly not from the Mexican Communist Party (PCM). The left has tailed in the wake of the self-proclaimed "governments of the revolution"—though the PRI and its predecessors are the heirs not of the peasant revolutionaries Zapata and Villa, but of the northern landowners who murdered them and crushed their movement. As a result, the Mexican working class continues to be dominated by the alien class ideology of bourgeois nationalism, as ex-CP intellectual José Revueltas noted in *Ensayo sobre un proletariado sin cabeza* (Essay on a Headless Proletariat) which was published in 1962 after he left the CP.

Revueltas pointed to the role of the PCM in particular in blocking the development of a proletarian vanguard in Mexico: "The essential root of the lack of independence of the working class in Mexico must be sought...in the role which the Mexican Communist Party has represented and represents as *deformed working-class consciousness*, as a party which has been unable to be the authentic *class party* of the proletariat, after more than 40 years of physical existence." But Revueltas ascribes this to *Mexican* CP leaders' "mechanical, unilateral and erroneous" application of the popular-front line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), which spelled the "ideological and political dilution" of the working class into "the ideology of the Mexican revolution." He only later recognized that these policies reflected the defeat of Leninist internationalism in Soviet Russia, usurped by Stalin's nationalist dogma, "socialism in one country," which led to the demise of the Communist International.

The PCM was one of the most debased Stalinist parties, directly involved in the assassination of Trotsky on orders from Stalin. After decades of bureaucratically expelling groups and individuals seeking more militant policies, in 1981 the PCM reunited with several of its offshoots to form the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM). The PSUM was dominated by "Eurocommunists," omitting any mention of the Soviet Union from its declaration of principles, and supporting Polish Solidarność. That company "union" for the White House, Wall Street and the Vatican called for the IMF imperialist bankers cartel to take control of the Polish planned economy, which would have brought the hunger and unemployment that Mexican workers know well. Now the PSUM has joined with the nationalist Mexican Workers Party (PMT) and three smaller groups in the Mexican Socialist Party, which demonstrably dropped the hammer and sickle in favor of the Mexican tricolor, long the emblem of the PRI.

The PMS loudly proclaims its independence of "any center of international political direction" and defines itself as "socialist, patriotic and anti-imperialist, democratic, defending the nation and its best traditions" (*La Jornada*, 30 March). One thing is certain: in a country where even the bourgeois ruling party calls itself revolutionary, this oh-so-Mexican "socialism" has nothing to do with socialist revolution. In announcing their fusion, PSUM and PMT leaders declared they were for "conserving the participation of private capital for an indefinite period" and invited "small" capitalists to join (*La Jornada*, 2 November 1986). During the UNAM strike, PMT leader Castillo denounced the struggle as "mistaken" and "reactionary," supposedly defending "privileges"; one sector of the PSUM joined the students while another backed the rector. Strikes just aren't the name of the PMS' game. They have their eyes on another prize: second place in the 1988 elections.

Forge a Mexican Trotskyist Party!

The ostensibly Trotskyist PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party) has been playing the musical chairs "unity" game with the rest of the Mexican left for years. The PRT is the antithesis of Trotskyism in every respect, constituting the far right wing within Ernest Mandel's dis-United Secretariat (USec), of which it is the Mexican section. They are so imbued with parliamentary cretinism that in the 1984 U.S. presidential elections the PRT wrote that the Jesse Jackson campaign offered "an opportunity for the left to actively intervene" and dismissed the fact that Jackson is part and parcel of the bourgeois Democratic Party (*Bandera Socialista*, 27 February 1984). The USec had to call their Mexican comrades to order, reminding them that their "fraternal" party, the abysmally reformist American SWP, was running "independently."

The PRT went into great contortions to get into the electoral ball game: when the government decreed an electoral reform in 1977 to divert mounting opposition onto the parliamentary road by opening up a few seats for a kept "opposition" and legalizing tame left parties, the PRT swallowed the bait. For the next four years they liquidated into campaigning for electoral registration. In 1982, they ran Rosario Ibarra for president, a sympathizer who came to prominence as a militant leader of the Mothers Committee for the Disappeared (her son was kidnapped and murdered by the regime), and won several hundred thousand votes, claiming 2 percent of the total. The PRT now has six Congressional deputies, plus state legislators and town councilors. As a result, it receives state subsidies and deputies' salaries which have reportedly made it possible for this small party to support 150 paid functionaries!

The PRT has been gyrating wildly over the drive for a united left party. Last year they undertook fusion discussions with the PMT, only to break them off upon "discovering" that caudillo Castillo didn't run a democratic organization. In February, the PRT voted that it "could join the [PSUM-PMT] fusion," but then pulled out (against objections from Pedro Peñaloza and other PRT deputies) saying it wasn't interested in "organic unity" but in a "federation of parties." All agree, however, that their main concern is the "possible loss of the PRT's electoral registration" (*Bandera Socialista*, 20 April). In May 1986, PRT parliamentary fraction leader Peñaloza scandalously marched arm in arm with PRI leaders "in defense of national sovereignty," defending the honor of government leaders against Jesse Helms. But a few months later the PRT joined in a political bloc with Helms' rightist buddies, all in the name of "democracy."

Following the Chihuahua elections, Mexican papers published an ad jointly signed by the PRT, PSUM, PMT *and the PAN* calling on Mexicans of "whatever ideology" to "join a movement for democratic plurality" (*La Jornada*, 12 August 1986). Calling for "a great national opposition front," the PRT's Peñaloza justified this rotten bloc of left and right, saying, "We aren't frightened about working together with PAN because we don't project anything more than the construction of a great national movement to stop the government's arbitrariness" (*La Jornada*, 16 August).

The craven reformists are blind to the terrible danger they are courting. The threat of fascism is no pipe dream in Mexico today, where the petty bourgeoisie is driven to a frenzy by the crisis, and fascist pistoleros are increasingly active. On September 6, the left-right bloc called a "Forum for Effective Suffrage," which included a host of sinister right-wingers. Among them were the murderous, anti-Semitic Tecos

WV Photo

Leftist parties in election coalition (left), Oaxaca, August 1986. PRT presidential candidate Rosario Ibarra, head of Mothers Committee for the Disappeared.

Arturo Fuentes

Pedro Valtierra

Teachers' demonstration faces brutal police repression.

WV Photo

Peasants demand return of lands, Puebla, August 1986.

Casasola Archives

Emiliano Zapata, leader of frustrated Mexican agrarian revolution.

of Guadalajara, fascist bands linked to the drug mafia, Central American death squads and the World Anti-Communist League of General Singlaub. Fistfights and screaming matches broke out as hundreds of ultrarightists such as COLUDE and "Civilization in Liberty" took over the meeting. *La Jornada* (7 September 1986) reported in horror:

> "There it was, in the Diego Rivera Hall of the Hotel de México, and for the first time we saw it in the flesh, giving battle and winning, taking over the stage; we listened to its message with a prolonged chill: it was fascism."

The reformists' bloc with the right and ultraright recalls the suicidal arguments of German Stalinist Thälmann for the 1931 "red referendum," when the KPD joined with Hitler's fascists against the Social Democrats, claiming this "united front" with the mortal enemies of the workers was only "utilizing the possibilities of legal, parliamentary mass action." As Trotsky noted, this treacherous maneuver only aided the Nazis' march to power.

The new Mexican Socialist Party took as its own the slogan "For effective suffrage, no re-election!"—the watchword of the 1910 revolution on behalf of the liberal bourgeois Francisco Madero. Today as the reformist left unites with PAN leader Pablo Madero against the populist semi-bonapartist PRI, this same slogan could become the rallying cry for "democratic" *counterrevolution*.

Trotsky pointed to the corrupting influence of parliamentarism on the workers movement in France. The predominance of electoral cretinism in *Mexico*, where Congress is a total fiction to mask the semi-bonapartist "strong state," is positively grotesque. While the PRT wallows in the parliamentarist swamp, the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS—Socialist Workers Party) has posed as a left critic, identifying itself with the tradition of Trotskyism. The POS notes that the new PMS was born as "a party for reconciliation, parliamentarism and electoralism" (*El Socialista*, May 1987). What does the POS propose? As the Mexican section of the International Workers League (IWL), founded by the late Nahuel Moreno, the POS has been educated in the Morenoite "method" of constant maneuverism. *Their complaint is that they have been excluded from the pop-front potpourri.*

The Morenoites suffer from congenital "frontitis." Since the PRT obtained its ballot slot, the POS has published one appeal after another for "unity" fronts with the reformists: "For a front of the Trotskyists to obtain the proletarian united front," "For a socialist electoral front," "Unite to fight the PRI and hold back the PAN," "Form an electoral front of the entire left." What would such an electoral front of the left mean? The POS opposes Contadora, and even calls for military victory for the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador. It denounces the PRT and PSUM for their political support to the PRI regime over the bank nationalization/austerity measures. But running on the same ticket and platform with these reformists, who praise the government's "progressive measures" in Central America and at home, makes the POS nothing but a "left" tail on the bevy of kept "opposition" parties.

Last year, the Morenoites carried their "unity" mania a step further, by fusing with an organization of slum dwellers in the giant working-class shantytown of Naucalpan. The product was the "Zapatista Workers Party" (PTZ), a strange electoral formation which "raises the banner of Zapata" and "retakes" his program. To take as their symbol the leader of a *peasant* revolutionary movement sums up a petty-bourgeois and nationalist perspective. The PTZ today caricatures Zapata's program of "land and liberty"—a clarion call for sweeping agrarian revolution—into pressuring for land titles for urban squatters; instead of strike struggles, it calls for refusal to pay gas and electric bills. And to top it off, the PTZ joined with the reformist PRT, PSUM and the nationalist PMT in a "Mexican Popular Unity" alliance for the state elections! What's needed in Mexico today is not bogus "popular unity"—such as in Allende's Chile, where the popular front led to the bloody Pinochet coup—but unity around the revolutionary program of a *Leninist-Trotskyist* proletarian party.

The Mexican Morenoites' maneuverings are a true reproduction of their (now defunct) master's voice. Nahuel Moreno tried to turn political banditry into a patented program. For a tendency which in the early '60s presented itself as "revolutionary workers Peronism" and in the late '70s as the "Simón Bolivar Brigade" draped in Sandinista colors, which tried to pass itself off as Guevarist and then Maoist only to find its true vocation on its native soil as Argentine social democrats, a "Zapatista Workers Party" is par for the course. They adapt to whatever political current is in vogue, including tailing after Portuguese colonels and Iranian ayatollahs, instead of standing for the historic program of Trotskyism. In the United States the Morenoites pulled the same underhanded maneuvers in the petty-bourgeois rad-lib "Peace and Freedom Party," ultimately to no avail. The Spartacist tendency has told the story of the Argentine quick-change artist Nahuel Moreno, "the Cantinflas of pseudo-Trotskyism," in our *Moreno Truth Kit*.

Nationalist president Lázaro Cárdenas (left) appealed for labor support for nationalization of oil (below), 1938.

International

Triangle

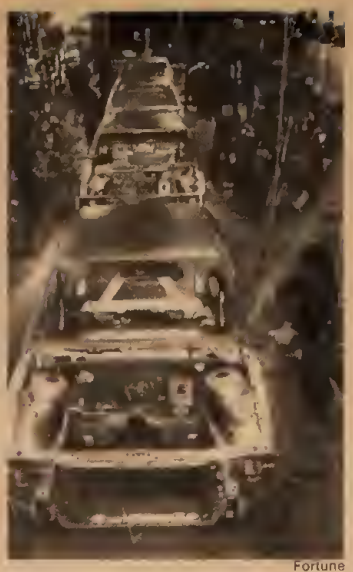
"So Far From God, So Close to the United States"

> "I think that people in the long run are less concerned about reports of [our] mining Nicaraguan harbors than they are about the danger of creating a wave of immigration into this country.... If we have another Cuba in Central America, Mexico will have a big problem and we're going to have a massive wave of immigration."
>
> —CIA director William J. Casey, *U.S. News & World Report*, 15 April 1984

General Paul Gorman, head of the U.S. Southern Command, recently declared Mexico is "a center of subversion" that could become the U.S.' "Number One security problem" within ten years (*Baltimore Sun*, 8 March). And President Reagan regularly laces his Central America speeches with references to the "red tide" of communism spreading north through Mexico to threaten Harlingen, Texas. Today IMF austerity policies are stirring massive discontent. The Simpson-Rodino immigration control act is shutting off the traditional escape valve of emigration to the north, and mass deportations could cause the Mexican volcano of social unrest to erupt. With $100 billion of international debt at stake and a 2,000-mile common border, U.S. rulers in Washington and Wall Street are plenty worried about a collapse of Mexico.

In his latest contra aid appeal, Reagan rants about "another base for Soviet subversion, another Cuba established on American shores" in Nicaragua. And he adds that the Soviets' supposed "ultimate objective" is in "a line attributed to Nikolai Lenin—'The road to America leads through Mexico'" (*New York Times*, 4 May). This bogus quotation, like others bandied about by administration spokesmen, should be attributed not to Vladimir Lenin but rather to John Birch Society founder Robert Welch and his forebears of the paranoid ultraright, who can only conceive of revolution in the U.S. as something imported by foreign agents. Today, contrary to Washington's claims, the nationalist Sandinistas and Salvadoran leftist rebels are unfortunately *not* calling for international socialist revolution. Yet this is vital not only for the liberation of the region from the domination of Yankee imperialism, but in defending Cuba and the USSR against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. As we wrote four years ago:

> "The key to workers revolution in the Central American isthmus lies not in any of the five tiny countries that comprise it, which are primarily agricultural, but in Mexico with its many-millioned proletariat. The land of the Aztecs is where the heavy battalions of the working class are to be found.... And now with the combination of the oil crisis, the international financial crisis, a general economic and political crisis in Mexico, talk of workers revolution in Mexico is more than a Reaganite nightmare. Yet virtually the entire Mexican left, including ostensible Trotskyists, seeks not to bring down the 'institutional revolutionary' capitalist regime but to push it to the left. The governments of López Portillo and De la Madrid are for a 'political solution' in Central America out of bourgeois self-interest: they wish to take the heat off Mexico by damping the fires of social revolution on its southern border. And Mexican pseudo-socialists aid them in this counterrevolutionary enterprise."
>
> —"Defend Nicaragua, Complete the Revolution!" *WV* No. 329, 6 May 1983



Fortune

Hermosillo Ford plant: high-tech, low wages.

An internationalist perspective also poses clear tasks for a revolutionary Trotskyist party and class-struggle leadership of labor in the U.S., which must fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and organizing the unorganized on both sides of the border. With Mexico turning into a giant *maquiladora*, or free trade zone, U.S. companies are opening high-tech, low-wage plants in the northern border region. The strike at the just-opened Hermosillo Ford plant symbolizes the increasing integration of Mexico's economy with the U.S. With GM opening *12 more plants* in Mexico (while it closes 11 in the Midwest), it is urgent that U.S. auto workers unite in struggle with their class brothers and sisters south of the border. Instead, the American labor bureaucracy divides them with its protectionist poison.

The fight for workers revolution in Mexico and the U.S. is directly linked, including by the human bridge of millions of Mexican and Central American workers who have "gone north." Mexico's proximity to the U.S., which has cost it half its territory and subjected it to repeated Yankee aggression, can be a powerful lever for international socialist revolution. The Spartacist tendency seeks to construct an authentically communist vanguard to lead it, forged in the fight for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

WV Photo

Trotsky holding banner for the Fourth International in Diego Rivera mural, "Man in Control of the Universe."

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Mordechai Vanunu...

(continued from page 5)

work that he had been doing. He felt that he had to do it for political reasons; he knew that members of his family might be hurt. The next thing I knew was that I had been told that on the news there was an Israeli man in London who gave information about Israel's nuclear capabilities. A friend had told me this, and I ran to the library to corroborate the facts, and it pointed to Motti.

That day I flew to London in order to look for him, thinking and knowing that he would be in some kind of danger. So I met with the reporters from the *Sunday Times* and later found out about Motti's conversion, and also that the Rev. John McKnight was coming. At that point I found out that the reporters truly did not know where Motti was. He had checked out of his hotel on September 30. They had had some contact with him in order to tell him that his story was coming out on October 5, then they had no further contact. He had said that he wanted to leave London and just travel around England in order to find himself, and they were not sure if he had left the country or had still been in England, or if someone had kidnapped him, or if he was alive or dead.

A week after arriving, I returned to the States and then I received a phone call saying that over the wires, Reuters, reports came that Motti had been picked up by the Mossad [the Israeli CIA], that a female agent lured him out of England into the Mediterranean where he was taken aboard a yacht and then arrested in international seas. Rev. McKnight was still in London trying to corroborate this and decide whether or not it was worth it to go to Israel and try and find him. I guess he found enough evidence that he did go to Israel. Then there were reports that he was giving press conferences, saying that he had strong evidence that Motti was in Israel and he had been given information by reporters and shown court documents that Motti was being brought up on charges.

Then Meir and myself spoke to the *Boston Globe*. At that point there had been a news blackout in Israel. They were not allowing any publication of anything connected with Motti. But if certain news items had been generated from outside, they would be able to translate them and then report them in the Israeli press. So when the *Boston Globe* article came out, I think that was widely publicized in Israel. Then the censorship was lifted, and a few days later Israel did acknowledge that they had Motti and he was in prison and that he did have access to a lawyer.

When the censorship was lifted, Israeli reporters were calling it "Vanunumania." All these friends came forth, and portrayed Motti in terms which I think are slanderously libel. He was labeled homosexual, impotent, greedy, a loser. I think most people agree that this has been a media smear campaign generated by the Israeli government, the Mossad, to try and create an emotional atmosphere in Israel so that people would be against him. And I think to some extent this has been effective. Of course this was carried by the news wires and the *New York Times*, they labeled him as a traitor and a spy. This was all done before his trial. So the Israeli government has been at work, to try and tip the scales of justice. To some extent I feel Motti has already had his trial, been condemned by the Israeli press and the Israeli public.

WV Graphic

Israelis target Russia: new Lavi fighter-bombers could nuke Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. With retueling, they could reach Moscow. Vanunu's revelations of 100-200 Israeli nuclear bombs expose Zionist Apocalypse plans.

WV: Have you ever gone back to Israel and actually met with him?

Zimmet: I did go back to Israel. I had been told around Christmastime that I had permission to visit him. Then he wrote on his hand how he was kidnapped back to Israel. Then I was told that his rights were taken away; they took away his books, his Walkman, his visiting rights. I very much wanted to see him. At that point he had also gone on a hunger strike. He communicated through his brother Asher who had returned from Holland. Then Asher spoke to Meir who was in Somerville, that he very much wanted to see me, that he had something important to tell me.

So the end of December, I went over to Israel, and I met with his lawyer, then Amnon Zichroni. I was told that the Shin Beth [Israel's highly secretive FBI] would not allow a meeting. And Amnon was trying to negotiate with them, he supposedly has a very special relationship with them. I was told that I could not meet with the Shin Beth, that they did not exist. So I had to negotiate through Amnon Zichroni.

So he came up with a plan, where if there was a meeting he would be present along with Romi Lisschitz, the head of the prison, and Motti had given his word that he would not try and pass anything off, and I promised not to divulge any information they did not want me to divulge. However, when it came to the issue of security and the Shin Beth, they refused. So Amnon decided to file a court appeal, and that was being processed. Then I was told that the prison was being readied for security reasons. Then I was told that a meeting had been arranged. So one day Amnon and I did go down to the prison. I was thinking that the meeting would be a normal meeting, however there were hints that it would not. When I got to the prison with Amnon, we met with Romi Lisschitz, and I was told that security only allowed us to meet through a screen, a window, that would be soundproofed, and we could only write letters. I was told that a few minutes before I came, Motti had refused to the conditions of this meeting. And I also refused the conditions of this meeting.

I left the prison with Amnon hoping that the court would be able to understand the situation and come to a humane decision. Then the court meeting was held, and I was told that the court delayed decision for another week. Amnon at that point suggested that it was not worth it to stay. I was told, when I was in America, that the courts had decided against us meeting and speaking.

WV: These things are so outrageous. This man should never be in prison, he's a hero. Even Winnie Mandela gets in to see Nelson Mandela, even in South Africa!

Zimmet: Motti's imprisonment is illegal and unlawful and he should be released. Motti was kidnapped and taken back to Israel against his will. This violates international law.

WV: What is he being charged with exactly?

Zimmet: The lay terms are treason, espionage and the passing of secrets to an enemy at a time of war. His present defense attorney is Avigdor Feldman.

WV: Has the trial begun?

Zimmet: I think there have been technical proceedings. I spoke to Avigdor and they have appealed for an extension. The official word has not come out, but they think that the trial will begin September 15.

WV: In the meantime, he's going to be held at this prison?

Zimmet: That's right. And he's also being held in isolation. He only has two hours a day in which he can only walk with a warden, and he cannot speak to anyone at all. So he's being maintained in his present inhumane conditions. He's allowed family visits, a half an hour a week, and only a maximum of three members can visit him. They also have to meet with him between a screen, but they are able to speak with him. But it's very difficult because he's in isolation outside of that.

WV: Let me move on to the question of broader support. Let's start with Israel itself, are there defense organizations or individuals which have in some way or another attempted to protest this situation? I'd like you to speak also about the role of Michel Warshawsky, because I think that he has subsequently been victimized for his support.

Zimmet: In terms of Israel, there have been a lot of left-wing supporters initially that came out on behalf of Motti. The Alternative Center for Information and Michel Warshawsky were instrumental in circulating a very well-phrased petition calling for the restoration of Motti's rights, and also calling for an open debate on the nuclear issue in Israel. There were initially I think 75 supporters, Jewish and Arab, and later 100 people signed on. These people openly protested Motti's condition, and there was a breakup of this demonstration. Shortly thereafter, ironically, the Center for Alternative Information was shut down on trumped-up charges, claiming that they were affiliated with terrorist organizations, participating in terrorist activities, and many people feel that was because of their open support for Motti.

There seems to be a wave in Israel right now, a crackdown on left-wing, liberal, civil libertarian issues and people who support these. So out of this there has been a creation of an organization called the Committee for the Open Trial for Mordechai Vanunu. And on March 5, Meir, Asher and other left-wing supporters came out announcing the creation of this committee. And Yael Lotan, who ironically is one of the people being prosecuted for having talked to the PLO in Romania, is the

Brullman/Jerusalem Post

Israeli leftists and liberals meet with PLO delegation in Romania. Four of the Israelis were subsequently arrested under "anti-terrorist" law, including Yael Lotan, head of the Committee for the Open Trial for Mordechai Vanunu.

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head of this committee.

WV: What was startling and new and very important and very sinister about Vanunu's revelation is the scale of Israel's nuclear arsenal, of this death machine which Israel had created, which is much more formidable than would be necessary to nuke the capital of every Arab country in the region. The only explanation for such a large nuclear arsenal would be if it would be used against another enemy, particularly the Soviet Union.

This is particularly relevant to the so-called question of Soviet Jewry. Shamir said quite recently that the United States should close its borders, as it did during the Holocaust, to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. That the only Soviet Jews that Israel was really interested in were the Soviet Jews who were going to go to Israel. This question has an added urgency, given the developments in the Occupied Territories and the "need" for additional Jewish settlers. And given the development of this nuclear arsenal—really, if you think about it, the only realistic target in the area is the Soviet Union.

Leon Trotsky once said that Israel would be a deathtrap for Jews. I think there's increasing awareness amongst not an insignificant minority in Israel now, however they feel about Trotsky, that that prognosis is ringing more true every day.

Zimmet: In terms of Motti's revelations, in the United States, it has been published in books by Leonard Specter that Israel had nuclear capabilities. I think to the general public, the amounts were different than what had been published, and were significantly larger. In terms of other things that Motti revealed, I obtained documentation by Frank Barnaby that the plutonium process which Motti described, which is very critical in determining the amount of bombs that can be processed, was not new. Perhaps the lithium process, which is not as significant. However, I think in terms of the intelligence community, people know exactly what's going on.

What I found by talking to people, when it comes to certain countries, here in the United States anti-nuclear groups are afraid to say anything about Israel. They look the other way. Which also is the way the United States is behaving, especially when Israel has committed acts that violate international law, or when it comes to them not having signed the nuclear treaty. America, I believe, is considering Israel's arsenal as part of their own. I feel that if there's a surplus that these bombs will be aimed at other places other than in the immediate area. And Israel is helping the United States in turning against the United States' enemies, and Israel's enemies as well.

Also, there's been question as to the nature of the bombs. People no longer think that it's first-generation, or simple bombs, but maybe thermonuclear, possibly even neutron bombs. So Israel is not just taking care of her own immediate needs, but helping the United States. Also I would agree that it would be pointed against Russia, because if people look deep enough they will find that the war, or war anywhere, is really a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, and not really necessarily a war in the particular place where it's being waged.

In terms of the impact in Israel, there has been press questioning of Israel's role, Israel's capabilities, calling for open forum and debate. Since I don't read Hebrew, I don't know that content. But there are articles coming out, and this is quite revolutionary because there has been censorship in the past on this. People don't discuss it, it's not a fully open debate in universities, but published here in the United States. It's considered secret in Israel. Unfortunately these are some of the trumped-up charges that Motti is being brought up on. Information he gave to the "free world" has been considered classified in Israel. ■

Cafeteria Picket Protests Exclusion of Immigrants

French Trotskyists Lead Anti-Racist Action in Rouen

In respunse to the wave uf provocations against immigrants, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have organized a notable anti-racist action in the city of Rouen. When a downtown cafeteria began refusing admittance tu blacks and Arabs, the LTF called for picketing the restaurant every evening until the racist exclusion policy is rescinded. Some 100 people showed up the first night, May 25, as a tucal TV station and an immigrant radio station broadcast the call. The mobilizations are continuing to draw immigrant youth and autu workers from the nearby Cléon plant. In Rouen in December 1981, the LTF initiated a united-front labor-centered mobilization of more than 400 to stop a series of fascist provocations. The French Trotskyists catled for workers defense to crush the fascist vermin, warning that the Mitterrand popular front was disarming the working class. Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants! Down with Racist Segregation!

Kill Nazi Barbie...

(continued from page 1)

Barbie to "explain" his genocidal dogma. Barbie described himself as a lifelong anti-Communist, and a soldier who was only following orders. This is, of course, the same argument Reagan and Kohl used to rehabilitate the Waffen SS at Bitburg in 1985. In the preface to a book by her husband Isaac Deutscher, the Marxist writer and Polish Jew whose family perished in Auschwitz, Tamara Deutscher writes of the similar spectacle at the Nuremberg Trials:

> "When Göring got up from the dock to explain 'his cause' with great eloquency, he dominated the court for a long time. His passionate declaration of devotion for the ideology—this perverted ideology—of the defeated overwhelmed the auditorium of the victors. Did it make any sense at all to use even the most experienced and the most trained advocates and their lifeless legal argumentation against this apology for National Socialism? Only when the Russian prosecutor went on the offensive and smashed this whole pseudo-ideological construction, did Göring's show collapse and crumble into ashes. The audience breathed a sigh of relief; the nightmare was over."
>
> —Preface to *Reportagen aus Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Reports from Postwar Germany) (1979)

For the Allied imperialist victors to really confront the Nazi terror, they would have had to explain their own hideous war crimes, from firebombing Dresden to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The French imperialist state cannot bring Barbie to justice, for to do so would expose the reality that the bonapartist Vichy regime, backed by the vast majority of the French bourgeoisie, actively and eagerly participated in anti-Semitic, anti-Communist terror. What of the French administrators of the "Final Solution," like Maurice Papon, who loaded the boxcars for Auschwitz and later became de Gaulle's police commissioner in Paris and a minister in the Giscard regime? Or those responsible for the "dirty war" in Algeria, from torturers like Le Pen to those who issued the orders, like François Mitterrand, who was a minister in the governments of 1954 and 1956, under which the "regroupment camps" were set up and "reprisals" ordered that devastated whole villages.

Le Bolchévik

Rouen, 1981: French Trotskyists mobilize labor united front to stop fascist terror. Banner reads: "Popular Front Disarms Working Class! Smash Fascist Vermin! For Workers Self-Defense!"

In contrast to the grotesque spectacle in Lyon, on March 8 a court in Soviet Byelorussia condemned to death two Nazi henchmen responsible for massive executions in the Jewish ghetto of Minsk. The Soviet Union mopped up the whole filthy network of Nazi collaborators as the Red Army drove out Hitler's Wehrmacht because there had been a socialist revolution, which in 1917 cleaned out the Black Hundreds and other scum from whom the fascist bands are drawn. It would take a socialist revolution in France to bring the Nazi butchers and Vichy scum to justice. But the Stalinist-led Resistance sabotaged the revolutionary struggle on the altar of the popular front, replacing the bonapartist bourgeois dictatorship of Marshal Pétain with the semi-bonapartist regime of General de Gaulle.

We Trotskyists demand vengeance for all the victims of Nazi terror; for our comrade Sylvain Itkine, Jewish director and Trotskyist militant, arrested on 1 August 1944 in Lyon and assassinated by the Gestapo; for Henri Kunstlinger, leader of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste, arrested in Lyon in July 1944, who went to his death at Auschwitz. Forty years later, a daughter of a death camp victim was arrested for trying to bring the Butcher of Lyon to justice—we are sorry she did not succeed. As Leon Trotsky declared at the time of the execution of Nazi Von Rath in Paris in 1938 by the young Jew Grynszpan:

> "The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance that is wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself."
>
> —"For Grynszpan" (February 1939) ■

At the Barbie Trial...

(continued from page 3)

Party in Augsburg. Barbie also spied in the Soviet zone of Germany, and Dabringhaus testifies that he did it in the French zone, then considered highly "unreliable" by the Americans since there were Communist Party members in the Paris government. Dabringhaus claims he once complained to a superior that he didn't like working with an SS officer and was basically told to shut up. He says that if he had known what Barbie had done in France, he would have shot him on the spot. So what did young American officers think the SS existed for? Dabringhaus did say one thing that rang true. He said that when you get right down to it, Barbie was his boss, and he was Barbie's chauffeur.

Friday, May 15: A lot of journalists have left now that Barbie is no longer present. The defense is contesting one of the most important documents of the prosecution, a telegram signed by Barbie reporting on the deportation of the dozens of children from the Jewish center in Izieu. The document is obviously authentic. One thing has to be understood about Barbie: while Wehrmacht generals all over France were preparing their files to show the invading Allies after D-Day that they really hadn't done anything so bad, Barbie sent off the last boxcar to the death camps on 11 August 1944, after executing a couple dozen of his French collaborators so that they couldn't testify against him.

In the last terrible moment of this afternoon's session, one of the prosecution lawyers intervenes to announce that he has just received the information that the recently constructed memorial to Jewish victims of the SS in Lyon has been profaned, covered with swastikas. He says: while Barbie may choose to be absent from this courtroom, the friends of Barbie are active in the streets. ■

Roger Viollet

German firing squad executes anti-Nazi French resistance fighter.

Persian Gulf...

(continued from page 1)

are doing in the Persian Gulf." A nervous Senate passed a bipartisan resolution asking assurances from the administration for the Navy ships scheduled to escort Kuwaiti oil tankers. Reagan, meanwhile, ordered captains to shoot any "hostiles" on sight, and the White House is no doubt looking for another Grenada to stage a cheap show of force.

U.S. policy is in disarray as chaos engulfs Washington. Reagan's envoys deliver cakes, Bibles and TOW missiles to the Iranians one day, and phony intelligence reports to the Iraqis the next. Now Iraq is supposed to be a "friendly," only they blast a Navy gunboat. The Iranian prime minister calls it a "divine blessing," gleefully chortling that "the Great Satan has fallen into a trap" (*Le Monde*, 20 May). Now Pentagon chief Weinberger is putting the arm on Washington's clients for bases to "project U.S. power" in the Gulf, to throttle the supposed ancestral Russian thirst for warm waters. The Zionists, the ayatollahs and the sheiks are at each other's throats in the Near East, but over support to the Afghan feudalists and the Nicaraguan contras they all pull out their checkbooks for U.S. imperialism. But sailing around the Near East rattling America's sabers has brought Reagan nothing but trouble. This latest imperialist debacle puts the U.S. up the Persian Gulf without a paddle, once again. Sink Reagan!

Since the U.S. emerged victorious in World War II, the oil-rich Gulf region has been treated as a virtual American lake, to be guarded by client states like the feudal Saudi Arabian monarchy and the brutal regime of the shah of Iran.

Der Spiegel

Reagan's saber rattling in Persian Gulf is continuation of 1980 "Carter Doctrine," proclaiming U.S. is prepared to use nuclear weapons to control region.

Eisenhower tried to "secure" the Near East with the short-lived anti-Communist CENTO alliance. Democratic president Carter even had pipe dreams of an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" including Israel and the Arabs. But in 1979 the imperialist regional structure came unglued with the fall of the shah, who was replaced by the reactionary and fanatically anti-U.S. regime of Ayatollah Khomeini. As the new Cold War heated up over Soviet intervention to fend off CIA-sponsored Islamic feudalists in Afghanistan, Carter declared in his 1980 State of the Union address that the Persian Gulf region was a "vital interest" of the U.S., and vowed to hold onto the region by "any means necessary," including "tactical" nuclear weapons. Now Reagan is reasserting the Carter doctrine, a linchpin of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

In doing so the Pentagon has put its forces near the front lines of the raging seven-year-old Gulf war, in which the U.S. is now tilting heavily toward Iraq in order to prevent a victory by Iran. Indeed, if it had been an Iranian jet, said Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, the U.S. would have gone to war. A former Navy official remarked that the captain of the *Stark* would have been seen as "the Bernhard Goetz of the Persian Gulf" if he had shot down the "friendly" Iraqi plane. But now the Navy brass is worried that they look like "paper tigers," as Teheran taunted. Behind Washington's obsession with the "flow of oil" (the U.S. gets only 7 percent of its imports from the region, compared to 70 percent for Japan) is paranoia about the Soviets moving into the Gulf. When Iraq leased three Soviet oil tankers in March, and the Kuwait oil sheikdom asked for Soviet protection for their tankers, the Reagan administration countered with a plan to put eleven Kuwaiti tankers under U.S. flag to be escorted by Navy gunships. So "to head off further involvement in the Gulf by the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 18 May), Washington may trigger WWIII.

Now Democrats and Republicans are griping about Reagan failing to invoke the War Powers Act, which requires notification and approval by Congress when sending U.S. forces into war danger. But Reagan arrogantly refuses, overriding objections from his prime minister Howard Baker (who's worried about good relations with Capitol Hill) and Attorney General Meese (who's worried about keeping his ass out of jail). And Congress eats it, just as the spineless Democrats are refusing to go after Reagan in the Iran/Contragate hearings, for fear of damaging the holy office of the imperial presidency. They all agree on the goal of sustaining the American empire. Unfortunately for them, Reagan still thinks this is 1945, when the victorious U.S. forces could bully the world by waving their Big Stick. But times have changed, and these days not everybody salutes when they "show the flag."

Exocet Meels "Star Wars"

The Pentagon announced early on that the Iraqi attack was evidently "inadvertent," since changed to "indiscriminate" (Weinberger). Iraq would gain nothing by attacking a U.S. warship, and could lose a lot. As Iraqi jets prowl the Gulf looking for tankers carrying Iranian oil, this Mirage F-1 jet reportedly fired two French-made Exocet missiles after spotting a target on its radar screen at night. Fired at a range of 10 to 12 miles, the sea-skimming missiles homed in on the ship in perhaps 90 seconds at 500 miles an hour. Thus two missiles priced at $200,000 each devastated and nearly sank a high-tech frigate worth $180 million. In the process, they also blew up Reagan's "Star Wars" propaganda.

The *Stark*, commissioned in 1982, was loaded with the latest gear for defense against just such an attack—a "layered" defense much like that envisioned in Reagan's space war scheme, which is supposedly designed to stop *thousands* of Soviet warheads. In this case, the state-of-the-art system failed to stop *two* missiles of a type for which it was specifically designed! There was no fighter jet cover—too expensive, and not enough carriers to cover the whole globe. The SM2 surface-to-air missile system, which could have shot down the jet before it launched the Exocet, wasn't activated because the Iraqi plane was considered "friendly" (even though the attacking jet was twice warned off by the ship's operators). Moreover, a computerized radar system on the *Stark*, programmed to sound an alarm when Exocets are launched, according to the captain "failed to detect" the missiles (*New York Times*, 21 May). And they didn't launch a canister of metallic chaff, to draw the missiles off course, because there wasn't sufficient warning.

U.S. Navy

USS Liberty after 1967 Israeli rocket, cannon, napalm and torpedo attack which killed 34. Deliberate attack was hushed up as an "accident."

As the Exocets came in for the kill, the Phalanx 20 mm Gatling gun, which fires heavy uranium projectiles at 3,000 rounds a minute, might have stopped the missiles. But it was not engaged on automatic, because it would shoot anything that moves. Compounding the damage, the *Stark*, like many other U.S. ships, has large amounts of aluminum in its superstructure to cut down on weight, and this caused it to burn furiously at over 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit when the missiles struck. (The British destroyer HMS *Sheffield*, hit by an unexploded Exocet missile during the Falklands/Malvinas war in 1982, was also devastated by fire fed by aluminum.) On top of all this, an AWACS surveillance plane, manned jointly by Saudi and American personnel, tracked the Iraqi plane throughout the attack, and two Saudi F-15 fighters were in a position to intercept but didn't because they couldn't get authorization. (This has fed anti-Arab sentiment in Congress, stoked by the Israel lobby, since the Saudis have received considerable American military equipment supposedly to protect the "free world," and now are implicated in funneling millions of dollars to the Nicaraguan contras at Reagan's behest in order to get around congressional bans which existed at the time.)

In short, every layer of defense failed for a combination of technical and political reasons which would be prevalent in any "peacetime" situation. And it was just a small taste of what would happen to the vastly more complex "Star Wars" scheme, which has to work perfectly the first time it is switched on, without testing. But of course Reagan doesn't care about this because the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is not meant to be a "defensive" system but rather part of a U.S. plan for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The smoldering devastation on the *Stark* should serve to dispel illusions that the U.S. could escape the consequences of World War III. It is also symbolic of the future awaiting the Reaganites' much-ballyhooed 600-ship Navy if it ever tries to implement the so-called "forward strategy" against the well-defended Soviet coastlines.

Forgelling Ihe Liberty

Normally, whenever such incidents occur the *New York Times* routinely brings up from its computer hank previous examples. But the pro-Zionist editors omitted mention of the previous incident which springs readily to mind—the June 1967 destruction of the USS *Liberty* by Israel. That attack, which killed 34 sailors and wounded 171, was no "accident." Sailing alone in broad daylight in the Mediterranean off the Sinai Peninsula, the virtually unarmed and well-marked intelligence ship was first attacked by Israeli jets using rockets, cannon fire and napalm, knocking out all communications gear. Then Israeli torpedo boats fired three torpedoes at the ship, nearly sinking her when one exploded on the starboard side. As the crew desperately fought to save their ship and their lives, the Israelis shot up the life rafts and the fire hoses (see the eyewitness account by James Ennes, *Assault on the Liberty* [1979]).

The incident occurred in the midst of the 1967 Israel-Arab war, when Israel had already beaten Jordan and Egypt. Admiral Thomas Moorer, then U.S. chief of naval operations, became convinced that "the Israelis attacked because they were afraid the *Liberty* might intercept Israeli military communications showing that Israel planned to attack Syria" (*Washington Post*, 19 May). But the subsequent Navy investigation covered up the unmistakable signs of premeditated murder; the evidence was buried in a classified report in order to protect the U.S.-Israel alliance. The incident remains a cause célèbre among the anti-Israel wing of the Pentagon and the American ruling class. It is also a small sample of the bloodthirsty ruthlessness of the Israeli state, which in its endless savaging of Palestinians and search for *Lebensraum* for an ever-expanding "Greater Israel" is perfectly prepared to set off a global thermonuclear holocaust.

Another trip wire for World War III is the Iran/Iraq war, now in its seventh year with perhaps a million dead on both sides. In that senseless slaughter, the reactionary ayatollahs continue to hurl tens of thousands of youth against Iraq in a fanatical "holy war," while Ba'athist colonel Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who started the war in an attempt to grab oil-rich regions of Iran, holds on desperately to besieged Basra in the south. For different geostrategic reasons, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union find themselves momentarily on the Iraqi side, in order to prevent a destabilizing victory by the religious nuts running Iran. (The Soviet Union shares a 1,600-mile border with Iran.) Even after the Iraqi attack, Reagan denounced Iran as "the villain in the piece," apparently trying to compensate for his unpopular arms shipments to Iran—exposed in the Iran/Contragate scandal. For both Iraqi and Iranian workers in this reactionary war the main enemy is at home. The world proletariat must have no illusions in a "peace" brokered or imposed by the bloody U.S. imperialists.

The Soviets, whose tanker *Marshal Chuikov* hit a mine in the Persian Gulf only hours before the attack on the *Stark*, have proposed "cooperation" with the U.S. in "protecting shipping" (*Washington Post*, 20 May). But Washington is hardly interested in cooperation. In the last week, the guided missile cruiser USS *Arkansas* more than once provocatively penetrated Soviet coastal waters off militarily sensitive Kamchatka Peninsula (the same area overflown by the KAL 007 U.S. spy flight). Around the globe, the Reagan gang has tried to throw the Russians up against the wall, brazenly bombing the Soviet military client Libya, violating Soviet territorial waters near the Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters, ramming Soviet submarines, etc. Defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state can only be assured through world proletarian revolution, to sweep out the war-crazed nuts in the Pentagon and White House whose Persian Gulf antics threaten to blow up all humanity. ■

Contragate...

(continued from page 16)

Elizabeth Linder. She is the bereaved mother of Benjamin Linder, the American volunteer murdered by the contras in Nicaragua. This Jewish woman who fled the terror of the Nazis in Europe, many of whom are now in Singlaub's WACL, was subjected to an inquisition worthy of Joseph McCarthy by House Republican Connie Mack:

> "**Mack:** I don't want to be tough on you, but I really feel that you've asked for it.
> **Linder:** Asked for it? Asked for it?
> **Mack:** It's been less than three weeks since your son died. And to come here...
> **Linder:** That was about the most cruel thing you could have said.
> **Mack:** I don't consider it cruel. I consider it to be to the point. I would say to you, you came here today to blame this government.
> **Linder:** Yes.
> **Mack:** To blame the president...
> **Linder:** Yes.
> **Mack:** ...blame those who supported those fighting for freedom.
> **Linder:** I don't think they're fighting for freedom."

The courage of Ben Linder's family stood out against the background of sordid testimony to thievery and backstabbing between the contra mercenaries and their U.S. imperialist backers that so enthralled the committee. Thus while Reagan was praising the contras as the "moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers," Owen was writing memos saying that contra capo Calero was "a creation of the USG [U.S. government]" and the other contra leaders were "liars" motivated only by "greed and power." Now it appears they're going to get North not on conspiracy charges but for having his hand in the contra cookie jar.

Lopez/NY Times

David and Elizabeth Linder, courageous parents of U.S. volunteer killed by contras, confront Congress: "This is murder...it is the essence of U.S. policy."

Congress votes $100 million that finances assassination plots, gun running, drug trafficking, an international network for counterrevolutionary terror and the fall guy is going to get it because he spent $2,500 in travelers checks buying groceries, a set of snow tires and pantyhose (for Fawn?)! "When was the last time it snowed in Nicaragua?" asked one Congressional "investigator." Cover-up is the name of the game, especially covering for the trail of blood that leads straight to the greedy, power-mad, lying terrorists in the White House.

In the midst of the hearings on Capitol Hill the Sandinista army launched its largest offensive in the five-year war, forcing some 800 mercenaries to flee like rats back to their holes in Honduras. The class struggle is heating up throughout Central America. On May Day in Honduras a mass demonstration demanded that the contras be thrown out. In El Salvador more than 50,000 workers marched in the capital and three other major cities despite army roadblocks and patrols. And an extended strike in April in Guatemala shut down the post office, hospitals and schools.

While Washington's "democratic" puppets watch in fear at mounting rebellion by the working masses, the Sandinistas have agreed to meet these blood-drenched rulers in late June at a conference to discuss the "Arias plan." Named after the Costa Rican president, this plan is designed to isolate the Nicaraguan Revolution, strangle leftist rebels in El Salvador and head off revolutionary struggle throughout Central America. But even this is not enough for the Reaganauts who long to drown the Sandinistas in blood as part of their drive to war against the Soviet "evil empire."

The Reagan administration has to use privateers and mercenaries to fight its dirty "covert" wars because they can't sell their war plans to the American population. The Contragaters' crimes are covered up by the Democrats who themselves are up to their eyeballs in support for anti-Soviet counterrevolution around the globe. It is the American working class, under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, which has the power to settle accounts with these imperialist war criminals once and for all. ■

Killer KKK...

(continued from page 16)

funeral of black basketball star Len Bias. As he opened his campaign office in Iowa last month, Jackson said: "Let's not confront each other at Howard Beach or Forsyth County. The real fight is at the farm foreclosures, the plant closings, the missile sites and the shipyards where foreign goods that put our workers out of jobs enter the country" (*Washington Post*, 20 April).

The real fight must be a socialist fight against the racist terror, unemployment and imperialist war fostered by the partner parties of American capitalism. The "new populism" from J.J. and the "BEOs" is part of their bid to become power brokers in the '88 Democratic convention in Atlanta. This means rampant social-patriotism, such as Jackson's saber-rattling speech at West Point demanding a "strong, vibrant and effective military," his poisonous protectionism and his suicidal preaching to blacks not to defend themselves against the lynchers and cross-burners. In '84 Jackson said "the South will rise again" as he munched pecan rolls with Alabama governor George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace; now he's glad-handing Louisiana supersleaze governor Edwards. Jesse and the Dixiecrats is what "uniting" blacks in the party of their oppressors means.

Young and Jackson are not just "turning the other cheek" to racist terror—they're *part* of the all-sided assault on black people. As the Reagan regime goes down, the racists are lashing out in a wave of vicious attacks, from frat-rat packs on the college campuses to lynch mobs in Howard Beach, Queens and Forsyth County, Georgia. And the job of the black overseers on Reagan's plantation is to keep the black masses in chains. When Philly black mayor Wilson Goode ordered a bomb dropped on the MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people and destroying an entire black neighborhood, this hideous crime was an extreme expression of the role of the black Democrats. Young acted as black front man for U.S. imperialism at the UN, then came to Atlanta where he breaks strikes of black sanitation workers on behalf of the Coca-Cola capitalists of the "New South."

Defending black people against KKK terror requires a revolutionary struggle against racist American capitalism. In the wake of the Greensboro massacre, the Spartacist League initiated labor/black mobilizations in major urban centers across the North and in Washington, D.C. that stopped the Klan and Nazi scum from staging their race-hate provocations. In every case, our successful anti-fascist mobilizations were forged in struggle against the Democrats and the reformists who tried every ploy, from calling on the capitalist state to "ban" the Klan to "debating" these killers, in order to head off the independent mobilization of blacks and labor. The Greensboro martyrs and all victims of racist terror must be avenged through socialist revolution, which will finish the Civil War and put an end to the KKK race-haters forever! ■

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

the fascists and the experience of reconstructing the economy on a collectivist basis went a long way toward defusing the murderous nationalism which had plagued bourgeois Yugoslavia" ("The National Question in Yugoslavia," Part I, *WV* No. 106, 23 April 1976).

However, the essentially nationalist nature of Stalinism meant that the gains could only go so far. Plans for a Balkan federation foundered on the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country," which set postwar Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and capitalist Greece, for instance, at each other's throats over the question of the Macedonian people. After his break from Stalin's Russia in 1948, Tito, a national-liberal Stalinist, came up with the basic plan for "market socialism" and "workers self-management" that exists in Yugoslavia to this day. His "devolutionist" policies led to more and more autonomy at the regional level, eliminating central planning and even central direction of the economy, thus directly contributing to the national particularisms that have blossomed since Tito's death.

Titoist Stalinism has not and cannot achieve a lasting and progressive solution to the national problems of Yugoslavia. For example, the restive Albanian population of Kosovo should have the right to unite with their national brethren across the border in Albania. The Macedonians should have the right to become part of Bulgaria. Such policies would go a long way toward defusing the current national antagonisms within Yugoslavia, laying the basis for a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe.

Conciliation of imperialism has brought many of the ills of capitalism to Yugoslavia, at the same time undercutting even the limited ability of the bureaucracy to deal with these problems. At the 13th Congress of the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia last June, party leader Vidoje Zarkovic gave a devastating report:

> "We are face to face with stagnation in development, with weakening unity in the Yugoslav community and in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, with greater distortions and departures from proclaimed aims...."
> —*Yugoslav Life*,
> June-August 1986

Since Tito's death, the League of Communists has run a musical-chairs government with no one willing to make the hard decisions necessary to govern this multinational, crisis-ridden country. Even within the framework of Stalinist rule the current Yugoslav bureaucracy has shown itself criminally and perhaps suicidally irresponsible.

Writing ten years ago on "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (Part 2, *WV* No. 110, 25 May 1976) we warned:

> "Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering...of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia...one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."

Today, as Yugoslavia nears the flash point, this warning has an even more burning urgency. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Reagan: I Am the State

Contragate Hearings: Platform for Contra Terror

"What, Reagan Worry?" headlined the *Washington Post* (17 May) as the U.S. imperialist contra in chief once again changed his story over the Iran/Contragate conspiracy. When the stories of the sinister skullduggery in the White House basement first broke Reagan declared that he knew nothing. Then he confessed "having some trouble remembering" and claimed to look forward to the Congressional hearings: "I'm hopeful that I'm finally going to hear some of the things that I'm still waiting to learn about."

But when all the president's men began testifying and pointing a finger at the King Rat in the Oval Office, Reagan and his damage control managers decided to invoke the "divine right of kings" defense. Now the Great Prevaricator arrogantly declared, "I was very definitely involved in the decisions about support of the freedom fighters. It was my idea to begin with." Reagan blithely claimed he broke no laws...as no laws apply to the "imperial presidency." In the words of French monarch Louis XIV, "L'Etat c'est moi" (I am the state).

The administration claims Reagan didn't violate mealy-mouthed Congressional restrictions on aid to Nicaraguan contras (the "Boland Amendment") because Congress can't interfere in the president's conduct of foreign policy. The *Washington Post* (20 May) said this was "one of the most sweeping assertions of presidential power in American history." Constitutional scholar Laurence Tribe argued: "The latest White House position ultimately reduces to the claim that this President, being somehow outside the Government, is above the law" (*New York Times*, 20 May). Over in the Old Executive Office Building they're singing, "*Heil* to the Chief," Reagan *über alles*.

Tames/NY Times

Congressional hearings chairmen Inouye and Hamilton cover up for contra in chief Reagan.

The Congressional "select" committee "investigating" the Iran/Contragate scandal didn't blink an eye over the president's bald-faced assertion that his word is law. As the *New York Times* (24 May) commented, they are more "concerned that harsh criticism of the contra aid program might make them appear pro-Sandinista—or worse, pro-Communist." So for the past two weeks the Congressional hearings have turned into a platform for contra terrorists and their American godfathers. Robert Owen, a yuppie "Rambo" and self-styled "foot soldier" for the contra terror operations, ended his testimony with an "ode" to the odious Oliver North.

Souza/White House

The Great Prevaricator

Cashiered U.S. Army Major General John Singlaub won praise as the "honest broker" in the contra arms deals—because he sold AK-47 assault rifles for half the price charged by General Richard Secord! But not a word about Singlaub's sinister activities as president of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the biggest collection of fascist killers in the world. Included in the WACL are murderers and torturers from the Nazi-puppet Romanian Iron Guard and Croatian Ustashi to "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson's Salvadoran death squads. Singlaub's outfit worked with Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon," in planning the 1980 Bolivian "cocaine coup."

While the Iran/Contragate committee treated these thieves, murderers and terrorists with every courtesy and consideration, Congress saved its venom for

continued on page 15

Andrew Young Says He'd March with Klan in Greensboro

Black Democrats Whitewash Killer KKK

In an obscene invitation to racist terror, Atlanta black mayor Andrew Young declared last week that he'd march with the Ku Klux Klan, provided the lynchers were unrobed and expressed "legitimate" white grievances! Young's remarks were all the more grotesque as he was speaking at a city celebration of civil rights—the sit-in movement which began at North Carolina A&T spread throughout the South, breaking the hold of Jim Crow. But it was in Greensboro that on 3 November 1979 KKK/Nazi killers gunned down five leftists, civil rights and union organizers. And now Andy Young, such a notorious conciliator that even Martin Luther King nicknamed him "Tom," wants the Klan to ride again.

On May 21, the *Atlanta Constitution* reported:

> "Young told a gathering in Greensboro Tuesday that if he were that city's mayor and the Klan wanted to march there, he would not only issue a permit, he would march with them if they were expressing 'legitimate grievances that white males have,' such as employment."

In fact, the Klan has scheduled a parade through the streets of downtown Greensboro on June 7, the first time they have marched in that city since their heinous massacre. Participating in this racist provocation is the very same Klan outfit, including "Grand Dragon" Virgil Griffin who plotted the KKK cavalcade of death and was a triggerman in the barrage which left five supporters of the Communist Workers Party dead on the ground. On May 20, the Greensboro City Council upheld the permit for the KKK march while refusing a permit for a civil rights group to hold an anti-Klan "freedom festival." The "Coalition for Unity and Justice" is reportedly going ahead with its plans.

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro, 3 November 1979: KKK/Nazis unload arsenal of death in heinous daylight massacre of five leftists and civil rights organizers. Now Atlanta mayor Young obscenely says he'd march with these fascist vermin!

"If they would come out of their robes, I would march with them," Young is quoted as saying. But the Klan and Nazis wore no robes that day in 1979 when they killed in broad daylight! The Greensboro massacre, carried out under Democratic president Jimmy Carter, was literally the opening shot of the Reagan years. This was a calculated government conspiracy, from the federal agent who orchestrated the racist murders to the Greensboro police and FBI informer who rode shotgun in the lead car. It became a green light for racist terror: none of the racist killers were brought to justice; they were acquitted by the courts while the victims' families and survivors were vilified as having brought on their own deaths.

Under attack from Meese's morals police, Mayor Young demonstrates his "respectability" by embracing the Klan, just as he attended a Confederate ball last summer on the 50th anniversary of the pro-slavery *Gone with the Wind*. But such outrageous apologies for racist terror have been coming from a host of "black elected officials" of late. Drugs are more dangerous than the Klan, Jesse Jackson obscenely told mourners at the

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 430 12 June 1987

No to Mandatory Testing!

Reagan, Democrats Push AIDS Witchhunt

"Disease Exclusion" of Immigrants: Cruel and Unnecessary

Last week a high-powered international scientific conference on the deadly disease AIDS met in Washington, D.C. Blocks away the Senate voted 96 to 0 for a bigoted proposal by Jesse Helms for mandatory testing of all immigrants to the U.S., and banning those found to have antibodies to the virus. On June 8, Attorney General Meese announced the federal government's intention to implement this proposal, adding on that testing will be mandatory for federal prisoners, who may be denied parole if they test positive. After years of malicious neglect in the vindictive fundamentalist hope that AIDS was a "gay disease," the feds and state administrations are busy hysterically proposing mandatory testing of just about everybody. Despite health experts' insistence that such testing won't do a damn thing to stop AIDS, and will in fact hurt, Democrats and liberals have joined this modern-day "Know Nothing" campaign.

At the Washington AIDS conference, the administration's criminally dangerous mindset was represented by Vice President Bush; conference participants widely hooed his speech demanding "routine" (the new code word for mandatory) AIDS testing. "Some gay group out there?" he cynically sneered (into an open mike). It was thousands of researchers, who know AIDS is a worldwide life-and-death matter. Reagan himself was booed at an AIDS fund-raiser, while the next day outside the White House, demonstrators protesting government inaction were arrested by cops ostentatiously wearing huge yellow rubber gloves, calculated to inspire fear of the protesters. When Otis Bowen, Secretary of Health and Human Services, claimed at the conference that AIDS had Reagan's "complete attention," scores jeered and hissed, some standing with their backs to Bowen in protest.

New York mayor Ed Koch, whose qualities as a vicious ass pale before his ignorance and stupidity, out-Reaganed Reagan with his demand to test *all* foreign visitors to the U.S.—the world's AIDS center! (It was since withdrawn as "infeasible," no doubt after shrieks of horror from the tourist industry.) This is sheer sadistic existential fascism. The test, moreover, does *not* tell if you have AIDS, but only indicates antibodies to HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus—the "AIDS virus"), and a single ELISA, the initial screening test, has a high error rate. A single positive now has to be confirmed by additional tests. A false positive can engender massive confusion and emotional pain. And the rest of the world has a point when it calls AIDS "the American disease," since 88 percent of all reported cases worldwide are here. (The widespread epidemic in Central Africa is just beginning to be recognized, though government officials there have tried to deny it.)

"Subsexual" Koch himself presides over a city with nearly *one-third* of all the AIDS cases in the U.S. Given attitudes toward New York City in the rest of the country, we wouldn't be surprised to find New Jersey state troopers waiting at the end of the George Washington Bridge to pull over everyone with NY plates for an "AIDS test." Koch seems to believe millions of foreigners are yearning to jam U.S. hospitals to get treatment. What a sick and obscene lie! Social Security has just refused to extend benefits to whole categories of AIDS sufferers, people with dementia and emaciation. "They may be dying, but they might not be disabled," cynically said a Social Security spokesman (*New York Times*, 2 June)!

Outside the White House, June 1: Cops in yellow rubber gloves bust demonstrators protesting desperate plight of AIDS victims.

Health care in the United States is already an abomination. For AIDS victims, medical care is hopeless. The disease is still incurable; "treatments" include the new, unproven drug AZT, which costs $8,000 to $10,000 a year. It takes two years for AIDS victims to qualify for Medicare—most patients are dead by then. Those sick with ARC (AIDS-Related Complex), many of whom die without ever progressing to full-blown AIDS, still do not qualify for most disability or health benefits.

The U.S. and South Africa are the only industrialized Western countries with no form of national health insurance. The reason is the same in both cases: a huge black population which is forcibly impoverished and for whom the country's rulers aren't about to provide even minimal necessities. In the U.S., the AIDS epidemic is hitting blacks and Hispanics hardest: black babies are 25 times more likely than whites to suffer from the disease. A major transmission route of the virus is via contaminated needles in intravenous drug use; it is further spread through heterosexual contact and to fetuses from infected

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Soviet Play Explodes Stalin's Moscow Trials

Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

SEE PAGE FOUR

United-Front Action in Rouen

French Trotskyists Lead Fight Against Racist Ban

ROUEN, France—For the past two weeks, every evening at 7 p.m., 100 people have picketed in front of the Flunch Cafeteria in downtown Rouen. They are responding to the call by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) for a boycott protesting the restaurant's racist policy of systematically barring admittance to North Africans and blacks. As fascist attacks on immigrant neighborhoods continue to mount and the government maintains its racist "nationalities" bill (threatening to deport "trainloads" of "foreigners"), the urgency of this anti-racist boycott is dramatically heightened.

In mid-April, after receiving numerous complaints, a local radio station asked a notary public to be an official witness accompanying five young North Africans as they attempted to enter the cafeteria. The notary reported that the security guard at the door barred their way, explaining: "Management has given orders and I am not allowed to let in anyone who looks like an Arab or who is black." Youth from Rouen's working-class/immigrant suburbs have long been victims of such racist practices in the provincial city's "chic" nightspots. Now the blatant segregation by the cafeteria's manager Robinet has become a symbol and must be stopped!

The Ligue Trotskyste, section of the international Spartacist tendency, is known in the region for having initiated a united-front mobilization of more than 400 people in December 1981 to stop the fascists. An LTF leaflet distributed May 23 at markets in the working-class suburbs of Rouen called for protest demonstrations at the Flunch:

Le Bolchévik Photos

Protesters picket Rouen cafeteria for refusing to serve blacks and North African Arabs. Anti-racist action was initiated by Ligue Trotskyste de France.

"In the context of the rise of Le Pen, whose meetings are regularly followed by pogroms (as at Marseille and Lyon), we must act now against this scandalous racial discrimination. What's needed to definitively crush the fascist scum is a massive mobilization by the working class organized by the trade unions and immigrant organizations."

While Rouen's daily newspaper remains silent, several local radio stations and the local TV news publicized this call. On Monday evening, some 100 persons representing numerous political organizations, immigrant associations and trade unions participated in a militant picket chanting, "Boycott the Flunch!", "Down with racist segregation!" and "Full citizenship rights for immigrants!" Demonstrators applauded as a sizable number of the restaurant's clientèle walked out after having read the leaflet condemning the racist ban. The picket has continued every night for an hour, turning away about half the prospective customers.

The mobilization broadened during the week. Tuesday saw the arrival of a number of *beurs* (second generation North African youth) from the immigrant ghettos where the bourgeoisie tries to keep them isolated. Speakers at the pickets included two trade unionists from the Renault/Cléon auto factory. And on May 27, the branch of the CGT union federation at the plant sent a telegram to the Flunch's Paris head office:

> "In the name of the 7,000 employees of the enterprise, the Renault/Cléon CGT trade union energetically protests against racist measures and violation of human rights by Flunch management against workers and immigrant employees. Demand immediate halt to all racist measures barring access to eating facilities. Will take necessary steps to inform employees and population if this revolting decision stands."

Certainly a thousand Renault workers in front of the Flunch would convince local café owners that racist segregation is bad for business.

The LTF initiative has received a broad response because of concern over the rise in racist terror and the activity of fascist gangs. Members of the Communist Party and Lutte Ouvrière have participated in the picket. The manager of the Flunch is trying to brazen it out. But protest letters and telegrams from around France have begun arriving at the chain's central office sent by, among others, the CGT postal workers local at Tours, a CGT and a CFDT local at two Paris post offices, and other unions; by a branch of the CP at Lyon and one of the main anti-racist organizations in Lyon, SIMADE; and by various professors including Marxist philosopher Etienne Balibar.

On June 4, after ten days of militant picketing organized by the LTF, one of France's main anti-racist organizations, the MRAP, called a demonstration in Rouen. The Communist Party threw its weight behind this demonstration, and some 1,000 demonstrators including a number of trade-union contingents gave a taste of the kind of massive working-class mobilization urgently needed to beat back and ultimately crush the wave of racist terror. A 100-strong LTF contingent (including many *beurs* who had come out during the week) was accorded a prominent place in the demonstration and a supporter of the LTF at Renault/Cléon addressed the protesters. As the demonstration broke up, another LTF spokesman addressed the crowd. Many CPers listened attentively as she stressed how the Mitterrand popular front's racist repression paved the way for the reactionaries.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—"sister party" of the American SWP) has boycotted the Flunch boycott. (No doubt they've been too preoccupied debating how to liquidate into the CP "renovators.") In an act of Stalinophobic sectarianism, a clot of LCR members and assorted social democrats temporarily split off from the June 4 demonstration. The LCR and its friends in the social democratic "anti-racist" milieu have been waiting for the civil libertarian League of the Rights of Man to act, which in turn has been waiting for the local prosecutor. If the state finally announced on the day of the MRAP demonstration that it was finally beginning an "investigation" of Flunch's racist practices, it is because of the determined picketing campaign and the largely working-class demonstration it helped to spark.

In the course of the Flunch pickets, several racist provocateurs attempting to create incidents were swiftly ejected by the demonstrators' security team. On June 4, when several hundred participants in the demonstration moved toward the cafeteria, a scout returned to report that a police/fascist ambush was lying in wait. The relationship of forces was such that a picket was impossible. This sinister mobilization by the cops and dozens of fascist thugs was repeated the following day. But the LTF opened up another front to put pressure on the national chain. A united-front demonstration was held June 5 at a Parisian

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The Moscow Trials

TROTSKY

LENIN

The "Transitional Program," adopted at the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, noted that Soviet workers identified Trotskyism with authentic Bolshevism and opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy. This tradition can be a potent force for reforging the Fourth International and defending the gains of the October Revolution.

Petty-bourgeois democrats of the West, having but yesterday assayed the Moscow Trials as unalloyed gold, today repeat insistently that there is "neither Trotskyism nor Trotskyists within the USSR." They fail to explain, however, why all the purges are conducted under the banner of a struggle with precisely this danger. If we are to examine "Trotskyism" as a finished program, and, even more to the point, as an organization, then unquestionably "Trotskyism" is extremely weak in the USSR. However, its indestructible force stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class. The social hatred stored up by the workers against the bureaucracy—this is precisely what from the viewpoint of the Kremlin clique constitutes "Trotskyism." It fears with a deathly and thoroughly well-grounded fear the bond between the deep but inarticulate indignation of the workers and the organization of the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (September 1938)

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Sri Lanka Bloody Offensive Against Tamil North

Indian Jets Over Jaffna

On Thursday June 4, five Indian Air Force Antonov 32 cargo planes escorted by Mirage fighters flew over northern Sri Lanka in a demonstrative drop of desperately needed relief supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula, the besieged Tamil area of the island. The Sri Lankan armed forces, which have been indiscriminately bombing and shelling the Tamil populace in the north for weeks, offered no resistance. With its act, the Indian government asserted suzerainty, posing possible annexation of northern Sri Lanka. New Delhi is determined that henceforth the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of president J.R. Jayewardene will heed India's dictates regarding the Tamil areas or face more decisive military measures.

On June 6, in the largest Tamil demonstration in London since the 1983 pogroms in Lanka, many were chanting "Well done India" and "Carry on Rajiv." While in the short run an Indian invasion could provide relief from the murderous onslaught of the Sri Lankan army, illusions in the Indian ruling class are deadly dangerous. Notably, Gandhi's gesture was made only after the Lankan army had scored its successes against Tamil-held areas, killing hundreds of civilians. And the record of Gandhi and the capitalist class he represents speaks volumes about what sort of "liberation" the Indian army would bring to the Tamils in the long run. In the face of an invasion, communists must stand for revolutionary defeatism toward both the blood-drenched Indian and Lankan regimes.

An Indian intervention which confined itself to the north of the island could well have horrendous repercussions for the Tamils who remain in the rest of the island. Today the Sinhala communalists, impotent in the face of Indian power and terrified of the consequences for them if the terms of national oppression were reversed, may well again turn their chauvinist frenzy on Tamils in the south. The plight of the economically key plantation workers of the highland tea country, the so-called Indian Tamils, is doubly tragic. They have been ignored by most of the Sri Lankan left with its class-collaborationist, Sinhala-chauvinist politics, as well as by the dominant Tamil organizations, be they bourgeois parliamentarians or petty-bourgeois guerrillaists. In 1985, Jayewardene warned that if the Indian army invaded the Tamils would be finished in the south.

Lankan Army Drive to Retake the North

Ever since 1983, when anti-Tamil pogroms instigated by elements within Jayewardene's United National Party killed several thousand and forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and to India, there has been a de facto partition of the island. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the largest Tamil nationalist group, has held the Jaffna Peninsula and sections of the north while the Eastern Province, where Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims live, with the strategic Trincomalee harbor, has remained disputed territory. Endless rounds of peace negotiations brokered by India have broken down over the critical question of control of Trincomalee. Meanwhile, the civil war has resulted in thousands dead.

The wave of indiscriminate terrorist attacks this April, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, left hundreds of mainly Sinhalese civilians dead. The Sri Lankan regime faced mounting pressure within and without the government from Sinhala communalist hardliners to take military action to retake the north, where the army has been confined to its bases in the Jaffna Peninsula. On May 26, following the air-sea offensive that had left hundreds dead, the army moved to consolidate its hold on key territory. Leaflets dropped from the air ordered civilians to assemble within two hours at designated temples, schools and churches, but this did not restrain the Sri Lankan forces from bombing such centers, including with primitive "napalm" mixtures.

Economist

Lanka army rounds up Tamil youth in Jaffna Peninsula.

In the fighting that followed, the government forces claimed to have regained control of about one-fifth of the Jaffna Peninsula, including the ports of Point Pedro and Valvedditurai, cutting the guerrillas off from their supply and escape routes to south India. Western reporters allowed into Valvedditurai in the last few days report widespread devastation. The army's first act of occupation was to round up the entire young male population of the district. Four thousand were shipped south to the notorious Boosa concentration camp. "National Security" minister Lalith Athulathmudali blandly told despairing relatives in Valvedditurai that 1,500 were likely to be held indefinitely. On Friday night seven Tamils were reported killed attempting to escape from Boosa.

Sirohi/AP

Indian air force drops supplies for besieged Tamil areas.

The second stage of the army's offensive, an assault on Jaffna town, has been called off. Right now the army probably has neither the military strength nor the will to take the casualties required, but more importantly India has delivered a message that all but the most rabid communalist must understand. Elements in the Sri Lankan government appeared to have gambled that India would not intervene, even implying that the Indian government had given its tacit approval to the offensive in the north. But the offensive did not achieve the quick results they had hoped for, and soon after it began Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi spoke of "calculated and cold-blooded slaughter of thousands," warning the Sri Lankans to stop before it was too late.

Indian national newspapers like the *Times of India*, usually close to the government, began urging military intervention. An increased Indian naval and coast guard presence was noted in the waters around Sri Lanka, while reports circulated that 800 paratroopers had been flown south to Madras. Facing mounting pressure to act and fed up with the Sri Lankan prevarications which it sees as having thwarted its attempt to negotiate a settlement, India announced that it was sending aid to Jaffna whether Sri Lanka liked it or not. But the first attempt to do so with a motley fleet of 20 fishing boats (with 100 journalists) was not backed up by the Indian navy, and Sri Lanka's minuscule navy was allowed to turn the relief convoy back. The day following this humiliating fiasco, India's Antonovs and Mirages went in.

South Asia and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

An Indian diplomat is reported to have said: "The unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is very important to us. But it's not nearly so important as the unity and integrity of India" (*Guardian* [London], 2 June). Gandhi is under increasing domestic pressure, including the continuing agitation among 50 million Tamils in south India. In the last six months, Rajiv's image as "Mr. Clean" has taken a battering: sordid wranglings over constitutional issues were followed by defense contract scandals in which he protected Congress Party cronies accused of corruption. Unrest among the Sikhs in the Punjab has led to the replacement of the state government by central rule.

In Meerut near Delhi, a center of joint Hindu/Muslim struggle in the anti-British uprising of 1857, hundreds have been killed in communal fighting over possession of a mosque/temple. Gandhi's Congress Party has also suffered major electoral defeats by "left" Communist Party-dominated coalitions in recent state elections in Bengal and Kerala and faces an important election in the Hindi-belt state of Haryana in two weeks. All this is symptomatic of the corruption, exploitation and brutality that is capitalist India, and of its character as a virtual prison house of peoples. As with his mother Indira over Bangladesh, Rajiv finds in the situation in Sri Lanka the opportunity to divert attention from multifarious troubles at home.

But the Indian bourgeoisie is worried about more than its own domestic situation. In the context of the imperialist war drive against India's diplomatic ally, the Soviet Union, the international implications of the developments in Sri Lanka are making New Delhi nervous. Moreover, India has its own regional hegemonic ambitions (it is building a large navy base in the Andaman Islands, to the east of Sri Lanka). The Chinese deformed workers state, aligned with the United States against the USSR, has been supplying arms to Lanka. In recent months armed clashes have taken place in the disputed

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New York Times

Soviet Play Explodes Stalin's Moscow Trials

Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

They were accused of being saboteurs and terrorists, agents of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. "I demand that dogs gone mad should be shot, every one of them!" screeched prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky at the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s. And every last one of them was shot.

They were the Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917, Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms, the men and women who guided the fledgling Soviet state through the civil war and imperialist military intervention, the commanders of the Red Army and founders of the Communist International. In the monstrous frame-ups known as the Moscow Trials, Stalin exterminated the founding generation of the modern Communist movement. And in 1940 a Stalinist assassin drove a mountaineer's ax into the skull of the man who above all symbolized the revolutionary spirit of Bolshevism: Leon Trotsky.

But now a play, Mikhail Shatrov's "The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk" (originally written in 1962), is reportedly scheduled to open in Moscow on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The text of the play was recently published in the literary monthly *Novyi Mir*. According to the *New York Times* (30 April), this work "portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as devoted associates of Lenin, though misguided by excessive revolutionary zeal." It may be difficult for a Western audience to appreciate the shock effect for Russians of a Soviet play which presents Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Bolshevik Old Guard murdered by Stalin have been treated as *non-persons* in the present-day Soviet Union, and earlier were branded as "traitors to the socialist motherland." Well within living memory, anyone who defended the victims of the Moscow Trials was sent to a Siberian labor camp. Only yesterday to write favorably of Bukharin or especially Trotsky was enough to get one expelled from the Communist Party, fired from one's job and victimized in all kinds of ways. Why this taboo that has lasted half a century? Because the Kremlin bureaucracy, under both Stalin and his heirs, had at all costs to suppress the authentic Leninist program, represented by the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

Now the Moscow Trials are being exploded in this Moscow play. So long as the figures are more or less historically accurate, it means the rehabilitation of every shot Old Bolshevik. Once the Kremlin tops do this, they can no longer be silent about the role of and what happened to any of the leaders of the October Revolution. Whatever the intentions of Shatrov or the Gorbachev regime, the play indicts the Stalinist gravediggers of the revolution. There remains in the Soviet Union an abiding identification of Trotsky with the ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution, which are alive in the consciousness of the people. If the Bolshevik Old Guard are restored to their rightful places, Trotsky's fight for Leninist internationalism against Stalin's conservative nationalism can no longer be buried.

It Is the Kremlin Bureaucracy Which Stands Accused

For some time, various fake-Trotskyist outfits have appealed to Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to rehabilitate Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and the other Old Bolsheviks. Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness) has revived these grotesque appeals. There is now a campaign in Britain, also involving a number of left Labour MPs, to "Clear the Names of the Accused in the Moscow Trials." It calls "on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, June 1987).

Trotsky and the other Old Bolsheviks don't need to be rehabilitated! The Dewey Commission of 1937 exposed the Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up. History has just been a little slow to catch up with this verdict. For many years workers and intellectuals entrapped in the Stalinist movement actually believed that Trotsky was a Nazi agent. Seeking to counter this incredible slander, in 1946 his widow, Natalya Sedova, even made a pathetic and misguided request that the Nuremberg tribunal on Nazi war crimes take up the case of Trotsky in order to show he had nothing to do with the Gestapo. But especially after Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" denouncing the crimes of Stalin, no one in the world believed the charges of the Moscow Trials any longer.

AP

After machine gun attack on his home in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky accuses Stalin of seeking his death. A few months later he was assassinated by a Stalinist agent.

Trotsky in particular is regarded as a noble and heroic figure even by people far from sympathetic to the Trotskyist cause of international proletarian revolution. The eminent British left-liberal historian A.J.P. Taylor concluded an essay on Trotsky: "Colonel Robins, the American Red Cross representative at Petrograd, pronounced history's verdict: 'A four-kind son-of-a-bitch, but the greatest Jew since Jesus Christ'." French New Wave director Alain Resnais used the figure of Trotsky in exile in his film *Stavisky* as personifying opposition to the decadent, corruption-ridden Third Republic of the 1930s. The French bourgeoisie thought so, too. In 1939 the French ambassador to Germany, Robert Coulondre, warned Hitler, if war breaks out "there would be only one real victor—Mr. Trotsky." Such examples can be multiplied a hundredfold. In the political consciousness of the contemporary world Trotsky stands as a paragon of revolutionary integrity and militancy.

Thus the old Stalinist slanders against Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders and their treatment as non-persons in present-day Russia *discredit the Soviet bureaucracy*—crimes justified by lies and followed by cover-up. So now the Kremlin tops are trying to rehabilitate *themselves*. The Gorbachev regime, which takes pride in its suave handling of public opinion, has shifted the official Soviet treatment of Trotsky. He is now presented as a revolutionary romantic, an ultraleftist whose political line would embroil the Soviet state in disastrous wars with the Western imperialist powers.

This distortion is not a new invention; it is also taken right from the ideolog-

G.P. Goldshtein

Famous picture of Lenin addressing troops on way to war with Poland, 5 May 1920. Stalinists later painted Trotsky (at right) out of picture, attempting to delete him from the history of the Bolshevik Revolution.

ical arsenal of Stalinism. Before Stalin accused Trotsky of being a Nazi agent he accused him of advocating military adventurism against the West. For example, S. Rabinovich's Stalinist-revisionist *History of the Civil War* (1935) condemns Trotsky for allegedly wanting to "bring the revolution to Europe on the bayonets of the Red Army." The extermination of the Bolshevik Old Guard and the special vilification of the Left Opposition in the Moscow Trials of the mid-1930s was designed to further Stalin's program of "socialism in one country," in particular through the "popular front" with the "democratic" imperialist powers (Britain and France) against Nazi Germany. Simultaneously, Stalin strangled the Spanish Revolution.

Shatrov's play about Brest-Litovsk serves the Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism although it was not written by one of Gorbachev's glib propagandists. Written in 1962, it is a product of the ferment which gripped the Soviet intelligentsia following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. In the late 1950s, the Stalinist victims of the Moscow Trials and military men like Marshal Tukhachevsky were officially rehabilitated. But as the late Isaac Deutscher wrote at the time, it was grotesque and indecent that little-known Stalinist *apparachiks* like Eikhe and Postyshev were rehabilitated with much fanfare while nothing was said of Trotsky, Bukharin or Zinoviev.

Surviving veterans of the revolution and civil war, families of the Moscow Trials victims and young Communist intellectuals like Roy Medvedev demanded historical justice for the Bolshevik Old Guard. In 1962 Khrushchev promised Bukharin's widow and son to consider restoring the man Lenin once called "the favourite of the whole Party" to party honor. But by then the Khrushchevite "thaw" was already freezing over, and after Khrushchev was ousted in 1964 a lid was clamped on those intellectuals concerned with the fate of the Bolshevik Old Guard. Roy Medvedev, for example, was expelled from the Communist Party in 1968 after writing a letter to *Pravda* criticizing an article which had defended Stalin.

But the ghosts of the Bolshevik Old Guard refused to lie buried. Now, since Gorbachev has stated "there must be no forgotten names, no blank spaces, either in history or in literature," there has been a spate of new and long-suppressed works dealing with the crimes of Stalin and the "hidden history" of Soviet Russia. They're again attacking Stalin's sabotage of the Soviet Union's defense against the Nazi German invasion of 1941. And a new edition of the Soviet encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published this fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Kamenev and Radek.

The Gorbachev Line and Brest-Litovsk

Why has Shatrov's play on the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, written a quarter century ago, now been revived and on such an auspicious occasion as the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution? Because Gorbachev has utilized and distorted the dispute within the Bolshevik leadership over signing this treaty *to justify conciliation of imperialism in general and opposition to revolutionary war in principle*. Addressing the 27th Congress of the CPSU early last year, he stated:

> "...socialism has never, of its own free will, related its future to any military solution of international problems. This was borne out at the very first big discussion [over the Brest-Litovsk treaty] that took place in our Party after the victory of the Great October Revolution. During that discussion, as we may recall, the views of the 'Left Communists' and the Trotskyites, who championed the theory of 'revolutionary war' which, they claimed, would carry socialism to other countries, were firmly rejected.... Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible."
>
> —*New Times* [Moscow], 10 March 1986

What Gorbachev is concerned with here is not simply, or mainly, general principles and historical analysis. Since late 1979 the Soviet army has been fighting and winning a war in Afghanistan against CIA-armed Islamic fanatics who want to re-enslave Afghan women to the veil. In a bureaucratically deformed way Russia is *now engaged* in a revolutionary war on its southern border. U.S. imperialism has demanded Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan as a *key test* of Gorbachev's "sincerity" in seeking better relations.

For its part, the Gorbachev regime has indicated a willingness to abandon Afghanistan if a face-saving deal can be made. But "national reconciliation" with the *feudalist* Islamic reactionaries is utterly unreal, and would mean abandoning Afghanistan to imperialist-backed counterrevolution. And in denouncing revolutionary war, Gorbachev may also be going after the Vietnamese, whose liberation of Kampuchea from the genocidal Pol Pot regime has upset U.S. imperialism and its local ASEAN puppets.

Shatrov's play on the Brest-Litovsk treaty *falsifies* Lenin's position in a way that serves the Gorbachev line. While only the concluding scene has to date been translated into English (*New Times*, 30 March), the political thrust of the work is clear. The play ends with Lenin giving this supposed speech:

> "We have to build, and hence for us the desire for peace is not a tactical manoeuvre in a moment of weakness, it is the sum and substance of the whole of our policy, our whole lives. An hour of peace is worth a thousand times more to socialism than a day of war, even a victorious war."

Lenin never said anything remotely like this during the Brest-Litovsk dispute or any other time. In fact, he said *exactly the opposite* in the very article in which he argued for immediately accepting the German terms:

> "Unquestionably, even at this juncture we must *prepare for* a revolutionary war. We are carrying out this promise, as we have, in general, carried out all our promises that could be carried out at once: we annulled the secret treaties, offered all peoples a fair peace, and several times did our best to drag out peace negotiations so as to give other peoples a chance to join us.
>
> "But the question whether it is possible to carry on a revolutionary war *now, immediately*, must be decided exclusively from the point of view of whether material conditions permit it, and of the interests of the socialist revolution which has already begun." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"On the History of the Question of the Unfortunate Peace" (January 1918)

What, then, was the dispute over the

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Penguin Books

Trotsky testifying before 1937 Dewey Commission, which exposed Stalin's Moscow Trials as a monstrous frame-up.

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS

The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

Socialist Appeal

American Trotskyists' Socialist Appeal (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of the Bolshevik leadership of the October Revolution.

Lenin's Testament

Lenin's "Testament," written in December 1922-January 1923 for the 12th Congress of the Communist Party, was totally suppressed in the Soviet Union for almost 40 years. While published in the 1961 edition of Lenin's Collected Works, *it was only recently widely publicized in the English, French and Russian-language* Moscow News. *It has naturally become a hot item of discussion and debate in Soviet political and intellectual circles.*

"...Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, as his struggle against the C.C. on the question of the People's Commissariat for Communications has already proved, is distinguished not only by outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work....

Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)....

December 25, 1922

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc...."

January 4, 1923

Lenin

More Healyite than Healy

David North and the Law

For over 20 years the gang of political bandits led by Gerry Healy shamelessly used the capitalist courts to disrupt, harass, frame up and bankrupt political opponents within the workers movement. Now the American Workers League's David North, who rushed to claim this heritage as his own after his former British boss Healy was ousted a couple of years ago, is squealing like a stuck pig over how "anti-communist" appeals to the courts will "undermine democratic rights." Why? Because it looks like the WL is going to get saddled with the court costs in one of the Healyites' most infamous lawsuits: the sinister case of Alan Gelfand vs. the Socialist Workers Party.

An agent provocateur of the Workers League, Gelfand was expelled from the SWP in 1979. Then, backed and bankrolled by North & Co., Gelfand sued the SWP in federal court claiming that his expulsion was the work of U.S. government agents in "control" of the organization. Citing the Healyites' notorious "Security and the Fourth International" slanders that central leaders of the SWP were agents of the FBI and the Stalinist secret police, Gelfand demanded that the court reinstate him as a member and "remove" particular SWP leaders and members from the party. As well as appealing to the class enemy to determine the membership of a self-proclaimed socialist organization, the Northites also called on the court to pry into the SWP's minutes, finances—in short, every aspect of its functioning! Two key "character" witnesses for the Healyite prosecution were former cops from the notorious LAPD red squad, the Public Disorder Intelligence Division.

As we wrote in "The Strange Case of Provocateur Alan Gelfand—Healyite Slanders and SWP Cowards": "It would be difficult to overstate the danger posed by this case, which if upheld would give the capitalist state a license to 'regulate' the internal life of working-class organizations" (*WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983). While the court has yet to come down with a final decision, the SWP has asked for an interim settlement of $101,000 for legal costs. This has North screaming foul, declaring that "The actions taken by the SWP since the trial could only be taken by police agents who are deliberately seeking to undermine democratic rights through legal actions which have far-ranging implications" (*Bulletin*, 3 March). So

Marxism Today

WV Photo

The sinister Alan Gelfand (right) and his controller David North.

what does that make David North who boasts that he alone went all the way with Gelfand in his obscene appeal to the agencies of the capitalist state to police the left and labor movement? Whose agent is he?

A Calculus of Marxist Decency

Opposition to the use of the bosses' courts within the workers movement is among the most elementary of class principles. It is axiomatic for Marxists that the state is not "neutral" but the armed fist of the ruling class. Any worker who has ever faced the strike-breaking force of the courts and cops knows this. David North wouldn't know the class line if he tripped over it, as he frequently does—because more often than not the Healyites have put themselves on the wrong side of it in the pursuit of their own advantage. In their two-volume opus on the Gelfand suit, the Workers League brags that this was a how-to "model" in "making use of the capitalist courts." But now North and Gelfand are yelping that the same courts they used against the SWP could make *them* pay.

When the forces of capitalist "law and order" suit their convenience the Healyites have been willing and even wanton in using them. But when they're on the receiving end, as in the case of the SWP motion (which we hardly condone), like a dying man who finds religion the Healyites suddenly discover class principles. Back in '83, in the midst of suing a British leftist newspaper, *Socialist Organiser*, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party cynically announced that "the principled policy of the WRP" was to "close ranks in defence" of any "section of the labour movement" under attack by the class enemy! The WRP, you see, was begging for left support against a BBC program reporting on their financial ties to a variety of "Third World" Arab nationalist regimes.

Running to the state against their political opponents became the stock in trade of Healyism two decades ago with the vicious beating of Ernie Tate. In 1966, Tate was set upon by Healy's goons outside a Healyite meeting in London for distributing SWP leader Joseph Hansen's pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International." The pamphlet documented the trumped-up expulsion of Spartacist from the 1966 London conference of Healy's International Committee. When Tate circulated a letter of protest against this hooliganism the WRP sued him and threatened libel suits against left-wing publications in Britain who printed the letter! In 1975 the Healyites' well-heeled movie star "angel" Vanessa Redgrave dragged former WRP member Alan Thornett through the courts over an outstanding personal loan.

In 1981, again in the name of Healy's celebrity Redgrave, the WRP brought their libel suit against *Socialist Organiser* editor Sean Matgamna after he published a scathing and eminently truthful exposé of these unprincipled political bandits, gangsters and cultists. Interestingly, the suit took no objection to Matgamna's charge that the Healyites were the paid agents of Libya's Qaddafi. When the WRP went on a campaign against the BBC for reporting the same charges, Matgamna coyly asked, "Will the WRP Sue the BBC?" Of course they didn't. A year later, Healy's "exposé" of British miners leader Arthur Scargill for criticizing Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist" was timed for maximum exposure on the eve of the 1984-85 miners strike through the redbaiting, hysterically anti-Scargill Fleet Street gutter press.

"Security" and Healyism

For over a decade the Healyites plied their loathsome "Security and the Fourth International" campaign aimed in particular at veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen who was slandered as an accomplice in the Stalinist GPU murder of Trotsky. Echoing the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by one of his "own people," the "Security" slander campaign was an attack on the revolutionary heritage of American Trotskyism. If Hansen was simultaneously an agent of the FBI and the GPU, then why not SWP founder James P. Cannon? Or for that matter Trotsky himself?

Hansen, a skilled polemicist, had tweaked Healy's tail on more than one occasion. But the "Security" campaign was more than just a vendetta. It embodied the whole method of Healyism. The purpose of these cascading wild-eyed and paranoid lies was to keep the membership politically and morally straitjacketed, not to mention scared witless. Either you accept and defend the lies—all of them—or you yourself might be denounced as an agent of the CIA, FBI, GPU.... Indeed, David North's road to power in the Workers League was paved by the termination of Healy's former American toady, Tim Wohlforth, whose companion was framed as a CIA agent. And it was as the accomplice in and a main mouthpiece for "Security" that North won his spurs as Healy's new American lackey.

Two years ago the political whorehouse that Gerry Healy built in his own image, the so-called "International Committee," came crashing down when the self-declared "founder-leader" was ousted through the intrigues of his lieutenants (including North). With the lid blown off the Healyite rotting garbage can, the whole sordid history of physical violence against members and the scandalous pursuit of Arab capitalist gold was openly admitted (indeed Cliff Slaughter alleged that the WRP had acted as fingermen for the Iraqi Ba'athist regime against supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party).

The latest installment in this despicable saga is the jailing of Phil Penn, a founding member of the WRP and Healy's former chauffeur. Penn, who went with the Slaughter wing, was thrown behind bars for four months on charges of assault brought by the Healy-Torrance wing (now sans Healy, who has split). Penn says he was assaulted by four of Healy-Torrance's goons. We can't claim to know what transpired in the incident. All sides have been well trained in the Healy school of gangsterism, brutal organizational practices and cynical lies to cover their tracks.

The Slaughterites argue in a letter protesting the jailing of Penn that "no organization calling itself socialist would collaborate with the police against members of the labour movement." True enough, but for 25 years as Healy's mouthpiece Slaughter was

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Workers Press

WV Photo

David North and his mentor, deposed "founder-leader" Gerry Healy. Spartacist tendency protested Healyite libel of revisionist Joseph Hansen as GPU/FBI agent.

Young Spartacus

Drive Fascistic Punks Off University of Chicago!

Smash Anti-Gay Attacks!

Hitler-loving, gay-bashing punks have been terrorizing the University of Chicago (UC) campus—*and they had better be stopped!* The hate campaign of these would-be stormtroopers began when school opened last September. Bright orange stickers reading: "Clean Up Hyde Park/Stop AIDS: Castrate Gays" were plastered all over the campus and surrounding integrated neighborhood of Hyde Park. In December, GALA (Gay and Lesbian Alliance) members, leftist students, liberal professors and even some administrators received "Christmas cards" with the message "Happy Death," signed by the "Great White Brotherhood of the Iron Fist, Botha Boulevard." As the Spartacus Youth Club wrote in a leaflet distributed at UC last March:

> "These scum are out for blood. They call themselves the 'Great White Brotherhood of the Iron Fist' because the name symbolizes their heroes: Hitler and the Ku Klux Klan. They list their address as 'Botha Boulevard' because they groove on seeing the apartheid war machine butcher black children.... On March 21, two days after the gay *Windy City Times* ran a front-page article about the group, two thugs walked into the paper's office and brutally attacked publisher Jeffrey McCourt with a baseball bat. Once these murderous cowards have been identified, the 'brotherhood' scum ought to be paraded naked down the Midway—with bright yellow stripes painted down their backs!"

They talk like fascists, they act like fascists *and they ought to be dealt with like fascists!* These preppie iron-fisters don't know where they are. Chicago is a union town and a black town! The fascists think gays are a "soft target" whom nobody else will defend. But on 27 June 1982, a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization of 3,000 unionists, blacks, leftists, Jews, gays and students shouted down the genocidal Nazis when they tried to stage a terror provocation in Lincoln Park against the annual Gay Pride march. It's high time to again mobilize powerful, integrated battalions of Chicago labor to crush the fascist vermin in the egg.

Young Spartacus

May 21 rally against anti-gay attacks at University of Chicago.

Midway Review: Haven for Hitler-Lovers

In March, the "Brotherhood" placed a spurious gay personals ad in the Chicago *Reader*. The right-wing vermin sent letters to the families, neighbors and employers of students who responded to the ad, "exposing" them as gays and "dangerous AIDS carriers." Under court order, the identity of the scum who entrapped gays with this ad was revealed. The perpetrators turned out to be the three kingpins of the virulently right-wing rag, *Midway Review*: Russell Miller, David White and Jeffrey Benner. Nearly all of the people who received death threats were attacked by name in the *Midway Review* previously. These creeps have been linked with other instances of right-wing violence and harassment over the past two years. Notable among these was the attack in the spring of '85 on a film showing about the Vietnam War. The assailants smokebombed the room, stole the film—which they then held for ransom—and demanded the student government donate $3,000 to Salvadoran death squads or the KKK!

These Ivy League brownshirts were also active in sponsoring forums for the mercenary Nicaraguan contra scum, circulating a Nazi-like petition demanding the internment of gays in concentration camps, and harassing an anti-"Star Wars" professor in conjunction with the misnamed "Accuracy in Academia" outfit. (The Spartacist League has filed a libel lawsuit against the Accuracy in Academia witchhunters. See "AIA: Reagan's McCarthyites," *WV* No. 423, 6 March.)

The *Midway Review* is but one of a slew of ultraright "newspapers" which have served as rallying points for Reagan reaction on American campuses. Last year, student editors of these papers were flown to Washington for a news conference with imperialist dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick. The other student newspaper at UC, the *Chicago Maroon*, ran an informative front-page exposé on May 8 which revealed the web of reaction surrounding the *Midway Review* in all its sordid detail:

- The *Midway*'s registered agent, Guy Hoch, is state director of the Civilian Matériel Assistance, a sinister outfit which grabbed headlines when two of its members were shot down in a contra plane over Nicaragua after bombing a school and killing four children.
- CMA's membership overlaps with Chicago Nazis in the "America First" committee, responsible for whipping up race-hatred against blacks in the white enclave of Marquette Park on Chicago's southwest side.
- *Midway Review* staffers Russell Miller and David White are linked to violent anti-abortionist Joe Scheidler, and were themselves arrested in October 1985 for harassing and preventing a woman from entering an abortion clinic.

Administration Goes to Bat for Racists

At 2:30 a.m. on the morning of May 15, Edward Turkington, the UC associate dean of students, raided the *Maroon* office with two campus cops, claiming that the university's office of telecommunications had traced a series of harassing phone calls to the *Maroon*. The recipients of the calls just happened to be Russell Miller and his "great white brothers." *Maroon* staffers were interrogated separately, urged to fink on their coworkers, and in true McCarthyite fashion asked, "Are you a communist? Are you gay?"

In response to this witchhunt the Spartacus Youth Club issued a leaflet demanding, "Hands Off the *Maroon*!" How come the office of telecommunications was never so obliging to the victims of "White Brotherhood" harassment? And why was Russell Miller lurking outside the building during Turkington's raid? As the Spartacus Youth Club stated in their leaflet, "The whole affair stinks like a dead rat in July.... What we are witnessing is a classic set-up resting on nothing more than a Hitlerite Big Lie—and the administration is lapping it up." Drive the *Midway Review* scum off campus! Stop UC administration/police harassment of the *Maroon*!

On May 21, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance organized a rally to protest the right-wing harassment. Emboldened by the administration's action on his behalf, *Midway Review* editor Russell Miller heckled speakers and attempted to disrupt the protest. He was joined by another fascistic clot called "Legions of Barbarossa," after Operation Barbarossa, Hitler's vain attempt to destroy the Soviet Union, whose Red Army and heroic peoples (at a cost of 20 million lives) crushed the Nazi Third Reich. The provocation by UC's Nazi-lovers should have been anticipated: a united-front mobilization centered on labor and including all intended victims of these attacks could have ended this reborn Hitlerite youth campaign on the spot. At the demonstration, several Spartacist supporters attempted to lead rally participants to take action against these brazen provocateurs. The campus cops, however, moved in and formed a "cordon sanitaire," physically defending the "right" of the proto-fascists to attend a rally of their victims.

There should be no illusions in the UC administration, which exists to serve the imperialist masters. Originally, the proposed name for UC was "Rockefeller University," after the foremost robber barons of the American imperialist empire. UC played a key role in the "Manhattan Project," developing the A-bomb to obliterate Hiroshima and

continued on page 9

WV Photo

Grotesque outrage: Nazi scum paint symbol of genocide on monument to Holocaust victims, Skokie, Illinois.

Young Spartacus

Midway Review's Russell Miller. Drive the preppie brownshirts off campus!

Apartheid Trial at Columbia U.

Blaming the Victims

On April 21, New York City police brutally attacked and busted 50 anti-racist students at a sit-in at Columbia University. The students were protesting Columbia's cover-up and refusal to prosecute the perpetrators of a racist mob attack on black students one month earlier. Charges against the protesters were thrown out of criminal court, but the university is determined to extract its pound of flesh through its own disciplinary hearings.

On the first day of the hearings, a sign reading "Columbia Kangaroo Court" was stuck on the door of the hearing room. There's no jury at this trial, and the two "hearing officers" act like apartheid prosecutors in a South African court. When a defense witness told what she saw at the sit-in, the prosecution tried to slap charges on her for simply admitting she was there! "Evidence" against the students was obtained through brazen surveillance of the protest by a plainclothes cop who videotaped the protest.

Students have shown guts and open defiance of these star-chamber proceedings. Refusing to identify themselves except by number tags, they've got administration officials poring over yearbooks trying to determine just who the victims of this racist inquisition are. The students have put Columbia University on trial, making political speeches from the stand and uproariously razzing every dim quip and racist insult by the prosecution. A mother of a black woman freshman testified how she traveled all the way from New Mexico to stay with her daughter. Returning to the dorm room one night, she found Klan posters on the walls and a lynched teddy bear outside her daughter's door.

Hill/Columbia Spectator

NYC cops storm anti-racist sit-in, maul and arrest 50 Columbia students, April 21.

Bill Sales, a black student leader of the 1968 Columbia strike, joined the April 21 protest and testified for the defense. When asked what he saw Columbia's top cop Dominick Moro doing, Sales responded: "He was prepared to do what policemen do: use state-sanctioned violence to solve ruling-class problems." Sales later told *Young Spartacus*, "Columbia is *not* acting out of character. It's exemplifying the 'Let's take them to the wall' attitude we're seeing nationally."

We reprint below a protest statement distributed by the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club.

3 June 1987

In the wake of the March 22 assault on black Columbia students by a mob of white jocks and fraternity members, the university is viciously prosecuting the *victims* while running a protection racket for the racist assailants. This elite university has become home to the Confederate flag of slavery and Ku Klux Klan recruiting materials have appeared in classrooms. During an April 21 anti-racist protest at Hamilton Hall, the administration brought city cops onto the campus, for the first time since the 1968 Columbia student strike, for a brutal mass arrest.

The junior Bothas in Low Library act like apartheid rulers in black Harlem, evicting tenants from Columbia-owned housing, busting campus unions and ordering the surveillance, beating and arrest of students at integrated, anti-racist protests. The emancipation of blacks and working people will come through mobilizing the victims of racist terror—workers, faculty, students and the Harlem community, behind the social power of the labor movement—to finish the Civil War and put an end once and for all to racist terror and the capitalist system that breeds it. The Columbia Spartacus Youth Club demands: Drop All Charges Against the Anti-Racist Protesters! Cops Off Campus! Down with Columbia's Kangaroo Court! ■

Dean Epps Gags Anti-Racist Protesters

Harvard

In a frontal attack on the right of student protest, the Harvard University administration has suspended one student and placed 13 others on probation for protesting South African vice consul Duke Kent-Brown at his appearance here on March 24. The organizers of the protest, the Southern Africa Solidarity Committee (SASC), had hoped to engage the apartheid apologist in a "debate" with a representative of the African National Congress who was present at a rally outside the main entrance to the lecture hall where Kent-Brown was speaking.

To ensure Kent-Brown's exit through the main door, students inside the lecture hall sat down in front of two side doors about 30 minutes into his speech. At this point Harvard cops rushed the podium, roughed up protesters and *shut down the forum!* After breaking up the meeting with its cops, the administration went after protesters on trumped-up charges including putting Kent-Brown "in physical fear of his safety."

At the rally outside, Harvard food service workers union president Domenic Bozzotto succinctly answered arguments that the protest violated Kent-Brown's "free speech": "He's got blood on his hands and he's in there worrying if he's going to get his free speech" (*Crimson*, 25 April).

As the Spartacus Youth Club noted in a leaflet distributed at Harvard:

> ". . . the event smacks of a deliberate provocation by the Harvard Conservative Club. These junior Reaganites invited Kent-Brown in the first place. Then they snapped photos of the crowd to supply Dean Epps with 'evidence' and even offered to pay $1,000 if the administration would repress protesters. They were apparently looking for an incident to test out Harvard's newly streamlined machinery for political repression."

The "new" repressive machinery, the "Student-Faculty Judicial Board," is a reincarnation of the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR), formed in the aftermath of the 1969 Harvard student strike as a virtual military tribunal to snuff out political protest. The CRR, recognized and despised as the administration's star chamber, was boycotted by Harvard students from its inception in 1970. As for the $1,000 bounty offered by the Conservative Club, to our knowledge they haven't come through with the dough.

At a May 12 rally protesting the charges against the student protesters, Harvard student Bill Hughes spoke for the Spartacus Youth Club:

> "We in the SYC say: Hands off all anti-apartheid protesters! Drop the charges! It was a good thing that the apologist for the racist apartheid regime did not go unprotested. Duke Kent-Brown makes his living by apologizing for the daily systematic oppression and murder of blacks by the all-white apartheid regime, a government that has since murdered six black trade unionists and carried out a terror bombing raid on Namibia. The fact that this man was given the chance to speak here at Harvard was an insult and provocation against all anti-racist students who want to see the death of apartheid."

The reprisals against anti-racist students at Harvard occur in the context of outbreaks of racist violence on campuses in the Boston area and nationwide. Last January at Harvard, a rock was thrown through a window at a black student in Currier House by a self-proclaimed "Negro hit squad." And recently eight black teenagers filed a $2 million civil suit against the Harvard police, after campus cops threatened them with billy clubs and threw three of them against a storefront. At the May 12 rally the SYC spokesman called for linking the fight against apartheid and racist terror at home to the power of the working class:

> ". . . this means a fight to break militant students away from the Democratic and Republican parties. While Reagan was saluting Nazi graves at Bitburg, black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode bombed and burned to death members of the black MOVE commune. The Democratic Party is not the party of progress but the party of 'segregation forever' George Wallace, Jimmy 'ethnic purity' Carter and Tom Metzger of the KKK. And both the Conservative Club and the Democratic Club h... e brought contras here to speak at Harvard . . .
>
> "Racist provocations and attacks must be smashed by the power of labor in alliance with all anti-racist fighters. On the campuses and elsewhere, the Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students and youth to the fight for a socialist revolution, to build workers parties to smash racist terror from Soweto to South Boston. Racist oppression will only be eradicated by overthrowing capitalism, the system that breeds it." ■

Young Spartacus

Harvard, March 24: Three hundred protest apartheid mouthpiece Duke Kent-Brown.

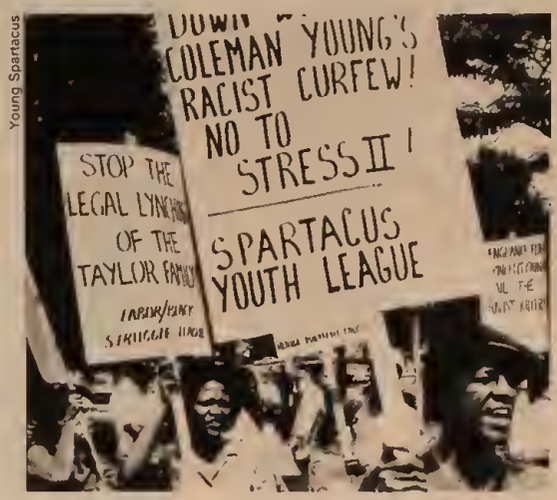
Down with Racist Youth Curfew in Detroit!

The Detroit city council has imposed a draconian curfew banning youth from the streets at night, using as its excuse the high crime rate that has given "Motor City" the nickname "Murder City." It will be enforced by Detroit's notoriously racist cops, who are well known for their propensity to shoot blacks first and ask questions later. If you're young and you're black, you're a target. Along with the curfew is a new "Parental Responsibility Ordinance," under which parents who let their kids out of the house at night or "knowingly" allow them to associate with "juvenile delinquents" will be fined, sent to "parental training" courses or thrown in the slammer! The black working people and youth of Detroit are made scapegoats for the capitalist crisis that has thrown thousands onto the scrap heap, forcing them to live in increasingly desperate conditions while the idle factories rust away.

Last September, council member John Peoples proclaimed that it was time to "crack some heads" and called for a new form of the STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") program of the early 1970s during which killer cops routinely gunned down black youth. Council president Erma Henderson originally proposed a 7 *p.m.* curfew; other council members objected only because some youth would be prevented from attending church activities! Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young opposed the curfew—because he claimed *it was more "lenient"* than the one *he* imposed in 1983. Instead, this front man for racist cutbacks proposed massive police sweeps of schools and parks and said crime in Detroit wouldn't be stopped until more prisons are built. His idea? Detention camps in Michigan's Upper Peninsula where youth would "learn discipline and skills"!

The Detroit schools are already like prisons; in April unannounced weapons searches in the high schools were resumed following a shooting at Murray-Wright High School where one student was killed and two others wounded. At Osborn H.S. on May 1, security guards formed a gauntlet at the entrance and herded students through a metal detector manned by Detroit city cops. Police found a total of two knives and a couple of razors, terrorizing over 2,000 students in the process of their raid.

The racist curfew only makes black Detroit resemble even more an occupied black township in South Africa—what's next, a pass system? Detroit's rulers aim to forcibly slam a lid on the frustrations and outrage of the largely black ghetto masses. Youth will be forced to stay in sweltering slum housing or risk the deadly police dragnets. The "stop youth crime" campaign plays on working people's very real fears of violence and crime in Detroit, which has escalated dramatically over the past two years. But the curfew and Big Brother "parenting" program will not stop crime but *increase* the criminal terror by Detroit cops who've been given a green light to bust, beat and blow away black youth. With ghetto youth trapped in the vicious cycle of unemployment, prison and drugs, it will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist system of imperialist war, choking poverty and despair. Down with the racist curfew! Disarm the killer cops! ■



Young Spartacus

Wayne State University, 1983: Detroit auto workers and students join Spartacist protest against Coleman Young's racist curfew.

Anti-Gay Attacks...

(continued from page 7)

Nagasaki. In the '70s, the university's notorious "Chicago Boys," Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman, forged the starvation economic policies for Chilean dictator Pinochet.

The university has also been on the cutting edge in experimentation with "social engineering" on the home front. In the early 1900s, black residents were driven out of neighboring Hyde Park through a murderous campaign of bombings, beatings and harassment. In the 1930s and '40s, the university led the racist fight to keep Hyde Park lily-white, spending some $84,000 to uphold anti-black restrictive covenants (finally struck down by the Supreme Court in 1948). Today, the campus cops ape the apartheid rulers, enforcing a virtual pass law system, routinely harassing blacks who venture onto campus—including students.

Chicago: Labor and Blacks Must Smash KKK/Nazi Scum!

The oppression of homosexuals, like the oppression of women, has historically served as an index of more general social and political attitudes.

WV Photo

3,000-strong SL-initiated united front blocked Nazi provocation on Gay Pride Day, Chicago, 1982.

"Segregation City" is a focal point for Klan/Nazi attacks, and they're using the AIDS hysteria to whip up anti-homosexual mob terror. Nationally, the number of anti-gay attacks (including 80 homicides) reported to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force jumped to 4,946 in 1986, compared with 2,042 the previous year (*Chicago Tribune*, 11 May). The *Midway Review* crowd takes their cues from Reagan/Meese whose Supreme Court upheld reactionary "states' rights" sodomy laws last year and is now using the widespread fear of AIDS as a pretext to unleash police-state measures, from mandatory testing to exclusion of foreign-born people seeking residency in the U.S. While Reagan's contra butchers try to "roll back Communism" in Central America, the *Midway*/"White Brotherhood" gang does its bit to whip up a McCarthyite witchhunt on campus by targeting political and civil rights activists.

Provocations by the "Brotherhood" at UC occur in the context of an upsurge of white-supremacist terror in Chicago. Last June, the Klan mobilized 3,000 screaming, rock-throwing bigots to enforce Marquette Park's "ethnic purity." Black Democratic mayor Harold Washington, himself on the Klan's hit list, unleashed his racist cops to arrest anti-fascist fighters. Several members of Progressive Labor Party were busted and still face felony charges for trying to stop the fascists in Marquette Park.

Recently, in the early morning hours of June 1, the Nazis brought their anti-Semitic filth to the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie, home of some 7,000 concentration camp survivors. Less than 24 hours after a ceremony unveiling a Holocaust memorial, nightriding fascists completely defaced the statue with swastikas. The program behind this symbol is genocide: the Nazis yearn to transform Skokie into a death camp. But in October 1980, when the Nazis tried to goose-step with their swastikas in adjacent Evanston, they were *run out* by 2,500 outraged Holocaust survivors and their allies, including a 70-strong contingent of Spartacist supporters.

It is desperately necessary to crush the growing fascist threat in Chicago with powerful working-class action, championing the rights of every oppressed and exploited sector of the population! Linked to the social power of labor, students can and must play a role in this crucial struggle to beat back the fascists. What's needed to mobilize that power is a revolutionary Trotskyist party. The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win students and youth to the fight to build such a party, which will lead the working class and black masses to power and drive the race-hate terrorists and gay-hashing bigots back into their holes—permanently. ■

WV Photo

1983: Chicago Teachers Union struck back at Harold Washington's union-busting cutbacks. Integrated labor struggle is key to smashing Klan/Nazi threat.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Principles of Communism

Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.

First class: June 24

Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin

See "Today in the Union" for room
For more information: (608) 257-8625

MADISON

Spartacist League Public Offices

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New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

One-Day Strike Shuts Down British Columbia

On Monday, June 1, over 300,000 British Columbia unionists shut down the province for 24 hours. The one-day strike was called by the B.C. Federation of Labour against the provincial Social Credit government's vicious anti-labor offensive. The far-right "Socreds" have run B.C. for decades (with a brief interlude of social democracy) as a private corporate state—the chamber of commerce in power—slashing welfare, seizing Native Indians' lands and busting the unions, all in the name of a "better business climate." But on June 1, the mines, the mills, the lumber camps and the ports were closed down. There were no newspapers, the schools were closed and rail and ferry workers effectively shut down transportation in the West Coast province.

The British Columbia labor movement, historically the most militant and class-conscious proletariat in English-speaking North America, has the muscle to galvanize powerful class struggle, not only in B.C. but up and down the coast and across Canada, to bust the union-busters. The June 1 strike expressed the anger and determination of the ranks locked in a life-and-death battle for the very existence of their unions against the Socred government of provincial premier and fundamentalist bigot William Vander Zalm. But as B.C. Fed president Ken Georgetti said, "We did not call a general strike today," but only "asked our members to demonstrate their opposition to these bills." Facing the legislated decimation of their dues base from above and explosive rank-and-file demands for union action from below, the labor tops called the action as a "stayaway" strike to prevent any mass rallies or pickets which could be a springboard for some hard class struggle.

In April the Socreds announced their "Industrial Relations Reform Act" (Bill 19) under which, as one striker commented, "workers will virtually be slaves." Any strike deemed, by the government, "not in the public interest" would be outlawed. A provincial labor czar would be appointed with sweeping powers to take over the union movement—imposing and overseeing mandatory "secret ballot" votes on any "final" management contract offer, for example. Bill 19 would outlaw secondary picketing, regiment open shop working conditions and empower employers to give the PATCO treatment to any union which refuses to comply with the government's *diktats*. The practice of "double breasting" where employers set up dummy companies to circumvent union contracts is officially sanctioned. And it's open season for scabs as Bill 19 decrees that unions have no right to expel or discipline in any way strikebreakers, company finks and agents provocateurs.

Canadian Labor Protests Union-Busting Laws

Pacific Tribune

Vancouver, May 20—Thousands of trade unionists march against right-wing Social Credit government's strikebreaking offensive.

The fanatical Socred union-busters have targeted the B.C. Federation of Teachers for particular vengeance. A companion piece, Bill 20, would effectively smash the teachers union. The government will set up its own "professional" association which all teachers will be forced to join. The union will have to launch an organizing drive to sign up its *own members*. The teachers federation has until the end of the year to accomplish this reregistration campaign; if not, the government will declare that there is no union. This draconian union-busting bill is the wrath of the Socreds against the militant 1983 teachers strike which almost sparked a province-wide general strike.

At a B.C. labor rally Roy Gautier, president of the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades Council, won a standing ovation when he compared the Socreds to Mussolini. Indeed these anti-labor bills read like a bloody page torn from the annals of the Italian fascists' blackshirt corporatism which made the trade unions an appendage of Mussolini's bonapartist "strong state" apparatus. The Social Credit party got its start as a prairie populist "funny money" party, appealing to backward rural bigotry and anti-Semitism in railing against "Eastern bankers." But in power it has acted as enforcers for the untrammeled rule of big business.

In response to the June 1 general strike B.C. attorney general Brian Smith applied for an injunction to the provincial Supreme Court to stop protests against the government by labor or anyone else. Advocating any measures which could have as their aim "a governmental change in the province" or "pointing out errors in the government of the Province" would be considered illegal! Even the staid conservative Toronto *Globe and Mail* (4 June) is denouncing the injunction as "diabolical." Jim Matkin, head of the B.C. Business Council, thinks the Vander Zalm government (which is even wackier than the Socred government of "Wacky" Bennett who ruled the province for 20 years) has gone too far. What has Matkin worried is that these far-right union-busters might provoke a real labor explosion.

Speaking from his plush parliamentary offices, just down the hall from the all-new prayer room he had installed, B.C. premier Vander Zalm paused between mouthfuls of a honey-dipped croissant to declare that "the suffering everyone is going through at this time, if you can call it that, is going to pay good dividends." The official unemployment rate in B.C. stands at 14 percent. Soup-lines are growing and in Vancouver alone over 200,000 are forced to rely on food subsidies. During last year's Expo extravaganza hundreds of poor and aged were thrown out of slum hotels and left to die on the streets. Vancouver's East Indian community, the largest in North America, is the target of escalating racist terror as their homes are firebombed. Emboldened by the climate of rampant social reaction and lack of any labor response against racist terror, the KKK has marched hooded and robed *in broad daylight* in the streets of Vancouver!

The current anti-labor onslaught is the product of years of betrayals by the trade-union bureaucrats. In 1983, when all of B.C. labor was on the verge of joining militant teachers and government workers on the picket lines in a general strike against Socred austerity and union-busting, then-B.C. Fed president Art Kube burst into tears and called the whole thing off. Longshoremen in B.C. are now saddled with a government-imposed contract because the cowardly bureaucrats kept the ranks chained despite a 94 percent vote for strike action. Last summer lumber, pulp and paper workers were on strike for almost five months only to have their major demands left up to a government arbitrator.

The labor bureaucrats are hitched up with the right-wing social democratic New Democratic Party, which also has its origins in prairie populism. B.C. NDP leader Mike Harcourt, who scabbed on a 1981 municipal workers strike, has declared that all "illegal" strike activity "has to stop" (*Toronto Star*, 13 April). In 1975 it was an NDP government which imposed the most massive strikebreaking law in B.C. history, ordering 60,000 pulp and paper workers, rail workers, supermarket employees and truck drivers back to work. In 1981, the NDP social dems rediscovered the picket line...in defense of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, calling on Polish sailors in Vancouver harbor to jump ship.

The Socreds won't be stopped in the courts or the halls of the legislature but on the picket lines. A powerful flexing of labor's muscle would reverberate across the country. In 1981, B.C. phone workers electrified the labor movement when they occupied every key B.C. Telephone Co. center in the province, holding the property hostage while the company ran to the courts. Key to unchaining the power of B.C. labor is breaking the stranglehold of the bosses' labor lieutenants. This means putting labor in the forefront of the fight against racial oppression and racist terror. Labor must break with the Cold War strikebreakers of the NDP to build a revolutionary workers party which can link up and lead the struggle of all the oppressed in a powerful assault on the whole system of capitalist exploitation. ■

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Maritime Bosses Out for Workers' Blood

Union Tops Knife IBU Strike
ILWU: Shut Down the Coast!

SAN FRANCISCO, June 8—For ten weeks, ever since a 1,000-strong mass picket cleaned the scabs off the docks in Redwood City, Bay Area labor tops led by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Jimmy Herman have sought to wipe out the victory waterfront workers won that day. On March 20, ILWU longshoremen came to the aid of tugboat workers of the allied Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) striking against Crowley Maritime, and stopped the unloading of scab barges from Hawaii. But Herman & Co. desperately want "peace" on the docks before the ILWU contract with the PMA maritime bosses expires at the end of the month. So on the night of June 3, ILWU Local 34 announced the picket line at Redwood City was being taken down. The dispatch telephone tape cynically proclaimed, "Good news for the union!"

The March 20 action inspired Bay Area shipyard workers to break the stranglehold of their metal trades bureaucrats and walk out ten days later. Immediately, the bureaucrats began their strikebreaking sabotage. First they split up the shipyard strikers: two San Francisco yards were forced back to work, while Todd Shipyard Co. workers have been hung out to dry. In the IBU strike, now in its fourth month, there is massive scabbing up and down the coast, as ILWU tops have ordered picket lines taken down. Workers at another Crowley subsidiary, the Red and White ferry service in San Francisco Bay, had their contract extended for a year. The crowning blow took place when the picket line at Redwood City was removed on June 4, and non-union truckers hauled 33 containers out of port.

As we go to press, two of the scab barges have been towed to Seattle and are tied up at the West Seattle Buoy; a third was reportedly unloaded in April under court order in Portland, and a fourth sent to Vancouver. Waterfront workers told *WV* that Crowley will try to discharge the cargo at the Seaway Terminal, in an isolated section of the port. As an IBU striker told *WV*, "It will take a port shutdown to generate the manpower necessary to shut down the Seaway Terminal." Damn right! From IBU strikers to the ILWU to embattled shipyard strikers, shut down the coast!

Fink/Times Tribune

WV Photo

Port of Redwood City: On March 20 (above) when 1,000 longshoremen ran off scabs, and on June 4 as Crowley containers roll out after ILWU tops removed pickets.

Jimmy Herman needs a quiet Bay Area waterfront to orchestrate a sellout. But the PMA bosses aren't giving him anything to sell. Emboldened by the sweeping takeaways imposed on the East and Gulf Coast International Longshoremen's Association, the PMA's target is clear: to wipe out the gains won in the historic 1934 San Francisco general strike, especially the *union hiring hall*. A major study of the national longshore industry, initiated by the companies and the government U.S. Maritime Administration, squarely targets the longshore unions:

> "The present problem [lack of productivity] does not lie in the equipment or facilities.... [It] is the state of labor-management relations. The primary underlying economic force has been the need for reduction in gang sizes.... Modern management techniques point in the direction of core labor groups that would be employed on a steady basis, supplemented by casual labor.... British dock workers are assigned to port employers on a permanent basis; Australian workers are assigned on a weekly basis. In the United States, even less within-firm continuity is achieved due to the operation of rotary hiring halls."
>
> —Pacific Maritime Association Annual Report, 1986

Scandalously, *among the nine members of the commission* which authored this battle plan for the waterfront bosses was *ILWU International Vice President Rudy Rubio!* This is the same Rubio who threatened delegates to the State Caucus in Honolulu in March that "The employers are demanding major concessions in wages and benefits which they intend to implement on July 1st if no agreement can be reached" (Local 142 *Voice of the ILWU*, 20 March).

At every turn the Bay Area union tops have been loyal hatchetmen for the Democratic Party and the Pentagon. When the Navy (in league with SF

continued on page 15

Exploitation!

Productivity is rising, real wages are falling. "For the first time since World War II, sustained and substantial productivity increases are not being shared with workers in the form of higher wages," reports the *New York Times* (4 June). With the working class kept in a straitjacket by the labor bureaucracy, real wages fell sharply last year. This is in stark contrast to the steady rise in output per man hour, averaging over 4 percent annually in the last five years.

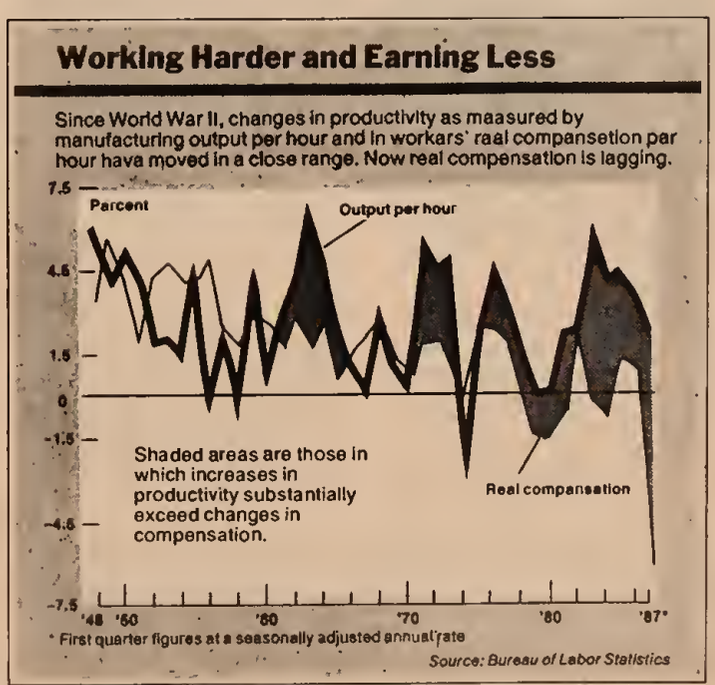
Fred Wright/UE News

Cartoon depicts Nixon's "Phase 3" wage-price controls in early 1970s. Control board included rabid reactionary AFL-CIO head George Meany.

In fact, average real weekly earnings for America's blue-collar workers have fallen to the level of the early 1960s, a quarter century ago! The graph printed here shows the diverging annual changes in wages and manufacturing output. This measure of "productivity" is in fact just the crude expression of the capitalists' bottom line—how much they can squeeze out of workers every hour.

And the bosses aren't content with turning the Midwest into a rust bowl. They salivate at the thought of driving down workers' wages to the level of their Third World economic colonies. "Although it is hard to imagine workers' wages in the United States falling to the levels in Brazil or Korea, some American executives seem determined to close the gap," says the *Times*.

For decades American liberals and labor bureaucrats (not to speak of right-wingers) have sneered at the Marxist view of class struggle as "outdated" and "irrelevant" to the condition of the working masses in the U.S. of A. But the bosses' brutal campaign of union-busting, wage gouging, speedup and layoffs has meant driving up the rate of exploitation.



The New York Times/June 4, 1987

A decade ago former United Auto Workers head Douglas Fraser noted that business leaders "have chosen to wage a one-sided class war in this country." He should know since he's been on their side, from joining the Chrysler board of directors to shoving multibillion-dollar giveback contracts down the throats of the membership.

As the capitalists increasingly utilize the lockout, and bring in the courts, cops and National Guard to break strikes, the labor bureaucracy preaches Japan-bashing protectionism, reliance on the Democratic Party and playing by the bosses' rules. This program condemns workers' struggles to the graveyard, instead pitting workers in this country against their class brothers internationally. There must be a class-struggle fight to oust the labor traitors—labor's gotta play hardball to win! ■

AIDS Witchhunt...

(continued from page 1)

parents. Whole families are dying. AIDS is targeting the poorest, most oppressed victims of racism and capitalist scarcity—those who already have nothing and can expect worse than nothing. For them, AIDS often means homelessness. New York State, where the infection is spreading most rapidly among drug users, continues to refuse to distribute sterile needles. And possession of a syringe without a prescription is a *crime* in most states. *The anti-drug witchhunt is helping to spread AIDS.*

At the Washington International Conference on AIDS, a researcher from South Africa described a study of blood samples taken from 330,000 black workers from the hellish gold and platinum mines. Under the vicious apartheid laws these miners spend months, often over a year, separated from their families while they live in harracks with no option but to find sex as they can. Concern over their "lifestyle," as this ghoulish researcher amazingly described these men's enforced separation from their homes, prompted the study, in which participation was "not optional" for the miners nor, presumably, for the "self-confessed prostitutes" and "dubious" women included. Conference participants were outraged; a CDC spokesman pointed out, "It would seem that the only conceivable way of preventing STDs [sexually transmitted diseases], or one possible way, in this population, would be for them to have access to their wives a little more frequently."

Underwood & Underwood

Ellis Island internment pens: only poor immigrants in steerage had to go through lengthy medical checks.

The grotesque racism of this study is revolting—yet in the United States blacks have been used as guinea pigs in "scientific" experiments. For *decades* the U.S. Public Health Service conducted an "experiment" only one step away from Nazi Germany, known as the Tuskegee "had blood" study. For *40 years*, from 1932 to 1972, it "studied" 400 black sharecroppers with syphilis, who were never told they had it and *never treated*, so that "researchers" could watch the ravages of the untreated disease as it destroyed their bodies and minds! This continued even after the penicillin cure for syphilis was discovered.

Fear, Loathing and Bourgeois Faction-Fighting over Death

Politicians are quickly realizing that AIDS will be a major campaign issue in 1988. The bourgeoisie is now engaged in a faction fight over AIDS. Hard-core fundamentalist Reaganites, who think AIDS is god's scourge against "degenerates" and demand mandatory testing, are pitted against those like Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, who at least understand AIDS is caused by a virus, not "bad morals." But their advocacy of "education," "safe sex" and "self-control" is no solution either.

In fact this division of bourgeois opinion is historic: in both world wars the same fight took place. Religious folks said, "our boys will be pure," and tried to shut down all the whorehouses. During World War I, closing down red-light districts became part of the "hygienic gospel"; during World War II thousands of women were detained in "civilian conservation camps" because the overcrowded jails could not house them all. The somewhat more sober Army showed pictures of what would happen to soldiers if they did not use rubbers.

Reagan's reactionaries in the Moral Majority and their ilk hark back to medieval times, when the Pope called the Black Plague "the pestilence with which God is afflicting the Christian people." As a disease which is spread in part through the exchange of body fluids during sex, AIDS has also been subject to the same moralistic and vicious prejudices attached to venereal diseases. So the capitalist politicians thought it was more than safe to wash their hands of AIDS victims.

Instead of searching for a cure or control for AIDS by the adequate expenditure of money on thoughtful research, the Reaganites and their partners-in-hysteria have proposed mandatory, mass testing, including for marriage license applicants. The U.S. military already tests all recruits. The testing and exclusion plans for immigrants are aimed in particular at blacks and Hispanics applying for the INS "amnesty" program, estimated at some four million workers and their families, who have been in the U.S. for years.

Certainly testing the blood supply, now instituted in the U.S. and many other countries, is a crucial public health measure. Many individuals, especially those in high risk categories, also want to take the test; though it does them as individuals not a bit of good since there's no cure, the question of protecting their loved ones is of vital concern. We support voluntary, *anonymous* testing available for all who want it, not so-called "confidential" tests where your name is taken. Who really believes Meese's secret police won't pull those files at will? Indeed, in Washington, D.C. a supposed "confidential" list of 500 people who underwent testing at a city health clinic has already been "lost."

The AIDS test also can come out "false positive"—or "false negative," because it can take up to *six months* after exposure to the virus before antibodies show up, which leaves open a window of opportunity for spreading the disease and contamination of the blood supply. Further, nobody knows what percentage of people with antibodies will eventually become sick, although it does seem that the risk increases as time passes. If the purpose were curative or epidemiological rather than punitive, mass testing could be valuable both to the individual and society as a whole. But that won't happen in this racist, capitalist society.

Nobody knows how far and how fast the AIDS virus will spread through the U.S. population as a whole. So far research shows that the spread seems to be quite slow. The small numbers of heterosexually transmitted cases are concentrated among partners in "high risk" categories, bisexual men and intravenous drug users, who account for 90 percent of AIDS cases in the U.S. A recent study estimated that a woman's odds of being infected from a single act of sexual intercourse with an infected man was about one in 1,000. Repeated intercourse increases the chance, with 36 percent of women becoming infected after more than 600 episodes.

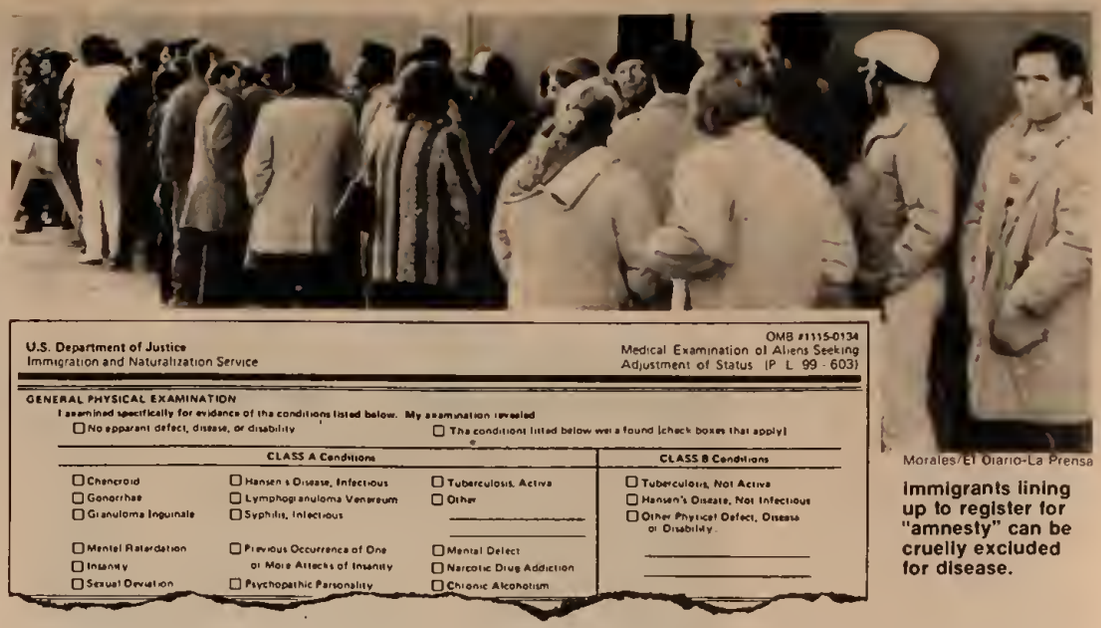
Even the simple act of taking the test could subject people to the full force of social bigotry. AIDS victims are fired, kicked out of their apartments, refused life insurance, isolated, treated like lepers in the Middle Ages. Those *currently* most at risk, homosexuals and drug users, are already victims of, intense social prejudice; so why shouldn't they evade the tests? Mandatory testing will lead only to blacklisting by insurers, employers, landlords and cops—and set up many for years of helpless waiting to see if their sentence of death will be carried out.

Shock over the AIDS epidemic stems, at least in the U.S., from the belief that "modern medicine" has conquered infectious diseases. But this is illusory certainly from the standpoint of biology; leprosy and tuberculosis, two of mankind's most devastating scourges, remain today widespread infections on the planet. Both are curable, if treated early on—yet enforced poverty and scarcity of resources prevent their eradication. As Stephen Jay Gould, America's most prominent biologist and lecturer/author on scientific subjects, recently wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (19 April): "Human history has been marked by episodic plagues. We have had a respite, really, only since the influenza pandemic at the end of World War I"—an epidemic which swept away whole families and neighborhoods, and killed more people worldwide than the war itself.

Medicine under capitalism may prove capable of finding some answers to this frightening epidemic. But the prejudices of class society *impede* this work. Even when a treatment or cure is found, its application will necessarily be deformed by the racism, sexism and class bias of this profit system, since decent medical care is denied those who don't have big bucks. Medicine for profit means that giant pharmaceutical companies and hospitals bankrupt patients, while the insurance companies write off those who really need coverage as "bad risks." Society's resources must be mobilized on a worldwide scale to secure the thought, time and money necessary to beat AIDS. Equally necessary is free, quality health care for all!

No to "Disease Exclusion" Acts!

The director of the World Health Organization's AIDS program noted at the Washington conference that the global epidemic has spawned a tidal wave of prejudice "against Westerners in Asia, against Africans in Europe, of homosexuals, of prostitutes, of hemophiliacs, of recipients of blood transfusions," noting fear of AIDS has become "a direct threat to free travel between countries" (*New York Times*, 3 June). The proposal to ban immigrants testing



U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

OMB #1115-0134
Medical Examination of Aliens Seeking Adjustment of Status (P. L. 99-603)

GENERAL PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

I examined specifically for evidence of the conditions listed below. My examination revealed

☐ No apparent defect, disease, or disability ☐ The conditions listed below were found (check boxes that apply)

CLASS A Conditions			CLASS B Conditions
☐ Chancroid	☐ Hansen's Disease, Infectious	☐ Tuberculosis, Active	☐ Tuberculosis, Not Active
☐ Gonorrhea	☐ Lymphogranuloma Venereum	☐ Other _____	☐ Hansen's Disease, Not Infectious
☐ Granuloma Inguinale	☐ Syphilis, Infectious		☐ Other Physical Defect, Disease or Disability _____
☐ Mental Retardation	☐ Previous Occurrence of One or More Attacks of Insanity	☐ Mental Defect	
☐ Insanity		☐ Narcotic Drug Addiction	
☐ Sexual Deviation	☐ Psychopathic Personality	☐ Chronic Alcoholism	

Morales/El Diario-La Prensa

Immigrants lining up to register for "amnesty" can be cruelly excluded for disease.

Crown Publishers

Eisenberg/Village Voice

Spanish Inquisition's Torquemada, the Ed Koch of his day.

Rick Reinhard

Fundamentalist bigot Phyllis Schlafly (right) is attacking Surgeon General C. Everett Koop for advocating sex education in public schools, including on use of condoms.

Brack/Black Star

positive for HIV antibodies is cruel, inhumane and unnecessary.

The disease exclusion clauses are grotesque, used today simply to enforce anti-foreign and other prejudices. (Homosexuals are *already* banned by law from the U.S. under outrageous "sexual deviance" exclusion clauses which are obviously used selectively and punitively.) Sometimes quarantine is a necessary measure for containing a highly infectious disease. But there is no scientific rationale for excluding these people—*they should be treated*. Syphilis, gonorrhea, leprosy, tuberculosis, ringworm of the scalp are all still on the INS books as diseases for which people can be denied entry. All are controllable, most curable, including leprosy in its early stages. In this advanced industrial age, disease is more than ever an *international* problem. What's needed is an international planned economy, run for human needs, not profit. The urgency of the AIDS epidemic only underscores the need to be rid of imperialist barbarism once and for all—for international socialist revolution!

The American government's self-righteous, arrogant viciousness in seeking to transfer the opprobrium for AIDS to "foreigners" is not of course unique. Japan is considering restrictions for "non-Japanese." The Soviet Union is considering testing all foreign students, and the West German province of Bavaria has proposed very severe measures to keep out of its borders any "non-Europeans" suspected of AIDS infection. In France, the growing fascist movement headed by Le Pen whips up AIDS hysteria against the largely Arab and black African foreign workers. AIDS hysteria will likely fall hardest on black Africans and Haitians.

The United States, a nation *built* by waves of disease-ridden immigrants, starting at least with the Puritans, has taken the lead in hysterical exclusions today. Our "founding fathers," after all, were undoubtedly as syphilitic (not to mention alcoholic) a bunch as ever tried with trembling fingers to put quill to parchment. The Irish potato famine victims who flocked to America in 1847 died by the thousands in typhus epidemics breaking out on sailing ships—10,000 died in one Canadian quarantine facility alone. When boatloads of slaves were eagerly imported in the South and cheap labor was wanted in the North, at a time when science hadn't the resources and knowledge to find cures, contagious diseases were simply a tragic, horrifying fact of life. Those who survived the passage were welcome—black slaves to backbreaking labor under the master's whip, immigrants to the lowest-paying jobs and filthy, cramped ghettos where typhoid, typhus and cholera spread like wildfire. In Chicago, for example, in 1851 a cholera epidemic wiped out every single person in a three-block area composed mainly of Norwegian immigrants, while in New York the Irish in the 1850s comprised 85 percent of the foreign-born admitted to Bellevue Hospital.

To the extent quarantining and exclusion for diseases became regularized prior to World War I, it was overtly class-biased. The notorious Ellis Island holding pens were reserved exclusively for those who made the sea voyage in steerage, while first class passengers were let into the U.S. after a few brief questions. The tragedies of separated families were enormous, as some five percent were rejected, with many committing suicide rather than face the uncertain voyage back to lonely, desperate poverty.

Chinese in the U.S. were victimized by sweeping Asian exclusion laws including the denial of immigration, land ownership and intermarriage. Savage prejudice against these workers, used as a reservoir of pathetically cheap labor, was most evident in California. During the 1850s "gold rush" era, racist mob violence drove Chinese out of the mining camps, out of town after town, industry after industry, wherever they were seen as competitors. When the Union Pacific railroad (built largely with Chinese labor) was completed in 1869, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (at the behest of the racist labor tops), which among other things prevented the wives of Chinese men in the U.S. from joining their husbands. The total ban on Chinese immigration existed from 1904 to 1943, when Congress magnanimously allowed 105 Chinese to enter each year! The intersection of this racism with fear of disease was evident in San Francisco in the 1900s, when an outbreak of plague led to proposals to raze Chinatown and forcibly detain the inhabitants. Proposals to "quarantine" AIDS victims today recall the burning infamy of the U.S. government's forcible incarceration of all Japanese Americans in concentration camps in the hysteria of World War II.

Prior to World War I the government began codifying the exclusion of whole categories of people, including polygamists, anarchists and other radicals, convicts, "lunatics," people with tuberculosis, prostitutes, illiterates and virtually all immigrants from Asia. Both the main U.S. immigration acts, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, were passed during violent anti-red scares, xenophobia and resurgent racism. We oppose the exclusion of people from U.S. citizenship based on race, politics or sexual orientation—and the disease exclusion provisions, too, should be consigned to the garbage bin of history!

Sygma AP

Hollywood star Rock Hudson at height of career and shortly before he died of AIDS.

"Safe Sex" vs. the Human Species

The fanatic fundamentalism of the clot around Reagan is so grotesque that Surgeon General Koop has become a hero in such unlikely quarters as New York's rad-lib *Village Voice*. The fundamentalists claim that we are *not* animals, thus we don't need condoms, because only lustful animals would ever do anything requiring one. It's all supposed to be done by a ghostly hand from above. Some of these hard-core nuts believe *marriage* is a sacred ban against AIDS. California Congressman William Dannemeyer claims Koop ought to be saying "Pre-marital sex can be hazardous to your health" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 June). Norman Podhoretz, *Commentary* editor and "degenerate"-basher from way back, seems to think AIDS only affects the (in his eyes) guilty, claiming "AIDS is *Not* a Risk for All" (*New York Post*, 2 June).

Koop himself is a very conservative, deeply religious evangelical Christian, right-wing and anti-abortion. But as a result of his years of practicing medicine as a pediatrician, he seems to understand that we are a mammalian species with a propensity to procreate. This has gotten him into a lot of trouble with types like Phyllis Schlafly, who has gone from calling for nuking Russia to demanding obliteration of abortion to accusing Koop of advocating "safe sodomy." Koop simply wants to warn those who screw—including teenagers—that condoms may help stop the spread of AIDS. He noted in an interview with the *Village Voice* ("Citizen Koop," 12 May) that Schlafly actually "came right out and said she was willing to sacrifice that half of the adolescent population that was sexually active just to keep the other half from knowing there are condoms!" As for Judy Brown of the American Life Lobby, who claimed Koop was giving condoms to little kids, he said, "It's crude to say it but she doesn't have any idea of the configuration of an eight-year-old penis in reference to a condom."

We believe that people, especially young people, must *know* about sex because they're sure as hell going to *do* it anyway. Given that this disease is sexually transmitted, education about it, and about sexually transmitted diseases in general, is crucial. Especially for teenagers, this is a burning question. Young people must—and do—make new sexual contacts with new partners. It's called puberty. While many of the gay papers have done their damndest to make "safe sex" into the newest hot perversion, the problem is it's pretty boring. Since given the myriad uncertainties about AIDS and its means of transmission, condoms can't be assumed to guarantee 100 percent safe sex, non-contact masturbation seems to be about the best that truly "safe sex" has to offer.

So we are probably going to be seriously hit by this disease, until a cure or control is found. Think of pregnancy for a moment as a disease some very strong-minded and/or undersexed individuals can protect themselves against the ravages of pregnancy. But our species in general did not evolve down to us through those people who find this easy to do. AIDS is a parallel process, albeit more generally deadly. And the practice of "safe sex," given normal patterns of sexuality, is pretty incongruous. As a general means of protecting the population, it isn't going to work, as it goes very strongly against the grain of a mammalian species.

So we have a big problem. And it's necessary to understand it from a materialist perspective: we are subject no less than any other species to various parasites, bacteria and viruses. Now we are being targeted by a new one. There is nothing unusual about this; diseases have to start sometime, somewhere, as some organism makes an adaptation and finds a new way of perpetuating itself. Those who attempt to find some meaning, usually racist, in the hypothesis that AIDS may have originated in Africa would do well to remember that *people* also originated there. Stephen Jay Gould made it crystal clear: "AIDS represents the ordinary workings of biology, not an irrational or diabolical plague with a moral meaning.... If AIDS is natural, then there is no *message* in its spread." ■

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Spectre of Trotsky...

(continued from page 5)

Brest-Litovsk treaty really about? Three and a half years of imperialist war with Germany broke the old Russian army; soldiers were deserting en masse. As Lenin put it, the peasants in uniform were voting with their feet for peace. When the new Bolshevik government entered peace negotiations with the central powers at Brest-Litovsk, the German high command demanded a peace of surrender, annexing Poland, the Baltic lands, Byelorussia and much of the Ukraine. Voicing the indignation of many Communist militants, Bukharin called for "a holy war against militarism and imperialism." Lenin did not oppose such a war in principle. But he insisted that the fledgling Soviet state did not *at that moment* have the forces to wage it. Even Shatrov's play has Lenin arguing against Bukharin: "A revolutionary war requires an army—we have no army." The Soviet state soon built the Red Army, led by Trotsky, which drove the forces of 14 imperialist powers out of Russia.

Under the slogan "neither war nor peace," Trotsky sought a middle way between Bukharin's call for a revolutionary war and Lenin's willingness to sign a peace of surrender. His formula: "We interrupt the war and do not sign the peace—we demobilize the army." Basically, this was a maneuver to buy time for the German and Austrian working classes to topple Hindenburg/Ludendorff. Again, Lenin did not oppose Trotsky's maneuvering in principle; he simply didn't believe it would work. Without a peace treaty he feared the German high command would immediately resume the offensive, and the German workers would not rise up in time to save the Soviet republic. Lenin's judgment proved realistic. When Trotsky broke off negotiations in mid-February, the Germans did resume the offensive, threatening Petrograd, and dictated even worse peace terms. And the German revolution did not break out until nine months after the Brest-Litovsk treaty was finally signed.

The Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed revolutionary war in principle is totally fraudulent. This was clearly shown in the 1920 Russo-Polish war when Lenin and Trotsky, as it were, switched roles. In the spring of 1920 Poland began as one of defense should be turned into an offensive and revolutionary war began to grow and acquire strength. In principle, of course, I could not possibly have any objection to such a course. The question was simply one of the correlation of forces."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Trotsky was a compulsive military adventurer!

The hardliner on the Bolshevik Central Committee for a revolutionary war against Pilsudski's Poland was none other than Lenin. In particular, he argued that the road linking Soviet power with Germany, then still in the throes of revolution, lay through Warsaw. Speaking to a congress of leather industry workers in October 1920, shortly after the Red Army was turned back from Warsaw, Lenin stated:

> "The Versailles Peace has turned Poland into a buffer state which is to guard against German contact with Soviet communism and is regarded by the Entente as a weapon against the Bolsheviks...
>
> "Had Poland turned Soviet, had the Warsaw workers received from Soviet Russia help they awaited and welcomed, the Peace of Versailles would have been smashed, and the entire international system set up as a result of the victory over Germany would have collapsed. France would not then have had a buffer protecting Germany against Soviet Russia."

So much for the Gorbachev line that Lenin opposed using the Red Army to promote revolution in capitalist Europe!

And it's worth noting that a major cause of the Russian defeat in Poland was that Stalin, then senior commissar on the southern front, repeatedly defied orders from the Soviet Supreme Command to reinforce Tukhachevsky's main army outside Warsaw. This failure allowed Pilsudski, aided by French military advisers, to successfully attack Tukhachevsky's flank. (For a discussion of the 1920 Russo-Polish war and the disputes generated by it within the Bolshevik leadership, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 29, Summer 1980.)

Play on Brest-Litovsk treaty, originally written in 1962 by Mikhail Shatrov (shown above in Izvestia Weekly), portrays Trotsky and Bukharin as authentic Bolshevik leaders.

Return to the Path of Lenin and Trotsky!

Gorbachev and his intellectual supporters douhtless think they're being very clever in handling the explosive Trotsky question. They are rehabilitating him in a backhanded way without actually condemning Stalin for murdering the co-leader of the October Revolution. They have conceded that Trotsky was subjectively a revolutionary while portraying him as an ultraleftist and military adventurer. But Gorbachev will be no more successful in bending the history of Soviet Russia to his line of "peaceful coexistence" than Stalin was in falsifying the history of the revolution with the executioner's bullet.

Politically thoughtful Soviet workers as well as intellectuals will want to see for themselves what Trotsky had to say. If Gorbachev's talk of *glasnost* and removing the "blank spaces" in Soviet history are to mean anything, the state publishing houses should bring out the writings of Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution. There the Soviet reader will find courageous denunciations of Stalin's crimes and betrayals at the time, not half a century late. They will learn of the existence of tens of thousands of Left Oppositionists in the USSR who went to their deaths rather than betray the heritage of October.

They will also find a program to overcome the corruption, social pathology (e.g., widespread alcoholism) and political and economic malaise of Gorbachev's Russia. And they will find a program to end once and for all the terrible threat of nuclear holocaust which hangs over mankind. That program is to return to the road of Lenin, to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to restore soviet democracy by ousting the Kremlin bureaucracy, and extend the October Revolution to the entire planet. ■

The Last Words of Adolf Joffe

Adolf Joffe was one of Trotsky's oldest and closest political collaborators, joining the Bolshevik Central Committee with him in July 1917. His health failing and persecuted by the Stalinist regime, he committed suicide in 1927. Near his deathbed was found a letter to Trotsky.

"I have never doubted the correctness of the way you have pointed out, and you know that for more than twenty years, ever since the 'Permanent Revolution,' I have been with you. But I have always thought that you lacked the inflexibility, the intransigeance of Lenin, his resolution to remain at the task alone, if need he, in the road that he had marked out, sure of a future majority, of a future recognition by all of the rightness of that road. You have always been right politically, beginning with 1905, and I have often told you that with my own ears I have heard Lenin admit that in 1905 it was not he, but you, who were right. In the face of death one does not lie, and I repeat this to you now.

But you have often renounced your right position in favour of an agreement, a compromise, whose value you overestimated. That was wrong, I repeat: politically you have always been in the right, and *now more than ever you are in the right.* Some day the party will understand this, and history be forced to recognize it.

Moreover, don't be afraid today if certain ones desert you."

—from *The Last Words of Adolf Joffe: A Letter to Leon Trotsky*
(16 November 1927)

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Guest Speakers:

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Representative, Committee to Defend Michel Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center

Wadiya Abu-Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, outspoken supporter of MOVE on death row for five years

Lisa Davidson, Spartacist League Speaking in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution

Friday, June 19, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41
116 W. 11th Street

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 3)

mountain border areas of India and China. Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been developing closer ties with India's arch foe Pakistan, to whom Colombo appealed for assistance in setting up an air defense system after the Indian operation. India is already angered by reports that Pakistan has the bomb, and by the U.S. decision to provide Pakistan with AWACS radar planes.

A veritable gaggle of close allies of U.S. imperialism—Britain, Israel, South Korea, Pakistan and Singapore—are providing training and equipment to the Sri Lankan government. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 May) clearly expressed the imperialists' preoccupations:

> "Trincomalee in the hands of pro-Soviet forces would be a strategic disaster for the U.S. It would provide Moscow with one more stepping stone, extending its reach from Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East through Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam toward the vital oil routes out of the Persian Gulf, now again a major U.S. concern. Bear bombers and anti-submarine warfare operating from Trincomalee would further tilt the naval balance toward the Soviets."

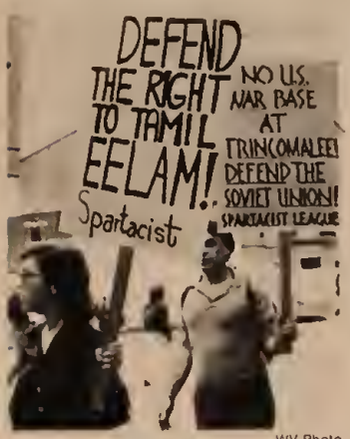
The Indian capitalist ruling class very much fears the growing possibility of a U.S. imperialist-brokered encirclement. Tapping the ugly divide-and-rule legacy of British imperialism, the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive fuels anti-Tamil communal slaughter.

Class Struggle Not Communalist War!

The policies of indiscriminate terrorism endorsed by the Tamil nationalist guerrillas have escalated the communalist slaughter. The latest incident in the cycle of inflammatory racialist violence was on June 1 when passengers on a bus hired by Buddhist monks were machine-gunned in an ambush attributed to Tamil guerrillas. Thirty-seven people were killed, most of them monks. In Colombo, hundreds of Sinhala youth have been lining up at army depots to volunteer, while the Indian high commissioner has warned Indian citizens in Colombo to gather at hotels for safety.

The editor of the liberal magazine *Lanka Guardian*, Mervyn de Silva, laments that "Only a miracle can help us avoid the impending implosion" (*Lanka Guardian*, 15 May). The Sri Lankan left, which for years has been wedded to popular frontism, allied with the most chauvinist Sinhalese forces (notably supporting the "Sinhala Only" movement which first unleashed the anti-Tamil frenzy), is now in despair. But even at this late and ominous hour, it is desperately necessary to forge the Bolshevik-type party, intransigent in its fight for an internationalist revolutionary working-class perspective, that our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are fighting for.

For the right of Tamil Eelam! No to communalist bloodletting! Trinco must not fall into the bloody hands of U.S. imperialism! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■



WV Photo

Boston protest against Sri Lankan prime minister Premadasa, July 28.

Rouen...

(continued from page 2)

branch of the Flunch called by the LTF in conjunction with two groups of "anti-opportunist" members or former members of the CP, Tribune Communiste and the Union Communiste de France. Some 70 people participated in a spirited picket line.

The escalating confrontation around the racist segregation in Rouen is a crystallization of the current political situation in France today. Le Pen's National Front openly parades defending the Nazi-collaborationist Vichy dictatorship as the trial of the SS "Butcher of Lyon" Klaus Barbie continues its grisly testimony. While Le Pen pursues his rabid attempts to whip up anti-AIDS hysteria, the reactionary ruling coalition of Jacques Chirac has openly declared that it needs the support of these fascist gangsters to stay in power and to win the presidential elections of 1988. The reformist misleaders and their "far left" hangers-on are attempting to channel popular revulsion to Chirac into a new Mitterrand popular front. (During the last presidential campaign, the CP even joined in the chauvinist backlash when the Communist mayor of Vitry, a Paris suburb, bulldozed an immigrant workers' hostel.)

But last winter's student strikes, mass protests against racist cop murder, and the powerful railway workers strike are still fresh in the memory. The power of the working class must be brought to bear to stop the fascists in their tracks with massive united-front demonstrations and political strikes. The racist Flunch flunkey and his fascist/cop protectors have upped the ante: the workers movement and the oppressed must mobilize their forces *now* to overwhelm this dangerous offensive of right-ist reaction. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 11)

Mayor Feinstein, who wants the home port for the *Missouri* battleship group) demanded the shipyard strike be settled, metal trades bureaucrats took less than 24 hours to ram a contract down the workers' throats. And Herman's gang (aided by the silence of fake militants in the union) used the excuse of "military cargo" to unload one of the Redwood City barges in Oakland last month. These company cops, tied hand and foot to capitalism, are disciplining the working class for imperialist war.

The PMA's assault on the hiring hall is aimed at the core of the ILWU. To beat them longshoremen must take control of a strike out of Herman's hands. For an authoritative, democratically elected strike committee, led by a fighting, class-struggle leadership! A militant coastwise strike, backed up by unions in rail, airport and trucking, would galvanize maritime workers from Vancouver to San Diego and sweep away years of givebacks. It could smash the PMA's "steady man" system, restoring daily hiring for all jobs from the union hall, with a sliding scale of hours and wages to provide jobs for all. With Reagan on the ropes, and the Democrats trying to prop him up, now is the time to smash the union-busters with some hard class struggle that can win and win big. Shut down the coast and spike the Herman/Rubio sellout! ■

Resolution on Security and the Fourth International

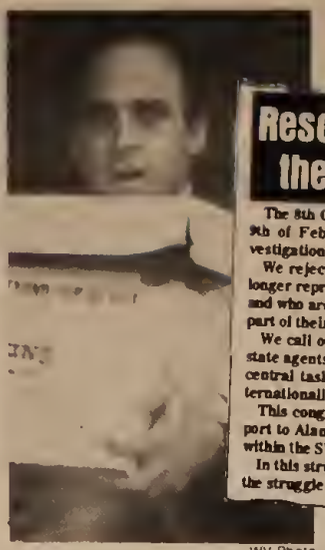
The 8th Congress of the WRP, held in Hammersmith, 8th and 9th of February 1986, reaffirms its support for the ICFI investigation, Security and the Fourth International.

We reject the attacks by the Banda-Slaughter group, who no longer represent the British section of the Fourth International, and who are attacking Security and the Fourth International, as part of their continuing attack on the ICFI.

We call on the ICFI to continue the fight to expose the role of state agents in the workers movement throughout the world as a central task in the building of the revolutionary leadership internationally.

This congress sends its warmest fraternal greetings and support to Alan Gelfand for his struggle to expose the state agents within the SWP in America.

In this struggle, he doesn't act as an individual, but represents the struggle of all workers for their democratic rights.



WV Photo

WL's Alan Gelfand: his suit against the SWP was attack on entire workers movement.

David North and the Law...

(continued from page 6)

doing exactly that. According to North's *Bulletin*, Slaughter was "among the leading protagonists and most forceful advocates" of the smear job on Hansen and offered to testify as a witness on Gelfand's behalf. Since the WRP split, Slaughter has shamefacedly disavowed the "Security and the FI" and the Gelfand case, claiming they were "frame-ups." For his part North has clung to every despicable hallmark of Healyism.

David North loves the law. Last year, after our special issue of English-language *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) on "Healyism Implodes," we found ourselves vilified at great length in a 14-part series in North's *Bulletin*. The first installment defended Hormel strike leaders for filing a court suit against the scabherding International, coyly commenting, "We will consider the Spartacist position on the use of the capitalist courts in a later article" (*Bulletin*, 1 April 1986). As we noted in response, the Northites "will be hard put indeed to consider the elementary labor principle that the bosses' courts are not the vehicle for solving disputes in the labor movement" ("Lord of the Fleas," *WV* No. 412, 26 September 1986). And of course they didn't. It's not just the courts, the Workers League also loves the cops. In 1971 the WL championed the New York City cop "strike," aimed at increasing bonapartist terror against blacks and working people!

For more than 20 years, the Spartacist League has exposed the Healyites' crimes against the workers movement. When Ernie Tate was beaten we raised the biggest outcry we could, printing his account and appeal for workers democracy together with an editorial, "Oust Healy" (*Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967). We campaigned against the "Security" smear campaign, including picketing Healyite meetings with signs asking, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" and defending Joseph Hansen as an authentic revisionist. When we first heard of the sinister Gelfand suit, which the SWP shamefully kept under wraps for close to four years, we immediately sought to defend the SWP and the workers movement against this criminal provocation. The SWP refused our appeal for more information. Now they're appealing to the judge for retribution, with all the cringing faith in the capitalist courts of their "Watersuit" against the FBI where the SWP sought a legal license for its quirky brand of reformism.

For David North to rail against the SWP takes real *chutzpah*. In relation to any Marxist proletarian principles, the Healyites have all the programmatic and moral stance of a revolving door. Or as comrade Trotsky put it in speaking of the "morals" of the social democrats, liberals and anarchists who railed against Bolshevik "amoralism": "...they are ready for any baseness—rejection of convictions, perfidy, betrayal—in the name of ambition or cupidity. In the holy sphere of personal interests the end to them justifies any means. But it is precisely because of this that they require special codes of morals, durable, and at the same time elastic, like good suspenders" (*Their Morals and Ours*).

To the pursuit of the Healyites' base interests, rank opportunism and financial advantage correspond base means—like dragging leftists through the capitalist courts and other eager forays across the class line. Their support for the mythical "Arab Revolution," beginning over the 1967 Mideast war, provided an elastic enough concept for the Healyites to fill their pockets and to embrace any act by any of the colonels, sheiks and oil-rich strong men according to who was dispensing the patronage. He who pays the piper calls the tune. And in 1979 the Healyites grotesquely heralded the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, a monstrous crime against the international working class. Later the Healyites supported Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran in its war against Iraq, as they have backed every anti-Soviet force on the perimeter of the USSR—from Mao's Red Guards to the CIA-backed mullahs in Afghanistan to the Solidarnošč failed counterrevolution in Poland. This is all part of the "heritage" which North defends.

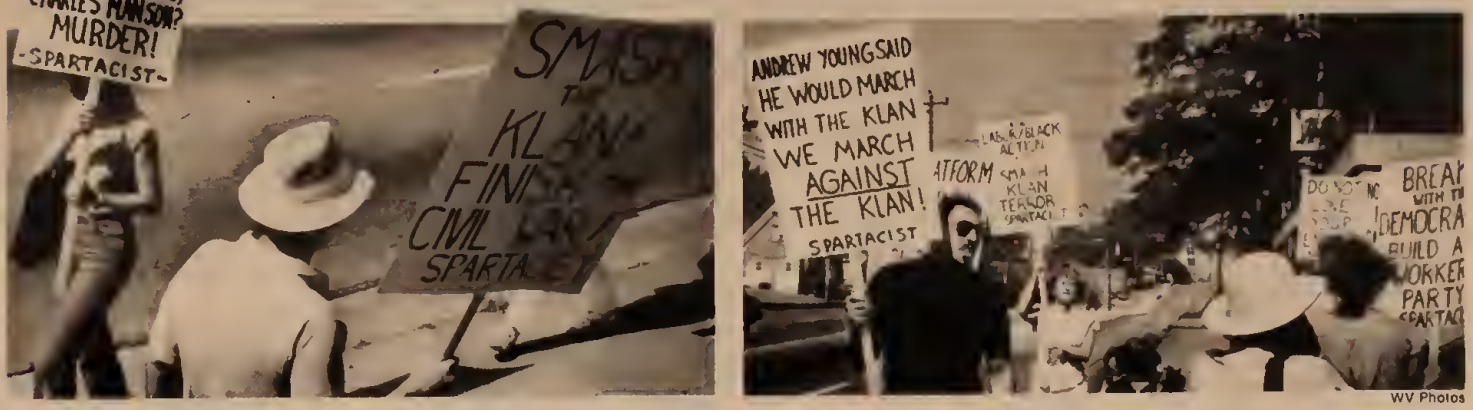
Insofar as the Workers League can claim a coherent political core, it is virulent anti-Sovietism and gross capitulation to the worst elements of the pro-imperialist, racist labor tops. As we concluded our article "Healyism Implodes":

> "'Morality' for Marxists is inextricably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism—our genuine, concrete defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an *international* party of proletarian revolution—this has been our political compass. From that also comes a certain superstructure, a certain morality."
>
> —*Spartacist*, No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86

Anything goes under the mantle of Healyism, and North, a Healyite's Healyite, could go anywhere. This gang has traversed the class line so often that who or what they are is forever dubious. On those rare occasions when they talk of principles and feign Marxist orthodoxy, it's time to "hold fast to the opposites"—to borrow a page from Healy's shell game "dialectics"—and above all *hold on to your wallet*. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"Put Nazi Duke On the Run!"



WV Photos

June 8—Atlanta Spartacist League pickets radio station where fascist David Duke broadcasts his Democratic Party presidential bid.

Atlanta Demonstrators Picket Democratic Party "Klandidate"

ATLANTA, June 9—When fascist terrorist David Duke came to Atlanta, capital of the "New South" and site of the 1988 Democratic convention, to announce his presidential candidacy, he was met with angry protests of outrage. Yesterday morning, the Spartacist League picketed outside the studios of WGST radio with placards declaring "Nazis Equal Genocide!" and calling "For Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!" as they chanted, "Smash the fascist Klandidate—Forward to a workers state!"

Duke, a former Nazi and KKK "wizard," parades as a "mod" fascist, the founder of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People." He was appearing on the *Counterpoint* talk show hosted by rad-lib Tom Houck. While Houck claimed that the sinister Kluxer was only presenting his "viewpoint," a Spartacist sign proclaimed, "What Does Free Speech Mean for David Duke, Klaus Barbie, Charles Manson? Murder!" Other SL placards read "Do Not Love Your Enemy!", "All Working People Must Stop This Filth!" and "For Class War, Not Race War!"

On very short notice, the Spartacist League initiated a campaign to drive out Duke with his obscene calls for genocide. A June 7 protest telegram was circulated stating:

> "Duke and his organization are fascist terrorists committed to the mass murder of blacks, unionists, Jews, gays, immigrants and leftists. It is grotesque that this radio platform for fascist racehate should be staged one day after Duke's fellow Klansmen in Greensboro, North Carolina 'celebrate' the bloody murder of five anti-racist militants eight years ago. Duke and his Klan/Nazi cohorts were behind the brutal racist attack on Forsyth County marchers five months ago. What Klan/Nazi racist terrorists stand for [is] revealed in mass murderer Klaus Barbie."

Among the SL demonstrators' chants was "Kill Nazi Barbie—Smash Nazi Duke!"

David Duke is running for the Democratic Party nomination, and it's no accident. This spring he went to New York City to stand in front of a pizza parlor in Queens, the assembly site of the Howard Beach lynch mob that murdered young black man Michael Griffith last December, and called for neighborhood "ethnic purity." This is the same racist slogan raised by Democratic president Jimmy Carter during his 1976 campaign. In 1980 and '84, various KKK outfits endorsed Ronald Reagan as their favorite "Klandidate."

Duke came to Atlanta taking his cue from black Democratic mayor Andrew Young, who in a speech in Greensboro last month obscenely said he'd march with the Klan if only they didn't wear their robes. (The favorite garb of fascist Duke is a three-piece suit.) At the picket of WGST, Spartacist protesters carried signs reading, "Andrew Young Said He Would March with the Klan—We March *Against* the Klan!" Young, like Democratic front-runner Jesse Jackson, is a member of the same racist capitalist party as Nazi Duke. We say: Break with the Democrats—Forge an integrated, class-struggle workers party!

Opposition to Duke's appearance was widespread, made all the more intense by TV coverage of KKK lynchers with Confederate flags strutting through Greensboro, North Carolina on Sunday. A local support group of interracial families mobilized a call-in to jam WGST Sunday night. The SL picket received extensive coverage on Channel 11 and WGST radio itself. When the evening news reported yesterday that Duke would formally announce for president at the Marriott Hotel in Marietta, the hotel canceled 30 minutes later. And a flood of calls induced the downtown Atlanta Ritz-Carlton to cancel the fascist creep's press conference. Today Duke finally had his announcement on the steps of the capitol with ten thugs in tow, protected by the state of Georgia.

Unlike liberals and pseudo-socialists who call on the bourgeois state to "ban the Klan," and who even "debate" these fascist killers (while their fellow KKKers are greasing their lynch ropes and wiring their bombs outside), we Trotskyists seek to mobilize the workers movement, at the head of the oppressed masses, to crush these deadly race-terrorists. Spartacist demonstrators chanted, "David Duke is Nazi scum—Put the Nazis on the run!" ■

Contra "Priest" Unfrocked

It's been the dog days of the Contragate hearings. Democratic-controlled Congressional committees try to control the damage by delving into the minutiae of who bilked whom in the giant Iranscam. TV coverage went live again when Oliver North's secretary Fawn Hall took the stand to tell all: "I can type," she asserted. Ogling senators questioned her about the National Security Council shredding party, and how she slipped documents past White House guards inside her boots and clothes.

Hall also told how North arranged a photo opportunity with Reagan for supposed Catholic cleric Thomas Dowling. In June 1985, Dowling testified as a character witness for the CIA's mercenaries. The *New York Times* (4 June) reported.

> "The witness, Thomas Dowling, who said he had visited Nicaraguan rebel camps, appeared in full clerical garb before the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs ,and disputed reports of human rights abuses by the contras. Characterizing the rebels as 'extremely religious,' Mr Dowling told the subcommittee that the persons associated with Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista Government 'put on contra uniforms and commit atrocities'."

Now it turns out that "Father" Dowling simply dressed up in a cassock and ordained himself as a priest of the unknown "Old Roman Catholic church."

The *Times* account continued: "Last year, Mr. Dowling was pictured in clerical garb in a newsletter distributed by Causa International, an anti-Communist lobbying group affiliated with the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church." Moon is another self-ordained "reverend," whose CAUSA front has sponsored death squads from Honduras to the Philippines.

We've already commented on the uncanny resemblance of the Contragate hearings to the TV comedy show "Saturday Night Live." Now we have a bogus "padre," the Father Guido Sarducci of Carlucci's NSC, blessing the bunch of wild and crazy guys in the White House basement and their contra Causa.

Earlier, Congress had a ludicrous debate with Assistant Secretary of State Abrams over what is a lie. Democratic Senator Boren queried why Abrams told demonstrable falsehoods instead of the old Nixon-style non-denial denial. Regarding this country's rulers, what is truth? If contras are Christian freedom fighters, does that make Hitler the champion of equal opportunity for Jews?

Stalin said paper will take anything that is written on it. The Contragate hearings show the United States Congress will take anything that's said to it. If Wedtech money pieced off Jessica Hahn, the PTL Bible belle from Babylon, we can't help asking, "Did Ollie North shoot the Pope?"

Nachlwey/Black Star

Contras pray for Yankee invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 431

26 June 1987

Feds–Hands Off Teamsters!

The government is out to destroy the Teamsters union. Word leaked earlier this month that the Justice Department is preparing a lawsuit to remove Teamster president Jackie Presser and the union's entire executive board, replacing them with a court-appointed "trusteeship." Under the cover of fighting "mob influence" in the labor movement, the gang of influence peddlers, contra war criminals and witchhunters who make up the Reagan administration intend, for the first time in history, for the government to take over an entire union. Cleaning up corruption has *never* been what's at issue in the endless government assault on the Teamsters. Since Robert Kennedy's vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa 30 years ago, both Democrats and Republicans have used the "mob connection" as an excuse to break the Teamsters' *union power*. One of the feds indicated their real appetite: "Probably the only way to really solve the problem would be to dissolve the entire union and start all over again" (*Daily News*, 11 June).

As one Teamster official commented on the attack, "obviously this was a calculated political ploy designed to take the pressure of numerous problems off the Reagan Administration" (*New York Times*, 11 June). It's a recurrent pattern: When they get 240 Marines blown up in Lebanon the White House responds with the brutal rape of black Grenada. In trouble over Iran/Contragate, they try to provoke a shootout in the Persian Gulf and declare war on the most powerful union in the United States. The charges against the Teamsters are being brought under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). The name of this sinister law is a description of the Reagan government! A New York TV news program couldn't find one trucker who bought the feds' line that a takeover would "clean up" their union. If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked "Justice" Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom? Is this a fusion, a hostile takeover or what? Is Ed Meese to be the new Teamster capo?

The Reaganites are aiming their guns at the heart of organized labor. It's no accident that this move comes at

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Mass Protests Rock South Korea

JUNE 22—Mass demonstrations in South Korea over the past two weeks have tapped decades of pent-up popular hatred of one of the more viciously repressive regimes in the so-called "Free World." From the capital Seoul to the industrial city of Pusan in the South, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets since June 10. Despite the usually efficient brutality of the riot police, protesters have been able to regroup following pointblank barrages of pepper gas. And the demonstrations continue to escalate. On June 18, the center of Seoul became a battle zone as tens of thousands of students seized control of the streets from the police. The next night, demonstrators in Taejon rammed a commandeered bus into police lines, one cop was killed.

There is something of a tradition in South Korea of youth throwing themselves on well-armed police shock troops. However, as the *New York Times* (17 June) observed, "The political crisis here has been built instead on the sustained outbreak of disturbances in central Seoul and the growing participation of thousands of nonstudents of all ages and backgrounds." While students have elicited mass support from white-collar workers, so far there has been no mention of any participation by the South Korean industrial proletariat, the motor force of South Korea's "economic miracle" and the only power which can carry out a revolutionary overthrow of dictator Chun Doo Hwan and the generals.

Popular anger has boiled over in response to several events. One was the death by torture of 21-year-old student Park Chong Chol after his arrest for anti-government agitation on January 14 by a special anti-Communist police squad. Police torture in South Korea is routine, but this time the government was forced to admit to it. In April, Chun abruptly terminated negotiations with the barely tolerated bourgeois opposition parties on revising the rigged constitution imposed in 1980. The present wave of street battles erupted June 10 following Chun's anointment of Roh Tae Woo, a long-time crony and fellow general, as his successor when the president's term expires next February.

Cops driven back by militant student protesters in Seoul, June 10. AP

Hundreds of students occupied the grounds of the Catholic Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul, where they were extended sanctuary by the Catholic hierarchy and besieged, but not stormed, by the cops. An outpouring of support for the Myongdong students followed. On June 13, several thousand workers from downtown shops and offices gathered to taunt police. When students left the cathedral on the 15th, after police lifted the siege in a deal with church officials, thousands of Seoul residents spontaneously rallied nearby, chanting slogans denouncing the military dictatorship. On the 18th, as protesters took over the city center, students overpowered 80 cops who had run out of tear gas, stripped off their riot gear and burned it in the street.

Washington's Butchers

Washington is backing its puppet Chun. Despite some misgivings in the State Department, the Reagan White House is determined to stand by *this* butcher. On June 17, Shultz declared

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Victory Against Louisiana "Creationism" Law!

The Partisan Defense Committee is proud to have joined with the Spartacist League in submitting an *amicus curiae* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court opposing the State of Louisiana's "Creationism Act" which mandated the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the schools whenever scientific evolution was taught. On June 19 the Court, in a 7-to-2 decision, struck down this reactionary law. In our brief's opening statement we warned, "At issue is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations." A UPI dispatch observed that "the creationism case drew a stack of legal documents from groups ranging from the Marxist Spartacist League to the National Association of Evangelicals." Our intervention in this case, as in others reflecting a broad range of social issues, represents an important component of functioning as a tribune of the people.

Taking its cue from the White House, the fundamentalist Christian right is waging war on basic democratic rights won in centuries of struggle. As the *amicus* brief noted:

> "The gains of the American bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, codifying the defeat of slavery during the Civil War, were progressive developments in the history of mankind. They are part of the outcome of a long and complicated, and in the case of the Civil War, bloody struggle during which feudal fetters on political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom and scientific freedoms were broken or transcended."

The anti-science, anti-humanist bible-thumping crusade against "atheistic evolution" is a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the White House to the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country. Our *amicus* brief portrays the ideological connection between attacks on Darwin's theses and nightriding racist terror.

> "...the study of scientific evolution is fundamental to man's quest for a materialist understanding of our world and human society, not the least because it provides material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority."

The creationism case, particularly in its social context, invites comparison to the infamous 1925 "monkey trial" in which John T. Scopes was convicted for teaching evolution. The 1920s, a decade of rampant social reaction similar in many ways to the Reagan years, also saw the formation of the International Labor Defense (ILD) as a mass working-class defense organization. It is upon the formative years of the ILD, then led by James P. Cannon, that the work of the PDC is modeled.

Defense of basic democratic rights, including those proclaimed in the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, is a fundamental of the modern communist movement. As Lenin counseled in *What Is To Be Done?*, communists must strive to be:

> "*the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects...."

Today, as the American bourgeoisie seeks to regiment the population as part of its mobilization for war, we have been in the forefront of defending basic democratic and personal rights. As stated in *WV*:

> "The decay of capitalist society is dramatically demonstrated when the men who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear technology and weaponry have minds filled with the worst superstitions, ignorance and bigotry of the Dark Ages. They believe man's history is to be found in the literal interpretation of the Book of Genesis, and mankind's future is spelled out in the Armageddon of 'Revelations,' as they are preparing to plunge the world into a fiery end in an apocalyptic battle against the 'Evil Empire' of 'godless' Russia. The only future for humanity in which man may realize his full potential unfettered by dark obscurantism and social oppression must necessarily be a socialist one."
>
> —*WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986

We welcome the Supreme Court's majority decision in which Justice William Brennan stated the obvious: that the purpose of the law was to "restructure the science curriculum to conform with a particular religious viewpoint." But we place no faith in this Court which recently approved preventive detention and the Jim Crow death penalty. We look not to the courts of this racist capitalist state whose "justice" keeps Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa and numerous other class-war prisoners behind bars, but to the final court of the masses for a verdict over the superstition, reaction and bigotry which continues to oppress and endanger mankind.

* * *

Joining the SL in the *amicus* brief was an important advance of the PDC's work. We also helped publicize and pay legal expenses for the SL lawsuit against AIA (see article on page 16). The settlement and retraction won by the SL is an important victory for all defenders of democratic rights. But victories cost money. It has cost nearly $10,000 in legal expenses and publicity. The junior Joe McCarthys of AIA have Big Brothers with deep pockets. Help defray the costs of this case. Send your contributions to the PDC.

NY Public Library

Charles Darwin

We also encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For a Class-Struggle Leadership of Labor

The 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike laid the basis for the transformation of the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union. It was one of three general strikes led by avowed socialists that opened the road to the rise of the CIO. In a 1942 lecture, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon set forth the principles of proletarian class struggle which imbued that strike.

All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

Spartacist/PDC Legal Brief on "Creationism" vs. Evolution

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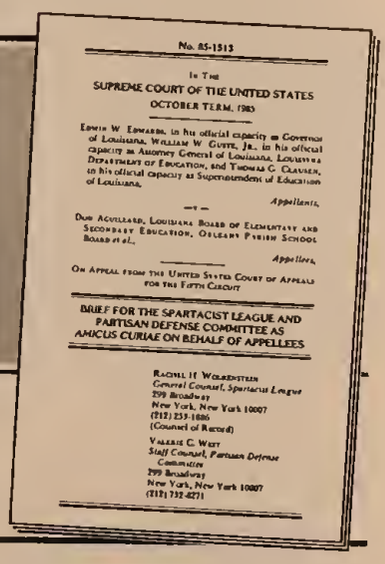

No. 85-1513

In The SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OCTOBER TERM, 1985

Edwin W Edwards, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, William W Guste, Jr. in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, Louisiana Department of Education, and Thomas C. Clausen, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

— v —

Don Aguillard, Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education, Orleans Parish School Board et al.,

Appellees,

On Appeal from the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 431 **26 June 1987**

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Goetz Gets Off

When Bernhard Goetz shot four black teenagers who were shaking him down on the IRT No. 2 express train in December 1984, it echoed around the country. The skinny white electronics nerd was hailed and reviled as the "subway vigilante." On June 16 a New York City jury found Goetz "not guilty" on four counts of attempted murder, four counts of assault, and one of reckless endangerment. The jury did convict him on a gun rap, a felony which carries a maximum sentence of seven years.

In the course of the seven-week trial, what actually happened in subway car No. 7657 was pretty clear. There's no doubt Goetz was in the process of being mugged: virtually every one of the youths admitted it, saying Goetz looked "soft" and was "easy bait." At the same time, Goetz reacted with qualitatively excessive force. After shooting the four, he walked up to Darrell Cabey and shot him again, saying, "You seem to be all right, here's another." The bullet severed Cabey's spine, leaving him brain-damaged and paralyzed for life.

Racist mayor Koch, his black police chief Ward and the rest of the apparatus of repression, concerned above all to keep the monopoly of armed force in the hands of the capitalist state, warned against taking the decision as a "precedent." But in fact the jury passed judgment not only on Goetz but also on life in New York City. Six of the jurors—including two blacks and one Hispanic—had been robbed or mugged in the past, three of them in a subway. This wasn't a stacked court, just a cross section of New Yorkers.

Liberals and black Democrats denounced the verdict as a racist "open invitation to vigilantism." But black residents of the South Bronx Claremont Village housing project where the four teenagers lived had a different view. Eugene Mitchell, 34, said: "I think what Goetz did was done in self-defense. Those young guys terrorized people around here." Joyce Robinson, who's lived in the project for 18 years, commented:

> "I don't see this as a racial thing. Robbery is a big problem up here.... If it were me in the same situation as Goetz, I would have shot them too. This is self-preservation, sweetheart."

Suriani/Photoreporters

Goetz rushed out of court by cops, Guardian Angels after verdict.

A letter to the *New York Times* (21 June) compared the Goetz trial to a highly publicized 1926 Detroit murder case with ugly racial overtones and the spectre of vigilantism. Attorney Clarence Darrow defended Henry Sweet saying, "Every man may act upon appearances as they seem to him. Every man may protect his own life." Yet in this case, the defendant was a black man defending his brother's home against a lynch mob. The all-white jury acquitted Sweet.

With an individual facing a mob or a mugger, the right of self-defense is posed irrespective of color. But this is a racist, violent society. A Russell Baker column (*New York Times*, 20 June) caught the contradiction. Subway riders are subjected to violent assault, robberies, rapes, murders—and so you get a Bernhard Goetz. And "many black New Yorkers, in their first response to the Goetz verdict, said they feared it would encourage white vigilantes to go armed in the streets, making the normally dangerous life of young black men even more perilous."

Reactionary forces have tried to use this case to whip up a climate of vigilantism. Yet the term "subway vigilante" which has been widely applied to Goetz is really a misnomer. When one is acting in self-defense, even excessively, that is not vigilantism. Vigilantes are self-appointed police acting (supposedly) on behalf of others, like Charles Bronson in the movie *Death Wish*. The Goetz case evokes deep passions because the issue posed is fear for self, for one's life and human dignity, not for one's possessions. It's not the standard contract where ethnically neutral criminals show you their weapons, you give them your valuables and they go away. It's suffused with race-hatred. And it's explosive in the tinderbox of New York, whether it's a skinny white guy who's a "mark" for black lumpen muggers or a young black worker facing a lynch mob of white ethnic punks in Howard Beach.

For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!

In racist America, the spectre of vigilantism is a deadly threat to black people. It's all the more obscene that the vigilante groups riding the New York subways are largely made up of minority youth. Curtis Sliwa's Guardian Angels have tried to make Goetz a hero. Black demagogue Al Sharpton is anti-Goetz, yet like Sliwa's bands his "Disciples for Justice" are goon squads acting as auxiliaries to the racist cops. Likewise, Sharpton's "anti-crack" vigilante sprees against Arab storeowners in Harlem fan the flames of poisonous chauvinism.

Meanwhile, the liberals joined Koch & Co. in pushing gun control. As we wrote in "New York on the Edge" (*WV* No. 428, 15 May): "While the liberals and fake-radicals close their eyes to it, lumpen crime is an ugly reality in New York, particularly for black people—which is why there was substantial *black* support for Goetz." We insisted, *Gun control kills blacks:*

> "We stand for the right of armed self-defense and actively defended black subway token clerk James Grimes who the Brooklyn D.A. and the TA [Transit Authority] tried to frame up for defending himself against a gang of muggers. To deny or ignore this fundamental right is to leave blacks utterly defenseless in the face of criminal and racist attacks and to push whites into the arms of the racist mobs."

Meanwhile, the biggest, most murderous racist mob of all is loose on the streets: *the New York police*. In Brooklyn on June 9, eyewitnesses saw a white cop shoot Eric Thomas in the head while he lay handcuffed on the ground. And in the Bronx on June 20, the cops executed a 29-year-old black man, Terrence Keane, for the capital "crime" of sideswiping a squad car. This wanton racist killing sparked outrage from hundreds of largely Caribbean black residents gathered along White Plains Road. As tires burned in the street, the cops threatened demonstrators: "A lot of you are going to die this summer!" This is no idle taunt coming from the armed racist killers in blue who murdered black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, then repeatedly mobilized, thousands strong, to make sure the triggerman, killer cop Sullivan, would walk.

The black and Hispanic minority populations of New York City are under siege today. The Spartacist League calls for mass labor/black defense against racist attacks. Following the lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens last December, the Committee for a Fighting Transport Workers Union called for integrated union defense guards to make the streets of New York safe for all working people and minorities. To unleash the power of labor requires a political break from the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism and forging a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. ■

Harlem Hospital Workers Protest Racist Atrocity

On June 11, some 250 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black, protested outside Harlem Hospital over a brutal police attack on a black doctor *inside the hospital's X-ray lab!* On June 1, Dr. James Gibson (holding megaphone) told white cop Dennis Carmody not to move or fingerprint a suspect who was being treated for a cerebral concussion. The cops did it anyway and when Gibson objected, Carmody whipped out his gun and shoved the doctor against a wall. In another case, police insisted on interrogating a stabbing victim before doctors and nurses had completed emergency treatment. If Koch's cops don't kill you on the street, now they come into the hospitals to finish the job.

The demonstration was called by the Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital and included officials and members of AFSCME Local 420 who work there as well as doctors and staff from Harlem Hospital, and others. Supporters of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense also participated carrying signs which read: "Stop Koch's Killer Kops!" "For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Racist Terror!" and "Break with the Democrats, Party of Racist Terror—Build a Workers Party!"

WV Photo

Pat Buchanan's Little Brothers

SWP Says: Let Nazi Butchers Live

Back in April a last-ditch campaign led by America's top cop Ed Meese failed to stop the deportation of Nazi war criminal and Estonian death camp commandant Karl Linnas to the Soviet Union. The unholy alliance to "save" this mass murderer from Soviet justice stretched from Meese and former White House propaganda chief Pat Buchanan to liberal Democrat Ramsey Clark and Amnesty International. Now there is a new member of this putrid anti-Soviet bloc—the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP opposes handing over Linnas to the USSR *because he might be executed!* Referring also to the SS "Butcher of Lyon," Klaus Barbie, an article in the SWP's *Militant* (12 June) by Ernest Harsch grotesquely declares, "Linnas, Barbie, and other war criminals like them are scapegoats." What a despicable outrage against all victims of fascist murder—these pseudo-"socialists" are acting as lawyers for the bloody perpetrators of the Nazi Holocaust!

Harsch was replying to a letter from a reader objecting to an earlier (22 May) *Militant* article on the death penalty which opposed Linnas' extradition as a "dangerous precedent." Because the reader refers to "this Nazi butcher" and Meese's attempts to bundle him off to a South American dictatorship, Harsch accuses the letter writer of "focusing on Linnas' record as a Nazi war criminal"! So instead he should have focused on Linnas' activities as a Boy Scout leader? Harsch claims that Washington and other capitalist governments are "singling out individuals accused of committing mass murder more than 40 years ago to divert attention from the massacres and slaughters of today." Bunk. Washington and its allies helped these Nazi scum escape justice at the hands of the Red Army, used their "expertise" (from rockets to torture) in the anti-Soviet Cold War and have gone all out to protect these killers.

For Ernest Harsch, Nazi butchers like Linnas and Barbie are "scapegoats." For Pat Buchanan, the now-departed Goebbels of the Reagan White House, such "*accused* war criminals" are just "innocent Americans" facing "irreparable injury and death" due to "revenge-obsessed Nazi hunters" (*New York Times*, 7 April). So those who would spearhead a fascist movement in the U.S. and civil libertarian social democrats "unite" in repulsive apologies for Nazi terror. In sharp contrast, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 427, 1 May) wrote of Linnas' deportation: "For our part, we wouldn't have been unhappy if a firing squad were waiting for this mass murderer as he stepped off the plane in Tallinn.... However the Soviets dispose of this heinous criminal, it will be too good for him."

As for Klaus Barbie, we called to "Avenge the Victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!"—the more than 10,000 Jews, Communists, Resistance fighters, the Gypsies, the children he tortured, ordered killed or deported to their death. Our headline declared starkly: "Kill Nazi Barbie!" Not least in our reasons for calling for death to Barbie is to deprive the mounting French fascist movement of a rallying point for racist terror. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France wrote:

> "As communists, we are opposed to the death penalty. But we know there are many justified executions following a bloody war. A court made up of their surviving victims should decide the fate of war criminals like Barbie. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, those tortured in Lyon, those who escaped the French and Russian villages he devastated, the Bolivians that his thugs tortured."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik*, May 1987

Or put another way: if nobody committed mass murder in World War II, then don't kill Linnas and Barbie.

The SWP says they want to be "consistent about opposition to all use of the death penalty," and oppose extraditing, deporting or expelling anyone to a country where they are under a death sentence. Thus Jack Barnes & Co. willy-nilly oppose the expulsion from Bolivia of Klaus Barbie, *who "advised" the U.S. in the murder of Che Guevara!* They would have left Barbie there to continue the grisly work of his Einsatzkommando, the "Fiancés of Death." This puts the SWP sharply at odds with, among others, Castro's Cuba, which cheered the expulsion of Barbie. Instead they prefer the company of Linnas' lawyer, Ramsey Clark, LBJ's attorney general who ordered COINTELPRO and who today acts as PR man for the murderers of Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop. The Barnesites seem bent on giving new currency to the old Stalinist term "social-fascist." So as the insipid SWP is wont to say, where does Ernest "Pat Buchanan" Harsch go wrong on democratic rights for Hitler?

Harsch notes that the death penalty was abolished by the Sandinistas upon coming to power in Nicaragua in 1979, and adds: "No one, including the former National Guardsmen who murdered, tortured, and raped under the old Somoza dictatorship, can be sentenced to death." It's one thing to abolish the death penalty in a postrevolution legal code. But at the height of the insurrection that toppled the blood-drenched Somoza tyranny, the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas opposed mass demands to execute the sadistic butchers. The FSLN sought to prove their "generosity" to the bourgeois liberals by holding back the revolution. In addition to blocking revolutionary justice, they dissolved workers militias and kicked peasants off the estates of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." So the Somozaist torturers high-tailed it across the border and soon these "contras" were murdering, raping and pillaging as before.

The SWP's craven defense of Nazi butchers from the firing squad goes to the heart of their quirky brand of social-democratic reformism. Barnes & Co. want to act as the salesmen for Castro/Sandinista-style Third World nationalist revolutions to the imperialist liberals. In the mid and late '60s, these "peaceful, legal" reformists policed anti-war marches, excluding the communists to keep the platform safe for the Democratic Party "doves" while LBJ was dropping bombs over Vietnam. Harsch's civil libertarian Amnesty International rhetoric is part of a political appeal to the liberals. And they're not just talking about a statute of limitations for genocide. Under the guise of a "debate," the SWP actually provides a platform for fascist KKK killers to incite racist murder. The Spartacist League, in contrast, like the Trotskyist SWP of the 1930s and '40s, has mobilized mass labor/black action to stop the lynchers.

Marxists have always opposed the death penalty. Marx himself asked, "what a state of society is that which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims . . its own brutality as eternal law?" ("On Capital Punishment," February 1853). When the Bolsheviks in 1917 led the first (and to date only) victorious proletarian revolution in history, they banned the death penalty in Russia. But they were also determined to defend the workers state, and in the face of a devastating civil war and intervention by 14 imperialist states, they used red terror against bloody counterrevolution. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was set up and executions were reinstituted as temporary measures. The death penalty became permanent under the Stalinist Thermidor as a bureaucratic caste usurped power and gutted the Bolsheviks' revolutionary program (see "Abolish the Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1977).

On the eve of the Russian October, in August 1917, the soldiers of the Second Machine Gun Regiment, part of the Petrograd garrison defending the city against Kornilovite counterrevolution, expressed themselves forcefully against the death penalty and for ruthless defense of the revolution in danger:

> "We insist on the immediate arrest and trial of the counterrevolutionary commanding staff and the abolition of capital punishment, to become effective after the execution of General Kornilov and his supporters."
>
> —quoted in Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976)

As for Nazi butchers like Linnas, Barbie, Artukovic, Demjanjuk and their ilk, hauled out of their holes after decades of protection by U.S. imperialism, we say good riddance. These mass murderers should have been shot more than four decades ago by the workers tribunals of a victorious Europe-wide socialist revolution. ■

Pat Oliphant

Ed Meese, Pat Buchanan defended Karl Linnas—SWP joins parade to belittle Nazi killer's crimes, claiming Linnas was a "scapegoat"!

Yad Vashem

Avenge the Victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!

Kill Nazi Barbie!

Victims of fascist genocide at Mauthausen death camp. Nazi mass murderers should have faced proletarian justice decades ago!

WORKERS VANGUARD
29 May 1987

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Supreme Court Police-State Ruling

The police state yearned for by Attorney General Edwin Meese came a big step closer May 26 when the Supreme Court ruled that a person who has only been *accused* of a crime can be held in "preventive detention." All that's required is for a government prosecutor to convince a judge that the defendant represents a "danger to the community," and you're behind bars with no possibility of posting bail. Even as the patriotic hoopla over the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution was getting under way in Philadelphia, the Court's 6-to-3 decision erased one of the fundamental principles the Constitution supposedly protected—the presumption of innocence. And Meese already declared that suspects are *ipso facto* guilty: "If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." In Reagan's America, you can be jailed until proven innocent.

Two weeks after the Supreme Court's ruling, a federal advisory committee approved a major expansion of the National Crime Information Center's computerized files which would enable federal, state and local cops to track all those "under investigation," *including people not charged with any crime.* Various police agencies already send an average of 540,000 inquiries a day to the center's FBI-managed computers, getting a report in seconds. The advisory committee proposes a sweeping extension of domestic surveillance, creating an electronic "Big Brother" network with access to records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the passport office, IRS and more. Institutionalizing the frame-up principle, the feds would be given blanket authority to target *entire organizations*, including political groups. According to the *New York Times* (11 June), "The advisory committee said the national computer file should include the names of groups to which wanted persons were known to belong." The National Crime Information Center even wants to include the genetic characteristics of its subjects. The Nazis tattooed their victims; Big Brother in Washington wants your DNA embossed on your ID!

Chief Justice William Rehnquist's majority opinion upheld the Orwellian Bail Reform Act, passed, appropriately, in 1984, which provides for the denial of bail to certain defendants deemed to represent a threat to "the safety of any other person and the community." The decision reverses a U.S. Court of Appeals which struck down the law as unconstitutional in a case against Anthony Salerno, reputedly head of the Genovese crime family. The Supreme Court ruling has nothing to do with fighting crime. It's an American version of a South Africa-style "emergency powers" act designed for rounding up *any* and *all* opponents of the government. Rehnquist's ruling states:

> "We have repeatedly held that the Government's regulatory interest in community safety can, in appropriate circumstances, outweigh an individual's liberty interest. For example, in times of war or insurrection, when society's interest is at its peak, the Government may detain individuals whom the Government believes to be dangerous."

The U.S. ruling class is regimenting this country for war and they're rubbing out the remaining vestiges of civil liberties which stand in the way.

Reza/Gamma-Liaison

Blacks behind bars. Reagan/Rehnquist court decisions on death penalty, preventive detention: part of plans for racist police state.

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote:

> "This case brings before the Court for the first time a statute in which Congress declares that a person innocent of any crime may be jailed indefinitely, pending the trial of allegations which are legally presumed to be untrue.... Such statutes, consistent with the usages of tyranny and the excesses of what bitter experience teaches us to call the police state, have long been thought incompatible with the fundamental human rights protected by our Constitution.... [The] decision disregards basic principles of justice established centuries ago and enshrined beyond the reach of governmental interference in the Bill of Rights."

But as columnist Russell Baker quipped, "Talk in constitutional circles is that Justice Department types are saying Ed Meese should put Brennan and Marshall under preventive detention."

In Rehnquist's brave new world, pretrial detention is merely "regulatory": "the mere fact that a person is detained does not inexorably lead to the conclusion that the Government has imposed punishment...." And what about the Constitution's insistence that "excessive bail shall not be required"? The chief justice answers: "This Clause, of course, says nothing about whether bail shall be available at all." The poor, the unemployed and minorities from whom excessive bail is demanded have *already* experienced "preventive detention" because they can't afford the price of freedom. The wealthy, however, are routinely released on their own recognizance.

The RICO Conspiracy

The targeting of Anthony Salerno as a test case was no accident. In fact, this was the Justice Department's third try to have the draconian preventive detention law upheld by the Court, after previous attempts against a group of black radicals in New York and Puerto Rican independence fighters backfired. So who better to use to establish the "principle" of presumption of guilt than an alleged mobster? The feds want to use the Salerno case in their vendetta against the biggest union in the U.S., the Teamsters. Earlier this month, federal prosecutors in the Salerno trial presented the videotaped testimony of former Teamster president Roy Williams claiming that he had received money from Mafia leaders.

For our part, we believe that *everyone* is entitled to justice, including reputed gangsters. But they're not the government's real target (after all, some of the biggest drug traffickers and gunrunners in the U.S. are Reagan's contra buddies). What the feds want is a battery of repressive laws for use against the working class, minorities and the left. Preventive detention goes hand in hand with the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) dragnet which lets the G-men pick up whoever they want. The D.A. doesn't have to convict you of a crime to get you on "conspiracy." "Patterns of racketeering activities" or alleged participation in a "criminal enterprise" is all they need. RICO and the Bail Reform Act let the government bankrupt the defendants (and thus cripple their legal defense) by seizing their assets as "proceeds of crime." So far the Marshals Service has poured about a half *billion* dollars in seized assets into government coffers.

Since the passage of the Bail Reform Act, some 4,800 people have been ordered held in preventive detention by the federal government. Thousands more are languishing in jail due to lack of funds or competent legal representation. Rehnquist claims that the period of detention is limited by the Speedy Trial Act to a maximum of 70 days. He lies—Salerno himself was held for 14 months without a trial. Rehnquist "explains" that the high court has "no view" as to when "detention in a particular case might become excessively prolonged, and therefore punitive." Now that the Supreme Court has spoken, the number of detainees will grow rapidly in federal and state pens alike. Twenty-four states already have their own preventive detention statute and that number, too, will now rapidly increase.

It all adds up to a sinister legal package of state repression. They can put you on Big Brother's computer on mere suspicion, pick you up without evidence for a crime that hasn't been committed, jail you without bail and then ensure that you can't afford to hire a lawyer by seizing your assets. In 1984 the Court allowed major exceptions to the "Miranda" law, justifying police interrogation of suspects without informing them of their legal rights. And it okayed evidence from warrantless searches if the cops claim they thought it was legal. Black people especially are in the government's cross hairs. In April the Supreme Court approved state-sanctioned murder of black people when it upheld capital punishment despite overwhelming evidence of racist bias. And last year the Court ruled that opponents of the death penalty can be excluded as jurors, ensuring a hanging jury.

A *New York Times* (28 May) editorial worried that with the new ruling, "tomorrow's prosecutor will find it easier to 'regulate' other defendants, who harbor unpopular ideas." *Tomorrow's* prosecutors? The feds have already used preventive detention at least twice against radicals. In October 1984, hundreds of agents of the FBI/NYPD "Joint Terrorist Task Force," armed with shotguns, machine guns and bazookas, raided the homes of radical black nationalists in Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan, framing them for "terrorist conspiracy." Under the provisions of the Bail Reform Act, passed a week before the raid, the "New York Eight" were held without bail until a judge determined they were not a "threat to the community." After months of intensive surveillance and dirty tricks, the government went to trial

AP

Anthony Salerno, held 14 months without trial.

continued on page 11

South Korea...

(continued from page 1)

"the best thing...would be for the demonstrations, with their potential for violence, to stop and the dialog to resume"! The White House does not want to "jeopardize a smooth transition of power when [Chun] steps down," reported the *New York Times* (16 June). The military dictators who inhabit Seoul's presidential palace are U.S. creatures and have been since 1945. For over four decades South Korea has been a front line in the anti-Soviet Cold War. Indeed, U.S. imperialism's first major war against the Sino-Soviet states, between 1950 and 1953, was fought on this peninsula, a war which killed 3 million Koreans out of a population of 30 million.

Ever since, the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea have helped police this bloody police state. Shortly after Chun came to power in a 1980 military coup, he consolidated his rule by massacring hundreds to crush an insurrection in the city of Kwangju. In that battle, students and workers battled a full army division and seized military vehicles.

AP

Protesters hauled away in police vans for demanding freedom for bourgeois opposition leader Kim Dae Jung.

Macmillan, Inc

July 1953: Cheering North Korean POWs return home. Korean War frustrated Washington's anti-Soviet drive for world domination.

The Special Forces troops which carried out the massacre were released from duty along the Demilitarized Zone with North Korea and replaced by U.S. troops. So it was quite appropriate that the butcher Chun was the first foreign head of state to visit the Reagan White House in January 1981. But the U.S. role in the Kwangju massacre has powerfully fueled anti-American feeling among the Korean masses.

The liberal opposition, heavily religious and middle-class, looks to Washington for support. Its most prominent leaders are the "two Kims"—Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam—both mainline bourgeois politicians who recently founded the Reunification Democratic Party. Such is the hatred for the generals' rule that Kim Dae Jung almost won a rigged election in 1970 against Park Chung Hee even under conditions of virtual military dictatorship. Under Chun, Kim was sentenced to death, then reprieved as a favor to the U.S., and now lives under chronic house arrest in Seoul. During several years in exile in the U.S., Kim Dae Jung hobnobbed with the liberal Democrats who sponsored exiled Philippine patrician Benigno Aquino before he returned to Manila and was assassinated by Marcos. Kim remarked last year: "We need strong government to effectively control the military and to have a strong defense posture against the North Korea threat."

Aligned with the two Kims are Roman Catholic cardinal Kim Sou Hwan and other Christian religious organizations. Their base, particularly the Catholics, is an upwardly mobile professional elite which chafes under military rule. The shock troops of the opposition are the university students, numbering 1.2 million in a population of 41 million. Largely children of the middle classes, the students are the future administrators and technocrats of Korean capitalism. But while the Kims and the cardinal court the U.S. State Department and Congressional Democrats, the students chant "Yankee Go Home!" along with "Down with the Dictatorship!" To force the 40,000 U.S. troops out and bring down the military dictatorship will require a workers revolution. And workers revolution in the South also poses a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist-ruled North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The Two Koreas—Offspring of the Cold War

From 1910 to the end of World War II Korea suffered under the savage colonial regime of Japanese imperialism, comparable to the Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe. In 1945, in order to get the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan, the U.S. imperialists agreed at Potsdam and Yalta to let the Red Army occupy the northern half of Korea down to the 38th parallel while the U.S. would get the south. On 8 August 1945, the Red Army moved in, bringing along the Communist-led guerrilla detachments who had been fighting the Japanese in Manchuria (and many of whom had been integrated into the Red Army during World War II). Among them was Kim Il Sung, the Stalinist ruler of North Korea. But after pressuring Moscow to attack Japan, Truman dropped A-bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in large part as a warning to the Soviets.

In the South, mass demonstrations were organized to greet the Americans as liberators of Korea from Japanese imperialism. The U.S. colonial administration under General Hodge used Japanese troops and police to shoot down these demonstrators. That was a taste of what the Koreans could expect under U.S. imperialism. Syngman Rhee, a nonentity who had been living in exile in the U.S. for decades, was brought back and imposed as U.S. puppet.

While Stalin and the North Korean regime basically accepted the artificial division at the 38th parallel, the U.S. never did and transformed the divided peninsula into a principal battleground of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East. The victory of Mao's Red Army in the Chinese civil war, smashing Chiang Kai-shek and overturning landlord/capitalist rule, infuriated the imperialists. Particularly after the recriminations over "who lost China," Washington sought to "roll back Communism" to the borders of the Soviet Union. When the North Korean army responded to U.S. provocations by crossing the border on 25 June 1950, the puppet South Korean army collapsed with mass desertions.

Rhee's forces along with the U.S. contingent were driven back to Pusan on the southern coast in weeks before American troops massively intervened. Truman declared a "police action," which meant he didn't ask Congress for a declaration of war. Under General Douglas MacArthur (one of Ronald Reagan's heros), U.S. forces (barely disguised under the UN flag) drove to and across the Chinese border on the Yalu River. However, the Chinese counterattack drove the imperialists back to the 38th parallel. While Truman nixed MacArthur's plans to nuke Manchuria and sow a radioactive belt of cobalt across the peninsula, the use of nuclear weapons was held back only because Russia by then had the bomb.

Today the 40,000-man U.S. contingent is formally described as a "trip wire" in case of North Korean attack; in fact it is the forward position of the U.S. anti-Soviet war machine in the northern Pacific. According to the Soviet publication *New Times* (15 June) the U.S. in South Korea has "beaten all records for saturation with nuclear weapons, of which there are more than a thousand units. There is one per less than 100 square kilometers of South Korean territory." The peninsula is a trip wire...for World War III.

From Rice Bowl to Industrial Dynamo

South Korea has been transformed in a historically short time from an overwhelmingly agrarian society to an

UPI

Worker-student protesters captured army vehicles in 1980 Kwangju uprising.

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industrial, largely urban country—albeit a poor one, with one-eighth the per capita income of Japan or the U.S. In 1930, 95 percent of the population in southern Korea was rural. The Japanese built up industry in the north under conditions of virtual slave labor. In 1940, factory and mine workers numbered 300,000. Today there are 13 million workers in the South, over 3 million in industry, concentrated in large modern auto, steel and shipbuilding factories. In 1986 South Korea registered its first-ever trade surplus of $4.5 billion, mostly exports to the U.S.

South Korea's "economic miracle" rests on state-sponsored private monopolies, the *chaebols*—like Daewoo, owner of the world's largest textile mills in Pusan—which have made a handful of Koreans filthy rich. Seventy percent of the national economy is in the hands of just six companies. At the same time, South Korea is a major sphere of exploitation by American and Japanese capital. In fact, South Korea may well have the highest rate of exploitation of any relatively industrialized country. Industrial workers average 54-hour weeks with no overtime and get paid, on average, 43 percent less than the cost of subsistence living. The big plants are run like military camps. Unions have been effectively banned except for a government-run "labor" federation.

Recently some illegal independent unions have arisen. Militant workers face the cops, gangs of company thugs known as "soccer teams," and a computerized blacklist jointly run by the Ministry of Labor, the bosses and the KCIA secret police. Nevertheless, on occasion the tinder explodes in defiant struggle, and it has happened more frequently over the past few years. In April 1985, thousands of auto workers seized the Daewoo Motors plant; two months later, thousands of women workers picketed with students at the Kuro textile factory in Seoul. Last May Day thousands of industrial workers in Inchon, protesting working conditions, confronted riot police with clubs and iron bars.

Stalinist-ruled North Korea under the other "two Kims"—Kim Il Sung and his son and anointed heir, Kim Chong Il—seems to be in a time capsule. With its planned economy, the North successfully industrialized long before the South, which for instance did not surpass the North in steel production until 1975, despite having twice the population, and despite the strain on the North of maintaining a 700,000-man army to guard against the imperialist/puppet forces on the other side of the DMZ. North Korea produces all its own weapons—but the technology in the factories is 25 years old or more. Kim Il Sung maintains a "cult of personality" that Stalin could envy, and pursues an isolationist policy of "self-reliance," *juche*, the Kim Il Sung version of "socialism" in half a country. Yet the social gains of the revolution are impressive: no starvation or homelessness; universal medical care; a national system of education and childcare.

Asiaweek

KOTRA

South Korea's growing industrial proletariat key to smashing military dictatorship, forging revolutionary unity with North Korean workers and peasants.

Militarism and Reaction

Given the intensity of the social contradictions, to maintain their rule the South Korean capitalists probably need bonapartism, and that means the army. It's no accident that the South Korean government has been a sequence of one dictatorship after another. Syngman Rhee was brought down by mass student demonstrations in 1968 and fled to Hawaii. An elected government was overthrown nine months later by the army coup which brought Park Chung Hee to power. The KCIA blew Park away as he wined and dined during street demonstrations in October 1979. Chun came out on top in infighting among the generals that followed (with the help of his buddy Roh, who called in his Ninth Infantry at a critical point).

The South Korean army was begun in the 1940s with cadres trained by the Japanese officer corps, graduates of the Japanese-run military academies—i.e., they were puppet troops, the collaborators in a ruthless colonial repression. During the Korean War there was a vast anti-Communist expansion of the army, and in the Vietnam War they rented two divisions to the U.S. These South Korean troops had the highest kill rate of any units in the field in South Vietnam. Chun and Roh served together in Vietnam. This regime is also intimately tied in with an international network of counterrevolutionary terror. The sinister Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon is a creature of the KCIA. The Moonies organize not only glassy-eyed cultists but also Latin American death squads. And Korean Air Lines—also closely tied to the KCIA—was used in Reagan's KAL 007 provocation in which over 200 innocent passengers were killed in a spy mission over vital Soviet military installations in the Far East.

We would like very much to see this regime shattered: it is a sinister force for counterrevolution worldwide. No doubt many in the bourgeois opposition in Seoul dream of a Cory Aquino solution: chants of "people power" are heard in the streets. We don't know much about South Korea. But one thing is clear: "people power" sure won't work, and Reagan is not about to put Chun on a plane for Hawaii. Unlike the Philippines, there exists in South Korea a large and powerful industrial working class which can be held in check only by the army. If the current upheavals stop short of a workers revolution, there will be nothing to replace the bloody military regime with. Washington's butchers will simply become more brutal and repressive.

The monstrous police state that is South Korea is a product of the Cold War, and there can be no revolutionary perspective in that half-country that does not also look northward across the DMZ. Everybody in Korea seems to be for "reunification." The generals dream of doing it through counterrevolution in the North. The opposition pays lip service to reunification as a national goal standing "above ideology." Nationalist students see the ouster of the U.S. as the precondition for claiming the heritage of a united nation. The North Korean bureaucracy proposes utopian schemes for a federated unity, while it opposes workers revolution in the South. Reunification will occur on only one of two counterposed paths: counterrevolutionary war on a short road to worldwide nuclear oblivion, or revolutionary reunification through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

The nationalism of the courageous Korean student youth reflects the strong influence on events of Korea's position between China and Japan, two major powers with a colonialist history. Japanese revolutionists have a special duty to oppose the Japanese bourgeoisie's racist, imperialist contempt for and exploitation of the Koreans—including the Korean minority within Japan itself—in order to forge revolutionary unity of Korean and Japanese workers. Only through the Trotskyist program of *proletarian internationalism* will socialism triumph in Korea. U.S. out of Korea! For military defense of the USSR, North Korea and the other deformed workers states! For revolutionary reunification of Korea! For Trotskyist parties in Korea, North and South! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

UPI

Reagan at the DMZ sets sights on war with Soviet Union. U.S. dirty war against Vietnam used South Korean troops, here tormenting captured Vietnamese woman in 1966.

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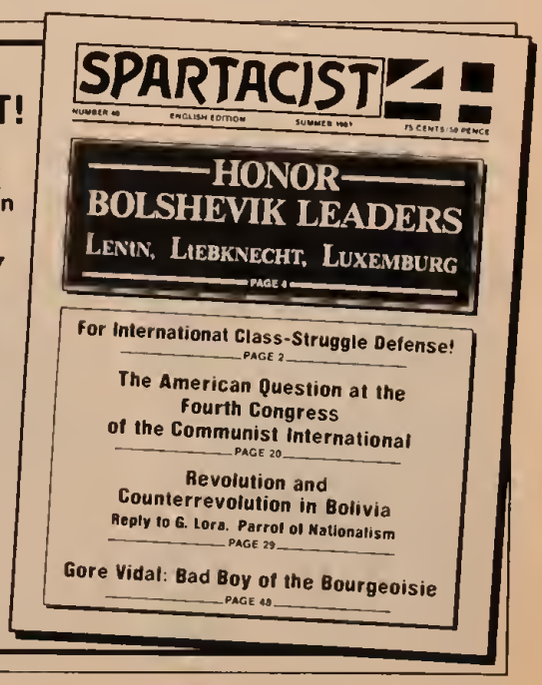

From Pétain to Le Pen

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Leaders of Nazi-collaborationist Vichy dictatorship (above left), Marshal Pétain and President Laval. Deportation of Jews (above right) from Marseille to Nazi death camps. More than 75,000 French Jews were deported, only 2,500 survived.

French Fascism and the Holocaust

Adapted from Le Bolchévik *No. 73, May 1987, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

On May 11 the trial of the Nazi torturer Klaus Barbie opened in Lyon, where he was head of the Gestapo from 1942 to 1944. Many of those who succeeded in escaping with their lives from the clutches of the "Butcher of Lyon" have since died, but his surviving victims are still waiting, more than 40 years later, for justice to be done.

They haven't forgotten the sadist who tortured resisters and hostages with bestial ferocity in the cellars of the Montluc prison and the Ecole de Santé Militaire on the Avenue Berthelot. They haven't forgotten the SS *Obersturmführer* who personally took charge of the slaughter or deportation of hundreds of defenseless civilians and the carnage of whole villages in the countryside around Ain between February and April of 1944. They haven't forgotten the Jews who were sent to a hideous death, such as the 44 children rounded up in the village of Izieu on 6 April 1944 by Barbie's men and their French accomplices of the militia and shipped off to the ovens of Auschwitz.

Barbie was a fanatical Nazi, a member of the Gestapo beginning in 1935, and has many other crimes on his head. In 1940, in Amsterdam, he took on the persecution and deportation of the Jews with a savage zeal. During the German offensive against the USSR in 1941, he was transferred to a Gestapo unit which sowed terror in the wake of the Wehrmacht advance. And after the war, having fled to Bolivia with the help of the American secret services for which he worked from 1947 to 1950, he continued his fascist activities on behalf of that country's oligarchy, and was made a colonel in the Bolivian secret service.

Vergès' Sinister Role

Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Vergès, plans to use all the unpunished crimes committed by French imperialism, both under Vichy as well as during the dirty colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, to demand that the fascist butcher he is defending be acquitted. In other words, Vergès is demanding amnesty for *all* torturers! In his book *For the Fedayin*, Vergès had already characterized the Jerusalem trial of Nazi war criminal Eichmann as a "parody." Under cover of a pseudo "anti-imperialism" and a fake "anti-Zionism" which smacks of anti-Semitism, Vergès tried to "relativize" the horror of the Holocaust, the methodical, organized, cold-blooded extermination of six million men, women and children. This genocide is the ultimate horror of capitalist barbarism—which does not diminish the atrocity of other crimes committed by capitalism: the victorious proletariat will avenge them *all*.

When Barbie was deported to France and arrived in Lyon in 1983, the daughter of a deportee (who herself had been sent to the Drancy camp at the age of five) was arrested in possession of a loaded rifle. It's really too bad that she didn't succeed (unlike Scholem Schwartzbard, a Jewish anarchist who, in 1926, executed the Ukrainian hetman Petlura, who had been responsible for pogroms during the Russian civil war; Schwartzbard was acquitted during a famous trial). For there can be no doubt: Barbie deserves to die.

As communists, we are opposed to the death penalty. But we know there are many justified executions following a bloody war. A court made up of their surviving victims should decide the fate of war criminals like Barbie. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, those tortured in Lyon, those who escaped the French and Russian villages he devastated, the Bolivians that his thugs tortured. But the French bourgeois state and its courts are quite incapable of this elementary act of justice. Since 1983 successive governments have dragged out preparations for the Barbie trial for four years (he is now 74). And now that it is finally beginning, the French bourgeoisie is visibly nervous.

For the Barbie trial could well bring to the surface the history of collaboration by the French bourgeoisie and its state with the Nazis, and its active participation in the extermination of the Jews. This would seriously endanger the Gaullist myth that all the crimes of the Vichy regime were simply the result of its systematic capitulation to German *diktats*—a myth which is also an article of faith in the French Communist Party (PCF), since it constitutes one of the principal justifications for the PCF's popular-front alliance with the bourgeois "Resistance" against Pétain's "anti-national" regime. We are asked to believe that when it persecuted the Jews, Vichy was only giving in to Hitler's demands. Nothing could be more false.

French Anti-Semitism in Power

In the conclusion to their noteworthy study *Vichy France and the Jews*, which scrupulously documents the anti-Jewish persecutions practiced under Pétain, historians Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton write:

> "It is striking with what alacrity the Vichy regime, enjoying more popular support at the beginning than had most preceding French governments, deliberately adopted an anti-Jewish policy after the defeat of 1940. We hope there is no longer any possible confusion about the German role in launching that policy. We can find no trace of German attempts to extend their own anti-Jewish policy to the Unoccupied Zone in the summer of 1940; at the beginning, they envisaged France as a dumping ground for their own refugees. Vichy anti-Jewish policy was thus not only autonomous from German policy; it was a rival to it. Vichy struggled with the occupying authority in an attempt to assert its own sovereignty in anti-Jewish matters, and to keep the advantages of property confiscations and refugee control for itself."

At the end of the 1930s, the French bourgeoisie, haunted by the 1936 strikes, was defeatist toward Nazi Germany, an attitude which was summed up well in the famous phrase "Better Hitler than the Popular Front." But the Blitzkrieg defeat and collapse of the army in May-June 1940 conjured up for the bourgeoisie the threatening spectre of the Paris Commune, the outcome of their last military defeat. Frightened and traumatized, the bourgeoisie surrendered all power to the chiefs of staff in the person of Marshal Pétain, the "victor of Verdun" and more especially the man who drowned in blood the mutinies in the trenches in 1917.

The Nazis didn't object to letting Pétain have the means to "maintain order." In fact, Hitler didn't have the slightest intention of Nazifying France. He only wanted to neutralize it militarily and keep the economy trim in order to finance his upcoming war against the USSR. The 1940 armistice was therefore a deal (unequal, to be sure) between two imperialist powers. French imperialism would be militarily disarmed on the mainland and would place its industry and state apparatus at the service of the Nazi war machine, but at the same time it would be granted

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Bibliotheque National, Paris

Tallandier, Paris

French fascists take to the streets in the '30s (left). Anti-Semitic propaganda poster of the 1940s.

The American Connection

SS-U.S. Rat Line

Time

James Jesus Angleton and Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan in Rome 1945, architects of OSS "Rat Line" to funnel Nazi war criminals out of Europe.

World Publishing

General Gehlen reviewing WW II Nazi puppet troops of "Russian Liberation Army." U.S. took over Gehlen group to use as West German spy network.

In its second month, the "trial" of Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Gestapo chief in Lyon, France during World War II, settled into a ritual. The state presented witness after witness of Barbie's hestial crimes against humanity, his roundup of 44 Jewish children from their refuge in Izieu to send them to the gas chambers, the extermination of Resistance fighters in pre-dawn "night and fog" operations, how the SS *Hauptsturmführer* personally tortured hundreds. The criminal himself is absent: he doesn't feel like facing the anguished survivors of his reign of terror, and the state is not eager to have Barbie, the face of modern barbarism, smirking over the hall. They already delayed the trial for more than four years, fearing his threats to put his prosecutors on trial for the widespread

Wide World

Reagan honors Nazi SS at Bitburg cemetery, May 1985, in preparation for nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union.

and enthusiastic collaboration of the French bourgeoisie with the Nazi Holocaust. Now they're staging a judicial proceeding which is a grotesque mockery of justice. Meanwhile, the fascist gangs of Le Pen are rampaging from Marseille to Lyon and Paris.

America's rulers, too, are nervous about the Barbie "trial." The *New York Times Magazine* (10 May) wrote: "a key element in the Barbie case—though one that will scarcely surface during the trial—is the American involvement with Barbie at the close of the war, itself the principal reason it has taken almost 44 years to bring the 'Butcher of Lyons' to justice. For Barbie was recruited as an agent by the United States Army Counter Intelligence Corps in 1947, and worked for the C.I.C. until 1951, when Americans arranged his escape to Bolivia." There the "American connection" ended, they claim, an "excess" of the Cold War as long gone as the Vichy regime in France. But, as Claude Julien noted in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 1987), the Lyon trial is not just a "history lesson": "The collapse of the Hitlerite regime didn't put an end to the practices of the Gestapo. The brown plague simply contaminated other parts of the world.... it's impossible to judge the crimes of yesterday while ignoring the crimes of today."

Nazi monsters who kept one step ahead of the Red Army found safe haven in the American zone of occupied postwar Germany. Their techniques of genocide and commitment to smash Communism were a marketable asset in the "Free World." As we noted in 1983 when Barbie was at last expelled from Bolivia and turned over to the French:

> ".. Barbie along with thousands of Nazis were enlisted as 'freedom fighters' in the U.S. Cold War apparatus. Thus Klaus Barbie is only one—and not even the worst one—of a large number of Nazi beneficiaries of the anti-Soviet crusade which periodically raises the bloodstained banner of 'human rights.' It is because Klaus Barbie is another 'human rights' Nazi that it is such a sticky mess for the imperialist bourgeoisies. It exposes again the CIA's Nazi network, the widespread Nazi collaboration by the French bourgeoisie, and the barbarous purposes of imperialism from Bonn to La Paz."
>
> —"Klaus Barbie: From Gestapo to CIA," *WV* No. 324, 25 February 1983

Barbie was no rare exception but one of *thousands* of Nazi war criminals rescued by the U.S. government, many of them for service in imperialism's anti-Soviet spy agencies and anti-Soviet war drive.

Anti-Communist Barbie: From SS to OSS

And this policy continues to this day as the CIA "networks" aging Nazis with mercenary contra scum from Nicaragua to Angola. The fascist death squads of Latin America who brutally tortured and murdered tens of thousands were organized and trained in Gestapo methods under the direction of the CIA, sometimes with the direct participation of SS bombers like Barbie. These death squads, especially the Argentine, were used in turn by the CIA to train the contras. One of the spoils of American imperialism's victory in World War II has been the wholesale nazification of South America's police and military as well as the widespread formation and deployment of fascist terror squads to augment the repressive apparatus of the state.

It was the Soviet Red Army that defeated Hitler's Reich, planting the hammer and sickle flag over the Reichstag on 1 May 1945. From the Truman White House and Pentagon on down, American rulers were obsessed with the "threat" of a "Communist takeover" of Germany. The U.S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps hired Barbie as an informer specializing in penetration of the German Communist Party (KPD) and intelligence operations in the French occupation zone, a hotbed of KPD activity. Index cards on Barbie, apparently drawn up by the Allied High Command before the war ended, described him as "very cruel," his "brutal character hidden under a jovial exterior." He was listed by the War Crimes Commission as early as 1945 and by the Central Registry of War Criminals in 1947 as wanted by the French for mass murder. Despite their denials, the Americans knew exactly who Klaus Barbie was. But now that he was "on board" the description changed somewhat: one of his CIC handlers, Erhard Dabringhaus, described Barbie in 1947 as "profoundly anti-Communist" and "a Nazi idealist."

The orders came from the top. "Denazification" was replaced by *renazification*. In his very belated "exposé," Dabringhaus tells how "we had received a directive from higher headquarters to the effect that after June, 1948, we were to turn our attention from former Nazis to the communists" (*Klaus Barbie* [1984]). General George Patton himself proposed that rather than disarming the SS divisions in his zone of command, they should be included in his army so he could "lead them against the Reds." When complaints from the Soviets about footdragging in disarming the Nazis were conveyed to Patton by a U.S official, he snapped: "What do you care what those goddam Bolshies think? We're going to fight them sooner or later. Why not now while our army is intact and we can kick the Red Army back into Russia? We can do it with my Germans.... They hate those Red bastards" (*New Times* [Moscow], March 1983). From defeated Japan, General MacArthur was proposing the same thing.

The Third Reich's "Russia experts" became the red squad for "Wild Bill" Donovan's OSS (Office of Strategic Services), forerunner of the CIA. In 1948, this policy was codified in National Security Council Directive 10/2. An "Office of Policy Coordination" was set up to recruit secret armies among East European Nazi collaborators, to be dropped into the Soviet bloc for sabotage activities. The U.S. took over General Reinhard Gehlen's infamous "Foreign Armies East" Wehrmacht counterespionage group which was instrumental in the deaths of over one million Jews on the Eastern Front. Renamed the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, Gehlen's gang became the official spy and counterspy service of the new West German state, under close CIA supervision. The OSS escape hatch for the SS was the rule, not the exception. Over 30 Nazis ended up as instructors at the U.S. Army's Intelligence School. Others, like *Einsatzgruppen* Major Buchardt and SS General Franz Six, who headed Himmler's special staff to liquidate

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Tom Bower

Klaus Barbie (right) with his U.S. Army Counter Intelligence controller Herbert Bechtold in Augsburg, West Germany after the war.

French Fascism...

(continued from page 8)

hroad latitude to apply its own reactionary policy, including in the zone occupied by the Wehrmacht in the north. Vichy no longer had an army, but it still had at its disposal the rest of the state apparatus, in particular police forces whose strength soon numbered 100,000.

On 3 November 1940 the Vichy government promulgated a "*Statut des Juifs*" (anti-Jewish laws) which provided the legal basis for transforming the Jews into pariahs. These laws closed a series of professions to Jews, in particular civil service and teaching (a Jew being defined as "any person with three grandparents of the Jewish race [sic] or two grandparents of said race, if the spouse is also Jewish," a definition broader than that used by the Nazis at the time), and instituted a system of quotas for the other professions. On November 4 a law authorized prefects to "intern in special camps" "foreign citizens of the Jewish race."

The Statut des Juifs and "Aryanization"

Bourgeois opinion applauded these racist laws and "legal" specialists produced sage commentaries on their elegance. The eminent expert on cohabitation, Maurice Duverger, then a rising young jurist and former member of Doriot's fascist Parti Populaire Français (PPF), explained the link between the "authoritarian" nature of the Pétain regime and the anti-Jewish laws as follows in the distinguished *Revue du Droit Public*: "This new regime is also deeply *national*: it is mounting a very clear reaction against the cosmopolitanism inspired by the philosophy of the eighteenth century. This national character explains notably the measures taken to exclude Jews and naturalized citizens from public functions."

Vichy's anti-Jewish laws were immediately zealously applied. The purge of the officer corps, the police, the judiciary, teachers and higher civil servants, was carried out in record time. The liberal professions enthusiastically applied the quotas which allowed good "Aryans" to take over the positions and clients of their Jewish colleagues. And the capitalists couldn't wait to get their hands on Jewish-owned businesses.

This "Aryanization" of the economy provoked considerable friction with the Germans over the question of whether the Germans or bourgeois Frenchmen would get to rob the Jews in the Occupied Zone. The anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis and Vichy came into even more serious conflict over the question of deportation of Jews to France. In 1940 and 1941, Hitler had not yet given the order for the massive extermination of the Jews. He was trying to deport as many as possible from the territory which was to form the Thousand Year Reich, and the Unoccupied Zone of a vanquished France seemed to him an ideal place to ship them to. Paxton and Marrus relate a particularly tragic and significant incident. On 22 October 1940, 6,504 German Jews were deported to Lyon in sealed trains. Vichy immediately swamped the German authorities with a flood of protests against this "violation of the armistice."

> "As for the wretched occupants of the trains, they suffered as both French and Germans competed in inhumanity. After being shuttled back and forth in their sealed wagons while French and German authorities wrangled, these German Jews were finally deposited on 25 October in the French internment camp at Gurs, in the Pyrenees. When the cattle cars were unsealed at Pau, some of them contained dead bodies. At Gurs, more Jews died of cold, malnourishment, tuberculosis, and other diseases before the survivors were ultimately deported to the east in 1942 and 1943."

Vichy and the Final Solution

Vichy and Nazi anti-Semitism returned to a parallel course in 1942, when the Nazis had decided on and organized the Holocaust. Vichy was enthusiastic over the fact that the Germans had now decided to definitively get rid of all Jews, and French imperialism didn't hesitate to place its state apparatus at the service of the SS killing machine. Even more abominable, the French government insisted that children under 16 be deported, which the Nazis at first didn't want to do.

In all, more than 75,000 Jews were deported from French territory (whether under German occupation or not), of which only 2,500 escaped death. The overwhelming majority of them had been identified, put on lists and arrested by the French administration and police, and then collected in the French concentration camp at Drancy (in the northern suburbs of Paris) before being dumped into cattle cars by French policemen and sent off to the Nazi death factories. Three thousand died of hunger and illness at Drancy, which was guarded by the French police. In December 1941 an official French report stated:

> "Those who have not with their own eyes seen some of those released from Drancy can only have a faint idea of the wretched state of internees in this camp which is unique in history. It is said that the notorious camp of Dachau is nothing in comparison with Drancy."

French Fascism

Why did anti-Semitism occupy such an important place in Vichy's reactionary program?

In 1940, France was no longer—and hadn't been for some time!—the country which liberated the Jews from feudal oppression and whose Napoleonic armies had literally blown away the gates to the ghettos all over Europe. Under the double shock of the Paris Commune and its defeat by Bismarck, the nationalism of the French bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had hardened into a xenophobic and revanchist nationalism. This transformation presaged the coming of the imperialist epoch—an epoch of "reaction across the board," as Lenin said—in which decaying capitalism brutally reversed the process of Jewish assimilation.

The majority of Pétainist leaders were members or sympathizers of Action Française, a powerful clerical and royalist movement founded by Charles Maurras in 1898 and forged, at the time of the Dreyfus affair, in the fight against Jews and the radical and anticlerical Third Republic. Anti-Semitism and anti-parliamentarism henceforth constituted the two inseparable pillars of the ideology of the French far right. Of course, after 1917 diehard anti-communism was added to it. A good idea of what this meant is encapsulated in this formulation from an "Appeal to the Workers," published by Action Française in 1924: "Twelve Jewish capitalists founded *L'Humanité*, German gold made possible the Russian Revolution, which was carried out by German Jews, Bronstein, called Trotsky, etc."

The world capitalist crisis of 1929 hit France, bringing with it massive unemployment and ruining whole layers of the petty bourgeoisie. From that point on, parliamentarism was doomed, as was the Third Republic and its mainstays such as the bourgeois Radical-Socialist Party.

By 1934, the fascists had already grown considerably and were organized into "leagues" which were mass organizations. The biggest of them, Colonel de la Rocque's *Croix de Feu* ("Fiery Cross"), had several hundred thousand members. But there were many others which were more virulent, though not as big: the *Camelots du Roi* (the militia of Action Française), the *Jeunesses Patriotes*, the "Franquists," etc. On 6 February 1934, they took the offensive: 40,000 of them launched an assault on parliament, confronting the police in a pitched battle which resulted in 16 dead and 600 wounded. The next day, the president of the Council of Ministers, the Radical Daladier (the prime minister), resigned in favor of a reactionary, Doumergue. The big bourgeoisie, which had financed and armed the fascist gangs, used them to issue a warning to its Radical parliamentary servants at no cost to themselves and imposed a bonapartist government more in line with its wishes.

Popular Front Paved the Way for Reaction

The political crisis had entered an acute phase, opening up a prerevolutionary situation. The working class did not remain inactive, and its struggles manifested its desire to take on the bourgeoisie and its fascist thugs. But to be victorious, this battle could only be a fight for power: "Above all the tasks and partial demands of our epoch there stands the QUESTION OF POWER. Since February 6, 1934, the question of power has been openly posed as a question of armed force" (Trotsky, "Once Again, Whither France?"). Organizing the political general strike and workers militias, crushing the fascist gangs—those were the immediate tasks of the hour.

The proletariat was not wanting in revolutionary energy. It proved it resoundingly with the May-June 1936 general strike, which shook the foundation of bourgeois domination. What it lacked was a revolutionary leadership. The Stalinist and social-democratic (SFIO) leaders of the French working class were only reformists who intended to "fight fascism" by forming a political bloc with the Radical party—the Popular Front. The bourgeoisie succeeded in turning back the working-class offensive in '36 by briefly entrusting power to a class-collaborationist government which came out of this alliance, led by the Socialist Léon Blum—with the active support of the leaders of the PCF, who stayed out of the government in order to avoid frightening the Radicals. Once the threat had passed, the bourgeoisie abruptly dismissed its "socialist" lackeys in 1938.

After the bloodletting of 1914-18, France was a country to emigrate to, and a number of Jews from Eastern Europe had moved there, especially to the Paris region. Trotsky viewed this immigration as a powerful factor for the regeneration of the French working-class organizations, which were based on a limited working-class aristocracy that left the masses of less privileged layers to one side:

> "Sixty thousand Jewish workers in Paris is a great force.... Since the foreign workers represent in their greatest majority the lower layers of the country's proletariat, they are thereby close to, tied to, and share the same fate as the bottom layers of the native proletariat, which remains, however, most distant from the official organizations. The foreign workers are of a different mind, just because they are foreign; of an emigrant spirit, more mobile, more receptive to revolutionary ideas. That is why in the foreign workers, commu-

Roger Viollet

1936 French general strike: Trotsky called for transforming workers Committees of Action (right) into revolutionary soviets. CP Stalinists sacrificed fight for workers power on altar of popular front.

AP

Le Pen and his fascist National Front march through Paris. Mitterrand's popular front paved the way for current wave of fascist terror against French and immigrant workers.

Peebles Press

French captain Alfred Dreyfus, victim of vicious anti-Semitic frame-up in 1890s.

Police-State Ruling...

(continued from page 5)

with a 66-count indictment that alleged not one violent crime. Fortunately, the jury threw out the "conspiracy" charges in August 1985.

The feds are still holding two Puerto Rican *independentistas* without bail on frame-up charges after a series of Gestapo-like pre-dawn raids in San Juan on 30 August 1985. Using a Wells Fargo holdup in Hartford, Connecticut as the pretext, an army of FBI agents with shotguns and automatic weapons broke into more than 30 homes. Seven defendants were given outrageous bails of up to $1 million, but the judge (citing the Bail Reform Act) denied defense motions for release of nine others who remained in jail for over a year. In May 1986 a federal appeals court ruled that preventive detention on grounds of "danger to the community" was unconstitutional, but the judge again denied bail, citing new "evidence." After the appeals court ordered reasonable bail conditions set, four more were released. But Juan Segara and Filiberto Ojeda have been kept locked up for *20 months without bail*, the longest pre-trial detention in the history of the federal courts.

Anti-Soviet War Drive and Police-State Terror

With prisons jammed to the point of explosion and beyond, the government has even bigger plans to deal with opponents—concentration camps. A civil suit against leading Contragaters, filed last year by the Christic Institute, revealed that Reagan and Meese have plans to round up 400,000 Hispanic "illegal aliens" into concentration camps in the event of a U.S. invasion of Central America. Meanwhile, an Immigration and Naturalization Service "contingency plan" calls for rounding

Elisofon/Life

U.S. concentration camps: 120,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned in camps like Manzanar during World War II. New camps are waiting for Hispanics, Palestinians, other targets of U.S. war drive.

up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. (The first arrests came in February, when seven Palestinians and a Kenyan were seized in Los Angeles on trumped-up "terrorism" charges.) This is hardly new. During World War II, 120,000 Japanese Americans were locked up in barbed-wire concentration camps and their property confiscated. At the same time 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters were jailed for opposing the imperialist war.

Today the corollary of the anti-Soviet war drive is escalating police-state terror. That is the meaning of Reagan's war on labor starting with the destruction of PATCO, and the bloody massacre of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia where eleven black people were deliberately *burned alive* by the cops and FBI. It is a bipartisan campaign. Preventive detention was part of a broad, election-year "anti-crime" package strongly backed by liberal Democrats like Ted Kennedy and passed 95 to 1 in the Senate, 406 to 16 in the House. For years, liberal darling Ted Kennedy tried to shove through an omnibus criminal code, "S-1," which was defeated amid outcries of protest by civil libertarians. Now the feds have incorporated the essence of Kennedy's bill, amended to the Reagan "ethic" which equates political dissent with organized crime.

Reagan, Meese & Co. are installing an entire legal program of preventive counterrevolution. In addition to the death penalty and preventive detention, they have ABSCAM-style "stings" to snare troublesome Congressmen and the all-purpose RICO conspiracy laws. For radicals they're dusting off the sedition laws as in the case of the "Ohio Seven"; for blacks and Hispanics in the ghettos, the cops shoot first and ask questions later.

In Reagan's America you had better know what it means to be on the state's hit list. In the '60s and '70s, the FBI's COINTELPRO program gunned down scores of Black Panther Party militants and jailed those who survived. Panther militant Geronimo Pratt has been locked up in San Quentin for 17 years, framed up by the California "justice" system then headed by Edwin Meese. Under Nixon, top cop John Mitchell announced that the myriad "subversives" pickup lists had been consolidated into one "administrative index" (ADEX), targeted for "special attention" by the FBI. Among the half dozen left groups listed was the Spartacist League. In 1983 we sued the FBI over its witchhunting "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," forcing the FBI to drop its definition of the SL which falsely attributed to us a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, and recognize us as the Marxist political organization we are.

This was an important legal victory for everyone on the government's enemies list. Such victories can buy some time. But to stop the Meese police and their insane nuclear war plans requires nothing less than a victorious socialist revolution to put this deadly dangerous, racist, capitalist system out of its agony. ■

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nism has and can have the perspective of a mighty instrument for penetrating the deepest layers of the French working class."

—"Letter to *Klorkeu* and to the Jewish Workers in France" (May 1930)

These foreign Jewish workers, often communists or socialists, were perfect scapegoats for the fascists. In the early 1930s, with the economic crisis and the arrival of a new wave of refugees fleeing dictatorships and persecution in Eastern Europe and in Nazi Germany, and with the revolutionary danger, anti-Semitic xenophobia went far beyond its fascist audience and infested bourgeois opinion, which loudly demanded increasingly noxious anti-immigrant measures. In 1934, the forcible deportation of illegal aliens was authorized and more than 3,000 were deported in the first four months of 1935.

During the period of the Blum government there was a brief respite in the escalating repression, due not so much to the good will of the Socialist and Radical ministers of the Popular Front (who were careful not to repeal the hateful existing anti-immigrant legislation) as to the fact that the mobilization and combativity of the working class kept the reactionaries at bay. But persecution increased when Daladier succeeded Blum as prime minister. In May and November 1938 the Daladier government promulgated two anti-foreigner decrees granting the Minister of the Interior the power to deport, intern or imprison Jewish refugees judged to be undesirable, and to withdraw French citizenship from immigrants who had already been naturalized. Tens of thousands of refugees, including many Jews, were soon crammed into concentration camps. After the declaration of war, German Jews were interned in camps en masse as...citizens of an enemy power.

After the declaration of war against Germany in September 1939, the bonapartist character of the regime became even more pronounced. The PCF was banned and its militants were subjected to fierce repression. After the defeat in May-June 1940, parliamentarism fell like an overripe fruit. In fact, it had been so discredited that the bourgeoisie saw no use in continuing to camouflage the dictatorship of the chiefs of staff and the bureaucratic clique behind the papier-mâché backdrop of the Third Republic. On 9 July 1940, by a huge majority of 569 votes to 80 with 17 abstentions, the Popular Front chamber of deputies (elected in 1936, and from which the PCF deputies had been expelled in 1939) turned full power, including constitutional power, over to Marshal Pétain. The majority of Socialist deputies voted "yes." The Republic fell without lifting a finger, and Pétain baptized the new regime simply the "French State."

From Pétain to De Gaulle

There is no doubt whatsoever that the bourgeois class was virtually unanimous in standing behind Pétain and his clerical-reactionary program. It was only after 1942-43, when the Red Army began to repulse Hitler's forces and the Nazis' defeat became inevitable, that a non-negligible faction of the bourgeoisie suddenly discovered that it was "resisting" and rallied to de Gaulle, switching alliances at the last minute to enable France to be in the victors' camp in 1944.

Since the bourgeoisie and its state was up to its neck in Nazi atrocities, nothing short of an overthrow of the bourgeois state by a workers revolution could have inflicted on the auxiliaries of Nazi barbarism the punishment they deserved. The collapse of the Vichy regime and the insurrectional situation which prevailed in many places gave rise to a prerevolutionary crisis in which the working class could certainly have overthrown a bourgeoisie whose power was hanging by a thread. But to do that a mass revolutionary party would have been needed, and the French Trotskyists—victims of savage repression by the Nazis, the Vichy police and Stalinist hitmen—were much too weak to carry out this task, although they stressed its urgency. As opposed to such a policy, the reformist PCF had already subordinated itself to the "Gaullist" faction of the bourgeoisie in order to salvage and consolidate the bourgeois state apparatus which had been serving Pétain and Hitler so loyally.

Vengeance for the Victims of French Imperialism

Under these conditions, the "purges" ultimately spared the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. Most of Vichy's cops, prefects, judges and ranking civil servants, who had merely zealously "served the state" by hunting down Jews, communists and supporters of the Resistance, got off free by taking shelter behind de Gaulle and the rare bourgeois who joined the Resistance from the beginning (among whom there were fewer anti-fascist democrats than dyed-in-the-wool anti-"Kraut" reactionaries). Thus a Maurice Papon, secretary of the Gironde Prefecture from 1941 to 1944, who was in charge of "Jewish questions" and directly responsible for deporting *1,700 Jews*, was not only left alone at the "Liberation," but in August 1944 was named director of the Cabinet of the new prefect. This "respectable servant of the state," who subsequently became a Gaullist deputy and then a minister in the last Giscard government, served French imperialism as the organizer of colonial repression in Algeria from 1954 to 1956. Named prefect of police in Paris in 1958, he ferociously carried out the anti-FLN (Algerian National Liberation Front) repression and organized the police massacre of hundreds of defenseless Algerian demonstrators in the streets of Paris on 17 October 1961.

We Marxists seek justice on behalf of the victims of the Massus, Papons, Barbies, on behalf of all victims of imperialist barbarism. Obviously the trial of Barbie by French "justice" will be nothing but a sinister farce (including Vergès' scandalous defense of this Nazi). If the French state today were to send Barbie to live out his days in the French equivalent of Spandau prison (where the Nazi Rudolf Hess is incarcerated), it would not even be a half measure of justice. Justice will be had only when the socialist revolution ends the power of the bourgeoisie and finally, once and for all, sweeps fascist terror from the face of the earth.

[In writing this article, we have mainly used two reference works: *Klaus Barbie, Butcher of Lyons*, by Tom Bower, and *Vichy France and the Jews*, by Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton.] ■

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SS-U.S. Rat Line...

(continued from page 9)

Soviet leaders, became key advisers to the U.S. during the Korean War.

In addition to espionage, the State Department and Pentagon placed a high priority on smuggling Nazi war criminal scientists into the U.S. to augment the technical capabilities of the imperialist war machine. Code-named "Operation Paperclip," over 1,500 Nazis "disappeared" as nameless cargo on aircraft waybills and hoarded planes bound for the U.S. Among those "paperclipped" into the country were SS officers like Wernher von Braun and Arthur Rudolph, who used slave labor to produce Germany's V-1 and V-2 rockets and were swiftly employed by NASA and corporate military contractors. A handwritten notation on Rudolph's original "qualification form" for Paperclip reads "100% NAZI, dangerous type, security threat...!! *Suggest internment*" (*Nation*, 7 June 1986). Instead, he helped design the Pershing missile, then went to NASA, and in 1964 was awarded the presidential "Distinguished Service Medal." Two decades later, after his record as a Nazi slave-labor driver surfaced, Rudolph left for West Germany to avoid denaturalization hearings.

If they could have gotten away with it, the CIA would doubtless have imported the infamous Joseph Mengele as well. As one writer observed, "How could NASA *not* be interested in Mengele's meticulous notes on how long it takes a naked human being to freeze to death or burn to death, his research on organ transplants and skin grafts?" (*L.A. Weekly*, 15-21 February 1985).

The Rat Line: Shuttling Fascists from Reich to Junta

Those Nazis whose profiles were too high for the U.S. to keep in anti-Soviet espionage in Europe were smuggled to Latin America on the infamous "Rat Line," organized by the CIC in 1946 to "save" Allied agents who found themselves behind the "Iron Curtain." Forged documents got them as far as Salzburg, Austria in the American zone; from there they went by train in the company of American escorts to Italy. There they were taken in hand by the Croatian priest Krunoslav Draganovic, a former "ecclesiastical adviser" to the quisling Ustashi regime, Nazi puppets who murdered over two million Serbs, Gypsies and other ethnic minorities before Tito's Communist partisans smashed these Balkan fascists. Draganovic, who had the patronage of the Vatican, provided the "rats" with Red Cross passports, which they used to board Latin America-bound ships in Naples and Genova. The Rat Line was a springboard for the careers of future cloak-and-dagger big shots like James Jesus Angleton, then OSS chief of operations in Italy.

Barbie went down the Rat Line in 1951, when the U.S. could no longer stonewall on repeated French requests for his arrest. Paris knew where Barbie was all along—in fact they interrogated him four times while he was in CIC custody! But the U.S. would never allow Barbie's extradition to France, fearing an international scandal over how they had used him in spying in the French zone of occupied Germany. Barbie "vanished" under the auspices of John McCloy, the State Department's High Commissioner for Germany, who previously oversaw the detention of thousands of Japanese Americans in concentration camps after Pearl Harbor and commuted the sentences of scores of Nazi war criminals convicted at Nuremberg. In one of the more grotesque twists of the American "cleanup" of Barbie, the OSS gave him the pseudonym "Altmann," after the chief rabbi from Barbie's hometown, Trier. The real Altmann fled to Holland, where Klaus Barbie was working with Eichmann's IV Department. Like so many other Amsterdam Jews, Altmann was deported and perished in Auschwitz.

Nazi butcher Barbie was shipped to Bolivia, where he became part of a South American "diaspora of torturers." Paraguay got Mengele. Chile got Walter Rauff, the man who invented the "Black Raven" mobile gas chambers used by the *Einsatzkommandos* to asphyxiate hundreds of thousands of East European Jews. These professional killers did not "retire" to putter around their gardens, occasionally attending secretive ODESSA meetings of aging SS men barely able to raise their arms in a stiff-armed salute. Rauff later helped set up Pinochet's DINA secret police. Barbie remained an unrepentant Nazi war criminal, an ace in the hole for the CIA and right-wing Latin American dictatorships and a mortal danger to the international proletariat. So certain was Barbie's faith in his American and Bolivian guardian angels that he had his subscription to *Newsweek* addressed to: "Klaus Altmann-Barbie, SS Hauptsturmführer" and delivered to a cafe in La Paz where he led chants of "Heil Hitler!" and rounds of Nazi war songs.

AP

Nazi German scientists Wernher von Braun (above left) and Arthur Rudolph, who launched U.S. rocket program, used slave labor from Hitler's death camps in WW II.

Florea/Life

Bolivia: The "Fiancés of Death"

The fleeing Nazis dreamed of establishing a new Reich in the Southern Cone. This corresponded neatly to the U.S.' desire to "stabilize" the region. Gustavo Sánchez Salazar, the former vice interior minister who expelled Barbie from Bolivia in 1983, recently commented: "I would like for the trial opening in France to highlight something essential: that Barbie continued to act as a Nazi the whole time after the war. First under the protection of the American intelligence services, and then openly collaborating with the successive Bolivian dictatorships. Here he was an adviser in torture and assassination. In this regard, he had certain important political leaders executed, such as the Socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz" (quoted in *El Periodista* [Buenos Aires], 6 March).

UPI

Barbie helped plan capture, torture and murder of heroic Che Guevara by CIA/NSA in Bolivia, 1967.

Barbie's work for U.S. spy agencies was far from over when he went down the Rat Line in '51. He furnished the CIA with intelligence through the Bolivian Ministry of the Interior (once, according to CIA records, offering the names of every KGB agent in the region). Most dramatically, in 1967 Barbie advised the CIA and its big brother the NSA (National Security Agency) in tracking down and exterminating the heroic leftist guerrilla Ernesto (Che) Guevara. Magnust Linklater, Isabel Hilton and Neal Ascherson document this in their excellent book, *The Nazi Legacy* (1984):

> "The work for which Barbie was being considered would have suited him ideally. His connections in Bolivia and his anti-Communism would have equipped him well for the fight against Ché Guevara's guerrillas. The US army was clearly tempted to take him on; but it was, interestingly, the CIA, conscious of the potential for bad publicity which Altmann's past offered, who were eventually to dissuade them from employing him *directly*. On April 5, 1967 the CIA held a meeting in Washington with army intelligence to discuss the agency's findings and to seek an assessment of the merits and demerits of using him."

Gustavo Sánchez, in his recent book *Barbie: criminal hasta el fin*, is categorical, stating Barbie played a key advisory role in the U.S.-orchestrated capture/torture/murder of Guevara (Toronto *Globe and Mail*, 13 May).

The Company's employment of Barbie's "talents" was not limited to his new Andean Fatherland. According to Linklater et al., "a CIA report shows that the agency approved a meeting, organised by Barbie in 1977 in the tropical Yungas region of Bolivia, between representatives of the Chilean and Bolivian intelligence services.... the discussion centered around coordination between the two services, and the promotion of Condor," a "mutual aid" pact between right-wing regimes in Latin America, "promoted by the US to unify their anti-suhversion activities." Operation Condor was no mere "information exchange." This international Murder Inc., the brain child of Pinochet's DINA, organized the 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier, a former Allende cabinet minister blown up on Embassy Row in Washington, D.C., and the attempted murder of Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton on a Rome street in 1980. An in-depth study of the fascistic World Anti-Communist League (WACL), *Inside the League* (1986), by Scott and Jon Lee Anderson, reports:

> "Phase Three, according to a top-secret 1979 report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee...'involves the formation of special teams from member countries assigned to travel anywhere in the world to non-member countries to carry out "sanctions"—including assassination—against Condor enemies'."

But Klaus Altmann-Barbie went into high gear around the Bolivian "cocaine coup" of 1980, so named because its leaders, Colonels Garcia Meza and Arce Gómez, were the godfathers of Bolivia's narcotics traffickers. In the late '70s, he put together with other expatriate fascists and Bolivian cutthroats and murderers the "Fiancés of Death," initially a hit squad for the drug kingpins. Barbie drew up military plans for a putsch (code-named *Amapole*, for the poppy flower) in a 145-page document that included economic plans for a New Order parceling out Bolivia's resources between the U.S. and Argentina. Financing was provided by Korean anti-Communist cult leader Sun Myung Moon and his CAUSA front group, which "offered 4 million dollars to the 1980 putschists" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 1985). Barbie's Argentine "Condor" allies provided death squads trained in the "dirty war" which assassinated and "disappeared" tens of thousands after the 1976 Videla coup. And in one of the bloodiest coups in Bolivian history, hundreds of leftists and labor leaders were gunned down, blown up or dispatched to jungle concentration camps.

Fascist Torture: Made in the USA

We have documented various of Barbie's bizarre Bolivian escapades. At one point he founded a "shipping" company, the Transmaritima, as part of a grandiose scam by the Barrientos dictatorship (1971-78) to soak the population to buy a warship for landlocked Bolivia (see "Who Protected Nazi Butcher in Bolivia," *WV* No. 330, 20 May 1983). He also acted as "an agent for sales of *Israeli* weapons to the Bolivian regimes," according to a letter by Israel Shahak (see "Klaus Barbie: The Israeli Connection," *WV* No. 334, 15 July 1983). In return, facing an international arms boycott after the 1967 war, Israel contracted a $50 million deal with Barbie whereby a shipment of Belgian and Swiss arms, ostensibly destined for Bolivia, was diverted to Israel on the high seas. This operation was in conjunction with army chief of staff Ovando Candia, the future Bolivian representative of the WACL. But the activities of the transplanted Nazis and fascist killers flourished in Latin America above all because of the patronage of the USA:

> "They brought, too, the technologies of repression, from the old world to the

Army of Strikebreakers Targets Canadian Postal Workers

TORONTO, June 20—"It was terror, sheer terror," said one Canadian postal worker describing a bloody police riot against Toronto pickets of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). In the late hours of June 18, mounted cops backed by a phalanx of riot-equipped police charged picket lines at the main postal installation. Clubbed and beaten, strikers were described as "running for their lives," chased at a full gallop by the bosses' strikebreaking cossacks. Militants who tried to stop a scab truck from getting across the line were brutally attacked, rounded up and thrown in jail overnight on charges of "obstructing" a "peace" officer. Twenty picketers were arrested, including several members of the inside postal workers union, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW).

For months the Canada Post Corporation, and behind it the Canadian government, has been preparing for all-out war to bust the postal unions. An army of scabs was trained, thousands of security cops hired and a sinister outfit of ex-RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) agents recruited for "covert" operations against "union troublemakers." This is part of a nationwide union-busting offensive. In British Columbia, following a one-day "stayaway" strike on June 1 the bourgeois press ran headlines screaming "Sedition!" and "Conspiracy!" In going after the postal unions Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa are trying for their PATCO. And they thought they would have an easy win over the LCUC, traditionally considered the "moderate" postal union thanks to a leadership that has spent years conciliating the bosses.

But the postal management got more than they bargained for. On June 16, the LCUC started a series of "rotating" strikes across the country. Despite the union leaders' attempts to head off any militancy through limited strike action, when and where they went out the ranks built and defended pickets that drove potential strikebreakers away in fear. In

Canadian Press

Postal striker in Sydney, Nova Scotia mauled by cop.

Toronto 1,200 LCUC members surrounded the main postal installation chanting, "No scabs tonight or ever!" In Montreal flying picket squads removed scabs and their security cop "protectors" from postal stations. CUPW members joined the lines despite a despicable scabbing deal made by the LCUC/CUPW national leaderships agreeing to take down the picket lines to allow inside workers to go to work.

Unionists across Canada see in the postal workers' battle a chance to wage a real nationwide offensive against the givebacks, strikebreaking and union-busting. In British Columbia, where organized labor is locked in a life-and-death battle for its very existence with the far-right Social Credit government, woodworkers joined the picket lines. In Toronto, bus drivers from the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union refused to drive scabs across the lines. When these workers were suspended, the union called a meeting to take strike action in their defense, forcing the transit bosses to back off.

Not only the government and its capitalist masters were scared that this strike could spark a nationwide labor explosion. Their labor lieutenants were quaking, desperately looking for a way to head it off. Canadian Labour Congress president Shirley Carr appealed to Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney to "resolve" the strike. As we go to press LCUC national president Robert McGarry is welcoming Canada Post's offer of a government-appointed "mediator." McGarry, who sat as a director on the Canada Post board of directors until early this year, is openly known as a company cop. But CUPW national president Jean-Claude Parrot, the supposed "militant" union leader, is ordering his members to scab.

The only "illegal" strike is one that loses. In 1965 it was an "illegal" letter carriers strike that won the right to strike for *all* government workers. Today the labor fakers are abetting the drive to hack up the unions by their cowardly legalism *and racism*. With their protectionist poison the labor misleaders have fed anti-immigrant hysteria and escalating racist terror against minorities. Postal management capitalized on this by recruiting desperate Tamil and Haitian refugees as strikebreakers in Montreal. Reportedly Montreal picketers carried racist placards and taunted scabs with racial slurs. This kind of disgusting crap has no place on a picket line! A fight by the union movement to defend the rights of and organize their foreign-born class brothers and sisters would strike a powerful blow against the bosses' racist union-busting.

The LCUC strike shows the potential for igniting some hard class struggle, from the militant Québecois workers to the combative B.C. proletariat. But labor is being handcuffed by the traitors in the leadership of the union movement. And the response to the strike from the right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party, Canadian labor's supposed "political arm," is to say that they wouldn't rule out voting for back-to-work legislation! In 1978 the government trashed the militant CUPW strike with strikebreaking legislation, RCMP raids on union offices and the arrest of union leaders. Postal workers must understand, any major labor struggle will become a political battle immediately posing the need for a class-struggle leadership and a revolutionary workers party that can unite all of labor and the oppressed in struggle against the bosses and their state. ■

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new Barbie introduced the fully-developed concentration camp to Bolivia, and lectured on the use of electrodes applied to the human body to extract confessions, a technique first developed by Gestapo investigators in France. Together with the Italian terrorist, Stefano delle Chiaie, he organised the squads of mercenary thugs which held down Bolivia by murder and intimidation, and which are seen performing the same task in El Salvador today.

"Not only the Bolivian dictatorship but General Pinochet in Chile, the officers who directed the 'dirty war' in Argentina in the 1970s, and today's exponents of counter-terror in Central America have drawn deeply on the skills and services of this very special immigration from Europe."

—*The Nazi Legacy*

This was not some Reaganite plot, but long predates the Iran/Contragate conspiracy. In fact, the "Black International" terrorists were continuing the work of liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy, whose "Alliance for Progress" sent "advisers" from its Office of Public Safety (OPS) around Latin America as well as to other U.S. allies to train local police forces. Greek director Costa-Gavras dramatized this export of torture in his film *State of Siege*, the tale of how Dan Mitrione, former police chief of Richmond, Indiana, went to Montevideo to train the Uruguayan police for a dirty war against the Tupamaro urban guerrillas—and was then executed. The story of the OPS is told in A.J.

Sygma

In Bolivia Klaus Barbie organized death squads led by fascist émigré henchmen.

Langguth's *Hidden Terrors* (1978), which documents how terror techniques were disseminated by the U.S. Hundreds of Latin American cops were sent to the International Police Academy in Washington, from which a select number would go on to the Border Patrol Academy in Los Fresnos, Texas for a special "Technical Investigations Course" to study plastique bombs and assassination weapons.

The instruments of torture were supplied by the CIA's Technical Services Division and transported throughout Latin America via the U.S. embassy's diplomatic pouch. Soon the terror techniques took on a chilling sameness from the Santiago stadium to the naval engineering school in Buenos Aires to the body dumps in San Salvador. No wonder—they came from the same source. The Salvadoran death squads were the outgrowth of the ORDEN paramilitary squads set up by intelligence chief Colonel Medrano with the aid of the CIA under the cover of AID's Public Safety Program (Michael McClintock, *The American Connection*, Vol. I: "State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador" [1985]). Death squad chief Roberto D'Aubuisson, a cashiered security agency officer, had worked with Italian terrorist Delle Chiaie in El Salvador, and joined him at the 1980 WACL congress in Buenos Aires. Barbie, with benefit of a Bolivian diplomatic passport, entered the U.S. several times and visited the huge U.S. paramilitary and counterinsurgency training center in Fort Meade, Indiana.

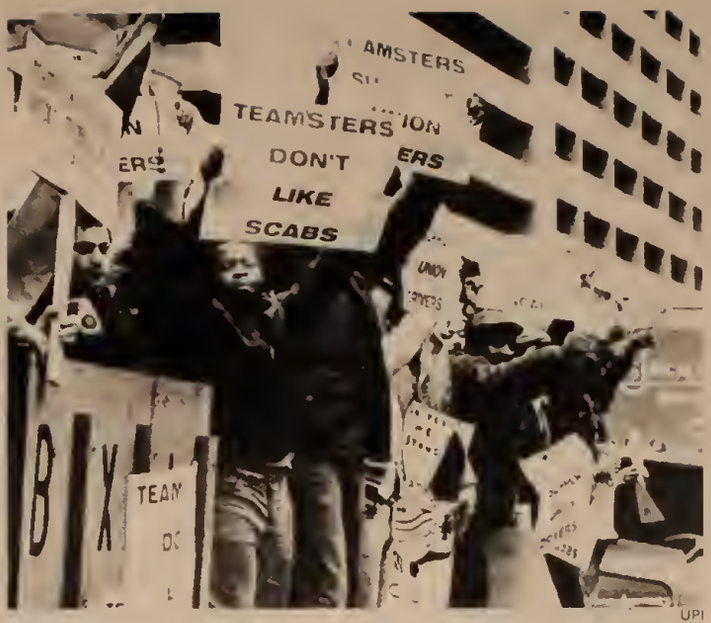
The fascist networks, death squads and international right-wing and terrorist organizations are all part of today's "contra international," supported and financed by U.S. imperialism in its bloody campaign to roll back the gains of social revolution from Hanoi to Cuba to Moscow. Contragate luminary General John Singlaub unites these terrorists in his World Anti-Communist League, praised as "freedom fighters" by President Reagan. And the OSS Rat Line provided a living link for U.S. imperialism to the Nazi scum of the earth. In fact, the Nicaraguan contras have borrowed the tactics of the Croatian fascist Pavelic who once said, "A good Ustase is one who can use his knife to cut a child from the womb of its mother" (*The Nazi Legacy*). The horrifying crimes of Reagan's contras are an integral part of the same anti-Soviet war drive to which U.S. imperialism recruited Klaus Barbie and hundreds of his ilk.

The bombing of Philly MOVE, coming just days after Reagan's "*Sieg Heil*" to the Waffen SS at Bitburg in May 1985, bore a chilling resemblance to some of the crimes of Barbie. It was and is a searing reminder that the *main enemy is at home*. As we have noted before ("U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Only victorious workers revolution will sweep the fascist murderers from the face of the earth and prevent a future holocaust which is even now being prepared using the services of the technicians and executioners of the last one." ■

Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

the same time the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is going into national negotiations with United Parcel Service and on the Master Freight Agreement, which enables the union to shut down trucking coast to coast. After the Teamsters, Reagan's mob has its eyes on the International Longshoremen's Association, the Laborers Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders union. They want to return to the days when all unions were treated as "criminal conspiracies." Reagan wants to "finish the job" on labor he began with the mass firing of 14,000 air controllers. But the destruction of the PATCO union was made possible by the treacherous stab in the back from the rest of labor officialdom who refused to shut down the airports. Now more than ever, organized labor must mobilize its power against this attack on the Teamsters by the capitalist state. Government's dirty hands off the unions!



UPI

Union power in action: Teamsters blocked Philly streets, stopped scabs in 1983 Greyhound strike.

"Take the Word Justice Out of Justice Department"

The Meese mob is ripe for RICO. As Teamster attorney John Climaco said on ABC's *Nightline* (10 June), "The Justice Department should be concerned about cleaning its own skirts." According to the *Los Angeles Times* (10 June), "the lawsuit would include 'misfeasance' charges against Teamster leaders for their alleged failure to root out internal corruption." Look who's talking! The "sleaze factor" extends throughout the Reagan administration, where just about everyone is milking the government under the guise of privatization. Over 100 of the president's men have been charged with lying, cheating, stealing and other chicanery. Meanwhile, the government systematically breaks its own laws: the Environmental Protection Agency suspends hazardous-waste regulations, Health and Human Services drops thousands from the Social Security disability rolls, and "Justice" rips up civil rights legislation.

The feds' idea of law and order comes straight from Al Capone. The Justice Department used a "sting" operation to entrap auto executive John DeLorean and destroy his family. After a Detroit jury rejected RICO charges against him in December, DeLorean is filing suit charging that government agents committed 41 separate felonies in their repeated attempts to frame him: "They obstructed justice by fabricating false evidence. They tried to plant narcotics in my attorney's car.... They backdated documents. They threatened witnesses. They even threatened my attorney in court during the trial" (*New York Post*, 4 April).

Then there's the money launderers, drug traffickers and gunrunners working out of the White House basement. As word leaked out about Oliver North's operations, the Justice Department repeatedly squelched investigations. In May 1986 they stopped an attempt to impanel a grand jury to look into illegal contra arms shipments from Fort Lauderdale, Florida. In October, after U.S. mercenary Hasenfus was shot down in Nicaragua, they called off an investigation of Southern Air (a "former" CIA proprietary). And when the Iran/Contragate scandal was breaking in November, the Criminal Division was kept out of the "investigation," allowing North & Co. to shred incriminating files (*Village Voice*, 21 April).

Meanwhile, the FBI is up to its old COINTELPRO tricks, running a Salvadoran informer, Frank Varelli, in Dallas who infiltrated the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, aided FBI break-ins to CISPES' Dallas offices, helped compile "terrorist files" on almost 700 people (including two U.S. Senators, a House member and a former ambassador), and then traveled to El Salvador to turn this "intelligence" over to the death squads.

Meese is in a class by himself. He is such a crook that his nomination for attorney general was held up almost a year by Congress investigating his financial chicanery. The attorney general has attempted to protect the "imperial presidency" by declaring that special prosecutors are unconstitutional. At the same time he keeps appointing special prosecutors because nobody trusts the crooked Justice Department to investigate its own. The latest case is the Wedtech Corporation (described by a grand jury as a "criminal racketeering enterprise"), where Meese is under investigation for peddling his influence to win government contracts for the South Bronx military contractor. Wedtech paid Meese crony Robert Wallach more than $1 million (including $100,000 which reportedly went for Wallach's expenses in defending Meese during his confirmation hearings as attorney general).

In setting the stage for the Justice Department's attempt to take over the Teamsters, Meese's Organized Crime Commission argued: "The systematic use of trusteeships by the courts may be necessary to prevent organized crime from continuing to do business as usual" (*New York Times*, 11 June)! Usually when the government imposes a trusteeship there is at least the pretense of something minimally reputable about the "trustees." But the kind of "trustee" you would get from the Justice Department might be government informer Michael Raymond. Scheduled to stand trial in Florida for the murder of a 67-year-old widow who he swindled out of thousands of dollars, Raymond was the G-man who blew the lid off the New York City corruption scandal. According to the *New York Times Magazine* (21 June):

> "All the while, this street-smart, steel-nerved confidence man has pursued his own spectacular life of crime...traveled widely under a dozen aliases, carrying out swindles, embezzlements, thefts...."

As Fort Lauderdale chief of detectives Al Ortenzo commented: "maybe they ought to take the word Justice out of Justice Department."

But the mob connections with the gang now running the country go right to the top. A recent book by Dan Moldea, entitled *Dark Victory: Ronald Reagan, MCA, and the Mob* (1986) looks back at Reagan's activities as president of the Screen Actors Guild in the late '40s:

> "...there remain numerous unanswered questions and allegations about the relationship between Reagan and MCA. These doubts raise delicate issues that involve possible personal and political payoffs—as well as links to major Mafia figures, particularly Beverly Hills attorney Sidney Korshak, who has been described by federal investigators as the principal link between the legitimate business world and organized crime."

Reagan helped mobsters to break the strike of the left-wing Conference of Studio Unions in March 1945, hiring an armed bodyguard and carrying a pistol as he crossed the picket lines. And as FBI confidential informant "T-10," Reagan used his status as witchhunter and SAG president to "clear" actress Nancy Davis (later Reagan) of alleged Communist ties.

From Kennedy to Meese: Targeting the Teamsters

Thirty years ago another investigator and attorney general used illegal wiretaps, informants, call girls and entrapment in an effort to break the Teamsters. Then it was liberal Democrat Robert Kennedy. He had been one of Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist witchhunters. From there Kennedy moved to chief counsel of the McClellan Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. Kennedy's vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa enlisted the IRS, FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and the Justice, Labor and Treasury Departments.

To be sure, as one of Hoffa's followers once said, "Jimmy is no angel." Notorious for his underworld connections and shady pension fund deals, Hoffa was a convenient target. He was the epitome of the business unionist, even loaning Teamster pension funds to companies being struck by his own union. In Hoffa's words: "I don't think the drivers expect me to be holding social gatherings for them or to go on the air and tell what's wrong in Germany or Italy. Running a union is just like running a business. We're in the business of selling labor. We're going to get the best price we can" (John Bartlow Martin, *Jimmy Hoffa's Hot* [1959]).

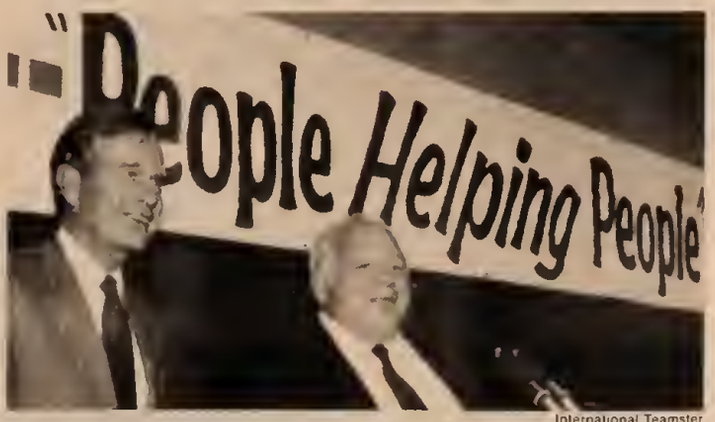
But Hoffa delivered. From the power base of the Central States Drivers Council, he conducted a successful postwar organizing drive in the South and used the tactics of "hot-cargoing" and striking over grievances to circumvent the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law and its prohibitions on secondary boycotts. Hoffa had learned these tactics from Farrell Dobbs, a Trotskyist leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters whose powerful 1934 strike laid the basis for building the Teamsters into an industrial union.

The McClellan committee, following in the footsteps of the government witchhunt against the ILA in the early 1950s, was out to gut the Teamsters' power. In particular, the "Get Hoffa" campaign was aimed at his efforts to win the first national trucking industry contract. Hoffa was indicted on bribery charges, set up by one John Cye Cheatsy, a Kennedy fink who Hoffa had hired as an attorney. He was acquitted in July 1957 by a jury including eight blacks, as Hoffa's friend boxer Joe Louis visited the courtroom in solidarity with the Teamster president. A few months later, despite the vicious campaign waged in the courts and the press by Kennedy's more than 250 full-time investigators, Hoffa became IBT president. And culminating with the Master Freight Agreement in 1964, Hoffa consolidated bargaining for 450,000 over-the-road and local freight drivers.

The McClellan hearing produced the 1959 anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act (originally co-sponsored by John Kennedy), which specifically outlawed the use of "hot-cargoing" in the trucking industry. And after five separate trials over seven years, Kennedy finally entrapped Hoffa on jury tampering charges in 1964. Hoffa was jailed in 1966 for almost five years. After his release, he disappeared on 30 July 1975 during his attempt to regain the Teamster presidency.

The succession of Teamster leaders who followed Hoffa—Frank Fitzsimmons, Roy Williams and now Jackie Presser—were groomed in the Hoffa machine. For the most part they had all of Hoffa's vices, with few if any of his virtues. In addition, the erosion of U.S. capitalism has rendered Teamster-style business unionism increasingly impotent. The union has lost 400,000 jobs in recent years, as major trucking companies have used deregulation of the industry to extract givebacks from the Teamster bureaucracy. The national Master Freight Agreement has been eroded by substandard "two-tier" contracts and the use of casuals.

Jackie Presser was placed atop Local 507 in Cleveland 20 years ago by his father, William Presser. "Bill" Presser served six months in Federal prison on mob-connected charges and "distinguished" himself in the 1970 Ohio Teamster wildcat by asking then-governor Rhodes to send in the National Guard *against his own members.*



International Teamster

Presser invited Bush (left) to '84 Ohio Teamster convention, endorsed Reagan re-election.

Who's calling who corrupt? Above, partial lineup from Time magazine of Reagan administration rogues' gallery: Is this new Teamster executive board?

Presser stated at the time, "It's a hell of a day when we have troops riding shotgun on a truck but somehow we must stop this violence through the law." After this strikebreaking duty, the Guardsmen regrouped against a less formidable target—antiwar protesters at Kent State University—where they opened fire, killing four.

Jackie Presser was elevated to the presidency in 1983, after Roy Williams was jailed under RICO. Presser has been charged with embezzlement, racketeering and padding the payroll of his home Local 507 in Cleveland with "ghost" employees. An earlier Labor Department investigation of Presser was quashed, apparently at the instigation of the FBI. (If Presser, who has admitted to a "relationship" with the FBI, was finking on other Teamster officials and the mob, the federal indictment may be the least of his worries!)

As in the case of Hoffa, the real target of the army of federal prosecutors and the organized crime "strike forces" is not the corrupt and venal Presser, but the Teamsters union itself. Ironically, as a union vice president in the late 1970s, Presser embarked on a campaign to improve the Teamsters' "image." He served Reagan as a "senior economic adviser" and delivered to the Republicans the Teamster endorsement in 1980 and 1984. With Reagan a crippled lame duck and a Baker regency in the White House, George Bush is left holding the bag as the "friend of the Teamsters."

The "Clean" Labor Traitors

Pointing a finger at the Teamsters, ILA and other unions with alleged mob connections has always been a convenient way for the AFL-CIO labor fakers to channel membership heat away from the rotten fruits of their own class collaboration. At last year's United Auto Workers convention, UAW president Owen Bieber began with the proclamation that "his 50-year-old union was not involved in criminal activities" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 June 1986). Maybe the UAW tops don't take mob money—they "merely" traded the jobs of hundreds of thousands of auto workers for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors! All clean, aboveboard and "legal"—and a disaster for the working class.

"Obeying the law" has lost more than a few key strikes. Take Reagan's busting of the air traffic controllers union. Presser grotesquely *praised* Reagan—but what did the other trade-union bureaucrats do? International Association of Machinists chief William Winpisinger kept his members working, thereby ensuring the PATCO strike's defeat. The unions need a class-struggle leadership that will not kowtow to the capitalist cops and courts, and is willing to risk a jail sentence to win a strike.

The difference between the Teamster bureaucrats and their counterparts in the UAW, IAM or CWA is one of style, not substance. Hoffa supported both Republicans and Democrats, depending on where he thought he could get a "better deal." The social democrats are more closely tied to the Democratic Party, the main agency for subordinating the unions to the American capitalist order, and pride themselves on being "labor statesmen" for U.S. imperialism. Victor Reuther of the UAW was the archetypical Cold War labor bureaucrat, breaking Communist Party unions in postwar Europe. In the early 1960s, as Kennedy was persecuting Hoffa, Reuther was advising the CIA:

> "...a breakfast meeting was arranged with Attorney General Robert Kennedy at his home in McLean, Virginia. Walter [Reuther] and I reviewed the situation in Italy, as we understood it, and cautioned Kennedy and Schlesinger that new directives would have to be given to the CIA and its operators in Italy. Kennedy suggested this question be raised directly with the National Security Council and asked us to attend a meeting and present our view."
>
> —Victor Reuther, *The Brothers Reuther* (1976)

These are the "clean" union leaders who drummed the Teamsters out of the AFL-CIO!

Forging class-struggle unions requires independence from the capitalist state and its political parties. The Spartacist League has consistently fought the fake-leftists and union "oppositions" which have made a career backing Labor Department campaigns to "clean up the unions." The classic example was the United Mine Workers' Arnold Miller, a West Virginia coal miner and Democratic Party politico whose Miners for Democracy was swept into office with the aid of the government. Miller spent the next several years collaborating with the courts and Carter government to break wildcats and to derail the militant national coal strike of 1977-78.

In the IBT, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), originally braintrusted by the anti-Soviet International Socialists (now mostly defunct), has pursued the same program of endless court suits against the union bureaucracy. The TDU works hand in glove with the Reagan "Justice" Department to smash the Teamsters. In a recent article, Ken Paff argues that a Justice Department takeover is unnecessary because TDU would do the job for Reagan/Meese:

> "TDU contends that this system [of elections] violates the Landrum-Griffin Act, a view backed by the President's Commission on Organized Crime and some 15 present and former experts in the Labor Department.
>
> "The RICO statute provides for 'reorganization' of any enterprise found racketeer-controlled. Two months ago TDU sent the Justice Department a detailed plan for such a reorganization...."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 21 June

In December TDU supporters filed their own RICO and Landrum-Griffin charges to remove Presser from all union positions (*Convoy Dispatch*, January 1987)! And their keynote speaker at the last TDU convention was none other than Victor Reuther. If the Teamsters are taken over by Meese and company, the TDU can claim its share of the "credit."

For Class-Struggle Unionism!

It was the Trotskyists who laid the foundations of Teamster power in the Minneapolis general strike of 1934. They fought the strike politically, taking on not only the bosses but also the National Guard called out by "friend of the unions" Farmer-Labor Party governor Floyd Olson. Their victory laid the basis for breaking down traditional AFL craft unionism, laying the basis for organizing over-the-road drivers throughout the Midwest. The communist leadership also organized the unemployed into an affiliate section of the union, defended the struggles of federal public works employees, and successfully mobilized labor against the fascist Silver Shirts.

The leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters and the SWP were targeted by Roosevelt and Teamster International president Daniel Tobin. Their "crime" was opposing the imperialist World War II. While the Rooseveltian liberal unionists, business unionists and the Stalinists all enforced the wartime no-strike pledge, speedup, etc., the Trotskyists stood their ground. Roosevelt prosecuted them under the Smith Act, and Tobin moved in with his thugs to "reorganize" the Minneapolis Teamsters. (Hoffa was one of Tobin's chief goons, and used the cops and courts to strip Local 544 of their office, funds, and the union's paper, the *Northwest Organizer*.) Following the war, the Meanys and Reuthers—in cahoots with the government—extended the anti-communist witchhunt throughout the AFL and CIO, consolidating the anti-Soviet, viciously class-collaborationist union bureaucracy that today lords it over the ranks.

You can't fight the union bureaucracy with the capitalist government as an ally. Both corrupt business unionism, whether embodied in Hoffa or his more degenerate successors, and pro-Democratic Party liberalism are equally dead ends. What's necessary is a class-struggle leadership that refuses to subordinate itself to the bourgeois state and fights for genuine political independence: a workers party to struggle for a workers government. As Trotsky stated in his final message to the world's workers ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" [1940]):

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.
>
> "...the independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International."■

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AIA Witchhunters Retract Deadly Libel

We print below a press release issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on June 22.

The Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, has won an important victory for democratic rights against the McCarthyite witchhunters of "Accuracy in Academia," SL spokesmen announced today. Last February the SL launched a libel lawsuit against AIA, its executive director Laszlo Csorba and Reed Irvine, AIA founder and chairman of the board (and head of "Accuracy in Media"). Attorneys for the successful SL action were Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and noted libel attorney Jonathan W. Luhell. On June 19, a settlement of the suit was filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, stating

> "Defendants AIA, Reed Irvine and Laszlo Csorba admit that the statement contained in the pamphlet, 'Appeasing the Censors, A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses,' that Spartacist 'publications (*Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge . . . the killing of police officers' is *false* and hereby retract said statement."

Further conditions of the settlement are that AIA must cease further publication and distribution of the pamphlet until and unless accompanied by a retraction. This retraction must also be prominently displayed in their publication *Campus Report* (with a circulation of 20-25,000). The retraction states:

> "AIA and Laszlo Csorba now admit the falsity of a statement contained in a pamphlet published and distributed by them that the Spartacist League in its 'publications (*Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge . . . the killing of police officers.' This statement about the Spartacist League is false."

Workers Vanguard (No. 423, 6 March) has pointed out that "AIA/[illegible]

Elaine Osowski

Reagan's witchhunter Reed Irvine.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

JAMES M. ROBERTSON, as National Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, an Unincorporated Association,

Plaintiff,

-against-

ACCURACY IN ACADEMIA, INC., REED IRVINE AND LASZLO CSORBA,

Defendants.

STIPULATION & AGREEMENT OF SETTLEMENT

87 CIV. 2242 (RJW)

U.S. DISTRICT COURT FILED JUN 19 1987 S.D. OF N.Y.

THIS SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT is made and entered into on [illegible]

AIA and Laszlo Csorba now admit the falsity of a statement contained in a pamphlet published and distributed by them that the Spartacist League in its "publications (Workers Vanguard, Young Spartacus, and The Spartacus [sic]) urge . . . the killing of police officers." This statement about the Spartacist League is false.

SL won settlement requiring AIA to print above retraction in its journal Campus Report.

Campus Contras Cry Uncle

AIM are part of the Reaganauts' domestic war to regiment the American population into acquiescence to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Irvine and Csorba are more than just ideological witchhunters. They're sinister Oliver Norths on the home front, reflecting the 'privatization' of the drive for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. It's privatized McCarthyism." *Young Spartacus* has noted also that AIA stands squarely behind the racist marauders who've attacked black students and anti-racist militants on the campuses. When the staff of the conservative *Dartmouth Review* wielded sledgehammers to level a shantytown occupied by students opposing apartheid, AIA's *Campus Report* ran a prominent fund appeal for the racists' legal defense.

"Reed Irvine's pretensions to 'accuracy' in media or anywhere else have been exploded by his admission in court to a falsehood," said SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein. Furthermore, she pointed out, "Inveterate disinformer Irvine hopes to shift the responsibility for this libel to Csorba in their public retraction. It was Irvine himself whom we served with the legal papers, as he was going into ABC studios at 6:30 a.m. to complain that his brain child, the anti-Soviet soap opera *Amerika*, wasn't anti-Communist enough! Today, this self-admitted and public exposure of Irvine & Co.'s 'Big Lie' technique is a victory for all the potential victims of their smear jobs in the service of Reagan reaction. Their admission of falsification should demoralize their supporters, and discourage those who would otherwise attempt to so libel us."

The Spartacist League has successfully beaten back other attempts to smear leftists and Marxists as terrorists. In settlement of the SL's lawsuit against the 1983 FBI "terrorism" guidelines, the FBI and Attorney General agreed to change the FBI's former sinister definition of the SL to exactly what the SL says it is—a Marxist political organization. In 1983 an SL lawsuit forced the Moonie *Washington Times* to retract their deadly libel that the militant union-backed SL-initiated demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982 had provoked violence against cops. Reed Irvine and Laszlo Csorba have also written for the *Washington Times*, Wolkenstein noted.

She added, "It is utterly incongruous that our organization, which attempts to influence important social issues and causes in the courts, could be terrorist. The SL has intervened in the courts not only in defense of itself, but also has filed *amicus curiae* briefs in the U.S. Supreme Court. We filed an *amicus* brief in support of separation of church and state and for freedom of association in the Sun Myung Moon 'tax fraud' case. And our brief in defense of science and the gains of the Enlightenment in the Louisiana 'creationism' case was noted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 20), which commented that the case 'drew a stack of legal documents from groups ranging from the Marxist Spartacist League to the National Association of Evangelicals'."

"We have stood up in this decade of social and political reaction not only for our own rights, but for those of so many others who appear weak and alone," said SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg. "Many groups have been smeared without redress, since they were without funds and resources to fight. Our victory against Reed Irvine and AIA is a victory for every trade unionist, every student and academic protester, every minority, everyone in opposition to this reactionary government. Leftists must not be attacked with impunity! We will continue to fight with every legal and political means at our disposal to ensure that."

AIA has especially targeted university professors, including Howard Zinn of Boston University, who gave the following statement to the SL: "I understand that Accuracy in Academia has claimed that the Spartacus Youth League advocates the killing of policemen. Whatever my own political disagreements with the Spartacus Youth League, I have seen no evidence of their belief in such tactics, and to falsely accuse an organization of that is to set them up for violence directed against them. My own experience with Accuracy in Academia is that they are dishonest, especially in claiming to be objectively interested in accuracy, when it is clear that they are interested in purging left-wing and even liberal faculty from universities. In short, they do not believe in academic freedom, are contemptuous of the ability of students to think for themselves about the important issues of politics, and have no faith in the democratic value of pluralist opinions."

The SL suit won endorsements from many teachers and civil libertarians, including individuals such as Harvard Law School professor Derrick Bell, *In These Times* editor James Weinstein, CUNY professor Bogdan Denitch, Michael Meeropol, Nathan Hare, Chip Berlet of the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee, and many others, including trade unionists. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 432 10 July 1987

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calls it a "Radical Reorganization of Economic Management." His program, approved last week by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, would dismantle centralized planning. Under the pressure of imperialist militarism and fearing a resumption of economic slowdown, the Kremlin tops have responded with market-oriented reforms internally while seeking accommodation with Western capitalism. But Russia's current economic troubles are not due to the system of centralized planning and management, the motor force of the Soviet Union's transformation from a backward, overwhelmingly peasant country into a great industrial/military power. Rather, the underlying cause is bureaucratic rule by the parasitic and nationalistic Stalinist betrayers of the Bolshevik Revolution.

According to Gorbachev's program, by the end of 1990 individual enterprises (except in the military sector) will determine what they produce and in what quantities. The centralized setting of prices along with most subsidies are to be gradually done away with. Enterprise managers will be given the right to cut wages and bonuses and to lay off "redundant" workers. Enterprises whose revenues still do not cover costs will have to close.

Summing up these measures, a *New York Times* editorial (1 July) concludes: "Yet another Communist giant, *the* Communist giant, now sets out to undo the Revolution of 1917 with the Revolution of 1987." This is wishful thinking. It would take more than a new Central Committee directive on the economy to undo the first victorious workers revolution in history—the October Revolution of 1917. It would take a bloody counterrevolution against the determined resistance of Soviet workers and peasants.

However, dismantling central planning, operating enterprises on the basis of market profitability and spawning a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs—inevitably producing unemployment and inflation—will strengthen the internal forces of capitalist restoration in the USSR. To arrest and counter such developments, Soviet workers must struggle in the name of an authentically socialist program against Gorbachev's "radical reorganization" of the economy. A real socialist renewal in the USSR demands a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin oligarchy, restoring soviet democracy and recasting the economic plan in the interests of the workers and peasants.

We are publishing below a section, "The Russian Question and Gorbachev," from the Spartacist League's draft national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," adopted by the SL/U.S. Political Bureau on June 16. The document, while noting that the actual economic changes introduced were not yet significant, observed, "the *direction* of these economic changes is toward greater dependence upon market competition." Nine days later Gorbachev announced the most far-reaching "market-oriented reforms" in Soviet history.

TASS from Sovfoto

Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev exhorts Soviet oil workers to work harder. Only workers' overthrow of bureaucratic caste can revitalize Soviet economy.

The document also pointed out that under the slogan of *glasnost* (openness) Gorbachev has stated: "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature." This is an explosive question since the *real history* of the Soviet Union has long been hidden by lies and silence. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders murdered by Stalin have for decades been treated as non-persons in the USSR. The late Isaac Deutscher stated that as Trotsky's biographer he had to dig the co-leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Red Army out "from under a mountain of dead dogs, a huge load of calumny and oblivion" (preface to *The Prophet Unarmed* [1954]). But now the Soviet intelligentsia is digging at that mountain of dead dogs. The spectre of Trotsky haunts Gorbachev's Russia not only because his historic role in founding the Soviet state has been hidden. It is the *program* of the Trotskyist Left Opposition which offers the *revolutionary proletarian* answer to the corruption, social pathology (e.g., widespread alcoholism) and political and economic malaise which Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin now confront and cannot overcome.

In the absence of workers democracy, the now-dominant section of the Soviet bureaucracy sees the discipline of the market as the only answer to the country's serious economic problems. Thus Kremlin spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov remarked on the CBS News special "The Soviet Union: Seven Days in May" (24 June): "I would like for our workers to learn to work as hard as your workers do."

Even before the recent measures, Soviet workers were increasingly disgruntled over Gorbachev's economic policies. In particular, the prospect of layoffs and unemployment is social dynamite in the USSR. Soviet citizens naturally regard job security as their birthright (accounts of widespread unemployment under capitalism are often dismissed as just Kremlin propaganda!). Gorbachev promises that the "release of workers in conditions of the Socialist economy will not bring about unemployment." But if enterprises are free to hire and fire on the basis of market profitability, if government subsidies are largely eliminated, this *will bring about* unemployment in the Soviet Union. Just look at the effects of "market socialism" and self-managed enterprises in Yugoslavia, where the unemployment rate is 14 percent and prices have been doubling every year.

Gorbachev, who is an intelligent politician, knows he cannot simply call for the free play of market forces without inciting massive working-class resistance. So along with economic "restructuring" (*perestroika*) there is also a lot of talk about "democratization"—not the reality but the *semblance* of workers democracy. Here lies a fundamental contradiction. It has been proposed that workers are to elect their own enterprise managers. But what worker is going to vote for a manager who advocates a program of speedup, reintroducing piece rates, widening wage differences and laying off "redundant"

continued on page 6

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Defend the Union—Dump Herman's Sellout!

"Two-Tier" Contract Threatens ILWU

SAN FRANCISCO, July 5—West Coast longshoremen must mobilize to stop the introduction of a deadly dangerous "two-tier" wage structure which threatens the future of their union on the West Coast docks. A tentative three-year contract between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) proposes to cut wages for "casual" workers up to *six dollars* below the rate for registered longshoremen. The terms of ILWU International president Jimmy Herman's sellout were reported by the San Pedro *News Pilot* (2 July), and confirmed by an ILWU Local 13 bulletin the following day. If this sweetheart deal goes through, PMA bosses will use it to gut the union hiring hall, endangering the gains longshoremen won in the 1934 San Francisco general strike.

Under the proposed agreement, registered longshoremen will supposedly have their base wage raised from $17.27 to $19.43 (as marine clerks currently earn). But this is sleight of hand to cover the elimination of the six-hour day, a historic gain of the '34 strike. (Under the old contract longshoremen worked six hours straight time and two hours overtime.) In reality, there will be a wage freeze for the first year for registered dockers, and measly 40-cent and 50-cent hourly increases over the following two years. On hearing the terms of the new contract, one angry longshoreman said, "It looks like the union negotiators were in bed with the employers" (*News Pilot*, 3 July). You bet! With this contract Herman is walking the ILWU off the same plank as the East Coast ILA, whose pay scales and working conditions have been severely eroded.

The stevedore companies are going to save millions of dollars on this dirty deal. With an aging ILWU membership, the "casuals" are the next generation of longshoremen—with no union rights or benefits. And their numbers are dramatically increasing. In Los Angeles, the largest port on the West Coast, there are now 2,500 casuals certified to work in Local 13. This is roughly equal to the entire membership of the Los Angeles local. A permanent caste of second-class workers on the docks is being created and that could easily be turned against the union.

Herman & Co. hope to sell this contract to the older registered longshoremen with sweeteners, like increases in pensions and medical care. But as the *News Pilot* reported, "Employers also have obtained language in the new contract that would eliminate a longtime practice whereby many longshoremen work only four hours for eight hours pay." And the PMA will surely use the contract's new "drug testing" and the provision for *firing* workers for safety violations to wipe out registered union members and replace them with $14-an-hour casuals. The companies went into these negotiations demanding an end to union control of hiring. Now Herman is opening the door to destruction of the hiring hall by massive employment of nonregistered workers!

As *WV* goes to press this sellout proposal is before the Coast Caucus convening on July 7; from there it goes to the membership for ratification. Particularly with the IBU tugboat workers still on strike against company takehacks, ILWU longshoremen must spike this rotten deal and shut down the coast!

Jimmy Herman is today what the despised ILA president Joseph R. Ryan was in 1934—a toady for the bosses. Just as militants in 1934 refused to let Ryan sink the strike, longshoremen must take control of bargaining and strike action away from the Herman gang. For a militant coastwise strike that links up with rail, airport and trucking workers! Smash the PMA's "two-tier" system and all other union-busting schemes! Register all the casuals into the ILWU, and fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages to provide work for all with no loss in pay!

Labor desperately needs a victory to reverse the defeats we have suffered at the hands of the labor traitors who have sold their soul to the Democratic Party. The ILWU is a powerful integrated union with its hands on the pulse of one of the bosses' key arteries—shipping. Now is the time for some hard class struggle that can dump the Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist gang and bust the union-busters. ■

Dispatcher

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union forged in heat of class struggle—San Francisco general strike of 1934.

TROTSKY

Soviet Economy Needs Workers Democracy

Half a century ago Leon Trotsky predicted that Stalinist bureaucratic rule would increasingly arrest the economic development of the Soviet Union. To accelerate Soviet economic development demands restoring soviet democracy, recasting the economic plan in the interests of the workers and peasants, and returning to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution across the globe.

LENIN

The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.

Behind the question of quality stands a more complicated and grandiose problem which may be comprised in the concept of *independent, technical* and *cultural creation*.... Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy, still less an abstract moral. It has become a life-and-death need of the country.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Red Squad Targets Black Radical "New York Eight"

NYPD Launches "Hot Summer"

Biggart/City Sun

Koch's killer cops mobilize to bust heads in black, Hispanic ghettos.

For months New York City police commissioner Benjamin Ward has been talking about prospects of a "long hot summer." This was no prediction but a threat, coming from the chief of Koch's killer cops. And now that summer's here, they're carrying it out. After cops shot a black West Indian man in the Bronx June 20, police threatened the angry crowd which gathered in protest, "A lot of you are going to die this summer." Two days earlier, an army of 200 cops conducted a trial run for martial law, cordoning off a two-block area of the Upper West Side and throwing milling pedestrians up against tenement walls where they were searched for drugs. Last week came the *Newsday* revelation of the cops' systematic spying and surveillance of black militants and community leaders. Now the *Daily News* has exposed police preparations for occupying the ghettos and barrios.

The *News* (5 July) broke the story of unprecedented secret "intelligence" and training sessions, involving more than 450 top police brass at eight meetings during May and June. The maneuvers included mock disturbances and "crowd control" demonstrations by mounted police and motorcycle cops in riot gear. In addition, 600 cops from borough task forces received similar training in April. An elite motorcycle unit, the "Night Mobile Response Task Force," is set up to roar into any neighborhood. Most ominously, police spies singled out the radical black nationalist group, the New York Eight, distributing their photos and rap sheets to 75 precincts in NYC! In a racist vendetta launched by the FBI/NYPD three years ago, the group was rounded up and held in South Africa-style "preventive detention," but the jury threw out the case. So now the cops have them on a hit list, *setting them up for the kill*, just as the FBI's COINTELPRO operation called to "neutralize" black leaders in the '60s and '70s. Also targeted were black lawyers C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, and the Revs. Al Sharpton and Calvin Butts.

WV Photo

June 11—Labor and community protest at Harlem Hospital against vicious cop attack on black doctor.

Newsday (1 July) had already reported that black activists in the city were being tape-recorded, photographed and videotaped by the Police Intelligence Division's "black desk." Black commissioner Ward heatedly denied the charge, but admitted a surveillance unit is tracking the New York Eight. So it's no "desk" but an entire war room! Ward also confirmed that plainclothes cops are regularly attending meetings in the black community, taping and taking pictures, but that doesn't constitute "files," he said. And you don't even have to go to a meeting to get on the cops' list. All you need is a radio and a phone. *Newsday* reported that the NYPD had been monitoring call-in talk shows on black radio station WLIB, where protests against police brutality are frequently discussed. Now Ward says this was "stupid" and has been stopped. "Stupid" only because it was discovered.

Ward defended the use of cop infiltrators: "The Police Department has always done that," he said. The cops have a long history of spying, all right. The NYPD Radical Squad, founded in 1912, was known for many years as BOSSI (Bureau of Special Services and Investigation). In the '60s the Red Squad placed an agent named Eugene Roberts among Malcolm X's bodyguards. Columnist Murray Kempton wrote in *Newsday* (3 July):

> "The only worthwhile information Roberts found to relay on Malcolm X was that his enemies were about to shoot him, a piece of news that BOSSY took with such frozen tranquility that, when the assassins rose up on schedule that Sunday, there wasn't a cop in or near the Audubon Ballroom to inhibit them."

In 1969 Roberts was instrumental in the indictment of the Panther 21 on fanciful frame-up charges of conspiring to blow up the Bronx Botanical Gardens and Macy's among other targets! They were acquitted, but not before spending two years in prison while the NY Panther organization was dismembered.

During the Panther 21 trial, the vast scope of the COINTELPRO/BOSSI infiltration, provocation and entrapment emerged. As a result of a lawsuit filed in 1971 by civil rights attorney Barbara Handschu, the cops were finally ordered in September 1986 (!) to release over a million dossiers compiled by the supposedly dismantled Red Squad. The "Handschu agreement" also set up a special panel which must approve police spying on political groups. This "watchdog group," comprised of two high-ranking police officials and a former federal judge, approved the surveillance of the New York Eight. Whatever they call it, the Red Squad is alive and well and terrorizing New Yorkers.

"Terrence Killing Is Murder"

The cops claim that Terrence Keane was killed in a struggle over a cop's gun after his car sideswiped a police vehicle. They're lying. The June 20 killing stunned the north Bronx community, a working-class Italian and West Indian area near Mount Vernon. An eyewitness told *WV* she saw the two cops, one on either side of the car, beating Keane with nightsticks: "Terrence never came out. The only time he came out is when they pulled his body out of the car." Black state assemblyman Larry Seabrook asked Ward the obvious question, in a letter released at a June 24 NAACP press conference outside the 41st Precinct: "How was Mr. Keane able to struggle with two officers on either side of the vehicle while Mr. Keane lay across the front seat?"

Predictably, the police found the killing "in the boundaries of department guidelines." But the truth was spray-painted on the sidewalk at the corner of White Plains Road: "Terrence Killing Is Murder." The night Keane was killed, West Indians poured into the streets; tires burned and cops clubbed people, trying to stop them from talking to the press. One Jamaican woman told *WV* she asked the cops what had happened and was answered with a nightstick. She shouted back, "Do you think this is South Africa? I guess that's what you want to implement here. But we'll fight just like they do." The stepped-up police presence and the fallout from the cops' wanton killing has exacerbated racial tensions in an area which had a fair degree of integration.

Things are so bad that Yankees' boss George Steinbrenner felt he could go on national TV and call his chief accountant "black boy"! Bigot Steinbrenner took his cue from the cops. In one recent incident, Andrew Kaufman, a white English professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, saw a cop beating two blacks at the Columbus Circle subway station on April 1. "I began taking notes when I saw the policeman hit a man in the head with his radio," he said. Before that the cop slammed the head of one of the men against the wall and kicked his foot out from under him. Three plainclothes transit cops saw Kaufman taking notes, called him "trash" for sympathizing with blacks, arrested him and turned him over to the NYPD who held him for 48

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For Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense Against Racist Terror!

FOR INTERNATIONAL CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE!

A Spartacist League forum, "For International Class-Struggle Defense!" held June 19 in New York City gave a taste of what Lenin meant when he wrote that a revolutionary party must be a "tribune of the people." Speakers at the forum were Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee; Judy Zimmet, of the Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund; Berta Langston, of the Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center; Wadiya Ahu-Jamal, wife of Mumia Ahu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and outspoken supporter of MOVE who has been on death row for five years in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania on frame-up charges; and Lisa Davidson of the Spartacist League speaking in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution.

Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Borough of Manhattan president in the 1985 NYC elections, underlined in his remarks during the discussion the importance of bringing together "such a diverse group of people—from those who are here to talk about the Vanunu case as well as the MOVE cases—supporting a defense which comes under one umbrella. This is particularly important in this city where Farrakhan and Koch want to set black and Jew against each other. It's particularly important in the United States where you have a black Democrat in bloc with the Ku Klux Klan, such as Andrew Young and the heads of the KKK and Nazis, working within the Democratic Party. This meeting is a testimony to the need to unite across race lines the entire struggle of the oppressed against imperialist war."

Certainly there are many sinister agencies of various governments, from the Mossad to the FBI, who would have liked to see that this meeting never happened. A team of union members and SL supporters served as ushers to ensure the democratic rights and safety of all those in attendance. In the days before the forum we heard that the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency" was trying to organize a "contingent" against the meeting. This dubious outfit of embittered quitters from the SL has staged a series of provocations against our public meetings, including coming with a clanking "tool kit." When the BT contingent showed up at this forum and were told that they would be searched before being admitted to the meeting, they refused to attend.

We print below edited excerpts from speakers at the forum.

WV Photo

New York City, June 19—Reuben Shiffman of the Partisan Defense Committee speaks at Spartacist forum. Seated, from left: Frank Hunter, Judy Zimmet, Berta Langston, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, Lisa Davidson.

Frank Hunter,
Forum Chairman

Certain cases shape and condition entire periods of history. A defining case for the communist movement was that of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a member of the French general staff who, on October 15, 1894, was framed up, convicted and imprisoned on Devil's Island for charges of high treason—spying for the Germans—in a wave of anti-Semitism that swept France. There were many French socialists who refused to defend Dreyfus on the grounds that it was just a squabble amongst the bourgeoisie. Others, both in the socialist movement and the radical bourgeois movement, not only defended Dreyfus but won his freedom from Devil's Island. As Lenin counseled in *What Is To Be Done?*, communists must be "able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects." As Trotskyists, the Spartacist League takes this position as its own.

Judy Zimmet,
Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund

Mordechai Vanunu is the courageous Israeli nuclear technician who now faces the death penalty in Israel for his spectacular exposure of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. (See "Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!" WV No. 429, 29 May, which features an interview with Judy Zimmet.)

I would like to thank the Spartacist League for their support right from the beginning. Also, your group has ventured into territory that other people do not want to dare approach. You're supporting an issue that is very important, that deals with principles, and from my personal experience I have found the way the world works through my involvement with trying to help Motti [Mordechai Vanunu]....

WV Photo

Judy Zimmet

Motti is currently in isolation and he is being charged with espionage, treason and the passing of secrets to an enemy at time of war. These are trumped-up charges. His main hope right now is that he would like an open trial. However, the Israeli government wants to keep everything closed. Since Motti can't be here, I'd like to read to you a few passages from his letter, number 20, from May 19:

> "I can blame this government, not as they want to blame me. I blame them that they are the traitors on this country, on human beings, against international laws and I can prove it in the trial. And I can justify what I did. I am not stupid. If I was not sure for what I did I would not have done it. Now the people here, they concentrate on my life and not on the nuclear subject and that's what the Shin Bet [Israeli secret police] wants.. I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth. I'll be free and I can continue my life and my best to help human beings. This country, they believe in power and war. They want to kill more and more. By this blood they convince themselves that the whole world is against them."

Berta Langston,
Committee to Defend Michael Warshawsky and the Alternative Information Center

The Alternative Information Center was closed down in a Gestapo-style raid by the Israeli police last February in Jerusalem. Michael Warshawsky, the Center's director and a prominent Israeli leftist, faces up to 23 years in prison on outrageous charges brought under the draconian "Emergency Defense Regulations" and the "Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance."

The Alternative Information Center in Israel is a Jewish and Arab collective that regularly puts out a biweekly newspaper called *News From Within* in order to call the world's attention to the kinds of oppression that the Israeli state was inflicting on the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. When the Alternative Information Center was raided, the police seized all the equipment, confiscated it, sealed the premises and arrested six members of the staff. Although five were released within 48 hours, Michael Warshawsky, who is the director, was held for two weeks in solitary confinement. Since this was the first time such an act had been taken against a Jew, there was protest within Israel.

WV Photo

Berta Langston

The initial charges were that they were terrorists. It was a complete figment of one Shin Bet officer's testimony. The charges now against Warshawsky include rendering typing services to a prohibited organization!

It's become evident that the Center was closed down because it was a vital source of information. For example, a week before the raid the Alternative Information Center held a demonstration, distributed and circulated a petition, called press conferences about Vanunu. It would not have hit the Israeli press at that point otherwise.

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

Ona MOVE and good evening. Both Mumia and I thank the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee for inviting me here today and

WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

also those of you who came out for the information. The theme of tonight's gathering is to concentrate on how this corrupt empire is causing mayhem all over the world. But as Mumia often says, "It's only one earth." If I were to ask you to name a town where the state has murdered 300 people, what would you answer? Belfast, Soweto, many others? Then why not the "City of Brotherly Shove," Philadelphia? Consider this: between 1971 and 1981 the cops in Philly shot 700 people. In that same ten-year period, 300 of these people died as a direct result of that campaign of terror. Three hundred people, just think of that incredible number—85 percent were blacks and Puerto Ricans, mostly blacks.

On December 9, 1981, Philadelphia cops tried to add my husband's name to their deadly roll call. He became one of the 700 shot, but thank god, not one of the 300 killed. And because they failed in the street, they took it to the next phase—the courts. The same courts that my husband spent his professional life exposing. The same courts that have never, ever convicted one cop for literally murdering hundreds of people—poor folk. Because Mumia fought and still fights for his alleged constitutional rights to select his own jury, to conduct his own defense, in his own way, he was expelled, ejected, removed from these courts.

In Philadelphia, with cops on the take, judges on the take, a mayor stained with mass murder, politicians neck-deep in scandal, where is a just man to be found? Who will act in a just way? Remember, Philadelphia: 300 people killed—not one arrest of a cop for murdering *ever*. Remember, Philadelphia: nine MOVE people jailed for over 100 years each, allegedly for killing one cop. Is this justice? Remember, Philadelphia: at least eleven men, women and babies bombed and burnt to death—not one cop or politician charged with these murders. Is this justice? Remember, Philadelphia: Mumia Abu-Jamal shot, beaten, both on the streets and in the hospital, sentenced to death while innocent of the crime he was accused of by this system of mass murder and mayhem.

Is this justice? I say no! I say, hell no! I say the only justice we can find is the justice we can fight for. I say true justice is organizing to return Mumia to his family and his role as the revolutionary journalist he is. Mumia was the spokesman for the oppressed, the outcast, the coatless, the homeless, victims of state terror, the rebels against this system of insanity, the people trampled in the dust by this rotten system. Yes, Mumia was the voice of the voiceless. So let us struggle with Mumia as though it were our very own struggle, for truly it is. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and all political prisoners!

UPI

Revolutionary Worker

Philadelphia, 8 August 1978: 600 cops lay siege to MOVE house (above). Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal (right) is on death row in racist frame-up. For his courageous exposure of kangaroo court trials of MOVE, he himself was framed on charges of murdering a cop. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Free all the MOVE prisoners!

Landau/Jerusalem Post

Arad/Newsweek

Mordechai Vanunu gagged by Israeli police on way to Jerusalem court (above). Vanunu faces death penalty for exposing Israeli government's giant nuclear arsenal. Mottl wrote: "I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth."

Lisa Davidson,

Spartacist League

We're here tonight to speak out in defense of the victims of the organized repression of the capitalist state. An entire people, the Vietnamese, were victims of this repression, and for 40 years fought a heroic battle against the French, the Japanese and finally the American imperialists. Today, 12 years after their victory, they're still imprisoned in desperate poverty, a legacy of those long years of imperialist war. Today Vietnam is reportedly the fourth poorest country in the world. There is a deliberate policy on the part of imperialism and its allies to bleed Vietnam white, a vindictive embargo, continual hostile military encirclement and attack—China from the north acting as imperialism's proxy, and in Kampuchea Vietnamese military forces stand between the Cambodian people and the genocidal maniac Pol Pot.

The fear of another Vietnam permeates the ruling class, the fear of popular opposition to a Central American invasion and especially the fear of the effect of an invasion on the combat troops who are so heavily black and Hispanic. Today the reformist left on Central America echoes the view of the ruling class with their slogan "No More Vietnams." We hail the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution as our victory, as the victory of those everywhere who oppose injustice and class exploitation.

Reuben Shiffman,

Co-Chairman, Partisan Defense Committee

The causes that we rally for tonight certainly exemplify the Reagan years. Eight rotten years of social reaction at home, fueled by an imperialist war drive abroad. In this deeply racist country, the MOVE bombing stands out as bearing the signature of the Reagan years. We are honored to have provided a platform for their grief and their righteous anger immediately after this hideous crime.

Mordechai Vanunu exposed not just the existence but the massive scale of Israel's Doomsday Machine, which targets not only every Arab capital but the USSR itself. Vanunu's exposure underlines the urgency and provides perhaps a little more time for the international working class to disarm the capitalist rulers before they plunge us all into thermonuclear annihilation. All humanity owes this man a debt of gratitude. We hail his courage and applaud those—like Michael Warshawsky—who have come to his defense inside the Zionist fortress. Which I might add is not easy. Although separated by two continents and an ocean, the cause of this Sephardic Jew who converted to Anglicanism and the black nonconformists of MOVE are one!

While favoring every effort in the courts on their behalf, we cannot leave their fate to the repressive institutions of the bourgeois state. What is needed to win the freedom of Vanunu, Ramona Africa, Mumia and all of the MOVE prisoners and all of the victims of racist terror is an international campaign of mass protest which brings to hear the power of the organized labor movement. The Partisan Defense Committee stands in the tradition of the International Labor Defense, founded by James P. Cannon in 1925. It fused the Wobblies' tradition of militant class-struggle non-sectarian defense with the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution, a revolution not just made for the Russians and the oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire, but for the workers and oppressed of the world.

The ILD together with the International Red Aid rallied millions from Shanghai to San Francisco for Sacco and Vanzetti, for revolutionaries subjected to white terror in Eastern Europe, for besieged Nicaragua when the U.S. Marines went in in the late '20s. The PDC and SL defense work has been forged in a hard period, not unlike the

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Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

(continued from page 1)

workers? And if workers can elect their managers, they may demand to elect the higher-ups as well.

Thus, the Gorbachev regime is permitting and even encouraging dissent and criticism of the status quo while introducing economic policies detrimental to the workers' material interests and repugnant to their collectivist and socialist consciousness. That creates an explosive combination which can blow away the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy and restore the Soviet Union as a bastion of workers democracy and vanguard of world socialist revolution.

[Subheads in the following document are by *Workers Vanguard*.]

"The Russian Question and Gorbachev"

The paralysis of the Reagan regime parallels and to some degree interacts with the emergence of a new, highly competent and reform-minded leadership in the Soviet Union. In the media and American bourgeois political circles the contrast is made between the lazy, ineffectual and dull-witted Reagan and the energetic, able and highly intelligent Gorbachev. More substantively, significant sections of the American bourgeoisie and its allies believe Reagan incompetent to negotiate advantageously with Gorbachev, who appears decidedly more willing than his predecessors in the Kremlin to make major concessions to imperialism for the sake of "peaceful coexistence."

Turnley/Newsweek

Soviet leader with rabid warmonger Reagan. Gorbachev's pipe dream: peace with imperialism.

Under the watchwords *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring), the two-year-old Gorbachev regime has effected dramatic changes in the Soviet Union. From the White House basement to cafeterias in Moscow factories, people are asking: what does it all mean, where is Russia going?

Schematically, the current developments in the Soviet Union can be broken down into three major components, which Gorbachev and his supporters regard as integrally linked. *One*, there is a genuine *liberalization* of political and intellectual life marked by an outpouring of criticism and dissent within both the bureaucracy and intelligentsia; the relaxation of censorship and publication of long-suppressed works; the freeing of some political prisoners (there weren't many); renewed attacks on the historic crimes of Stalin; and a purge of the bureaucracy, including at the highest levels, for corruption and other violations of legality. *Two*, there is a strenuous effort to accelerate economic growth by increasing the rate of investment and by strengthening labor discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns as well as widening wage and income differentials. *Three*, Gorbachev has expressed a strong desire to improve relations with Western (and Japanese) imperialism, indicating a willingness to make greater concessions than his predecessors in the Kremlin, especially to secure arms control.

The Gorbachev regime is not an aberrant development in the Soviet Union. Rather it is a response to the mounting *objective* pressures upon the Soviet bureaucracy since the mid-1970s, centrally matching the massive military buildup of U.S. imperialism, during a period of *decelerating* economic growth. Additionally, the Gorbachev regime reflects the recrudescence of a Soviet intelligentsia both overlapping but also to some degree alienated from the bureaucracy.

Gorbachev, like Andropov before him, has sharply condemned the stultifying complacency and fatuous self-congratulation as well as the rampant corruption and nepotism of the last Brezhnev years. These attitudes in part reflected the genuine accomplishments of the first decade of the Brezhnev era. Between 1965 and 1975 the Soviet Union simultaneously achieved a rough strategic nuclear parity with the U.S., which was bogged down by the Vietnam War, and increased the living standards of its citizens by around 50 percent. Additionally, the Kremlin was able to massively subsidize East Europe, Cuba and various Third World client states.

Behind the Economic Slowdown

Beginning in the mid-1970s things began to go badly for the Soviet bureaucracy. U.S. imperialism partly recovered from the effects of the Vietnam War and began a major military buildup aimed at restoring nuclear first-strike capability. At the same time, the Soviet Union was experiencing a sharp decline in economic growth. The period 1977-1982 marked the worst economic performance in the post-World War II history of the USSR.

Historically, the growth of Soviet industrial development has been what Western bourgeois economists call *extensive* growth, constructing new factories and increasing the labor force to match. During the 1970s, 80 percent of Soviet industrial investment went into new construction compared to only 50 percent in the U.S. By the early 1970s the Soviet Union (except for the Central Asian republics) began to experience a serious labor shortage. Drawing workers from the countryside into the industrial workforce only further weakened agriculture, the weak link of the economy.

Raymer/National Geographic

Soviet people have achieved a dramatic rise in living standards since devastation of World War II, but in recent years economic growth has slowed.

For the past decade and a half, switching to *intensive* economic growth, through retooling and modernizing the existing industrial plant, has been a standard theme in official Soviet economic pronouncements. However, this confronts a fundamental obstacle in the *microeconomic effects of bureaucratic parasitism*. Managers routinely hoard labor and waste raw materials, sacrifice quality to meet the quantitative plan targets, understate actual capacity and resist innovation and risk-taking. No less a debilitating effect of bureaucratic rule is the workers' slack attitude toward labor discipline, captured in the joke common throughout the Soviet bloc: we pretend to work and they pretend to pay us.

At a time when resources were needed to modernize the aging Soviet industrial plant, the Kremlin leadership sharply cut back the rate of investment to match the rapid U.S. military buildup under Carter and Reagan. The planned growth of investment fell from 7 percent a year in the early '70s to 2 percent a year in the first half of the 1980s. However, the Soviet Union clearly could not continue to maintain its military strength at the cost of economic stagnation.

From the standpoint of the Soviet bureaucracy, there are only three alternatives. One is to sharply cut back living standards to create an additional surplus for both investment and military spending. No element of the bureaucracy has to date advocated or apparently contemplated such a policy. Two is to reduce military spending. There appears to be a consensus within the Soviet leadership that a major reduction depends upon "arms control" agreements with the West. Hence, the Kremlin, especially under Gorbachev, makes this its primary aim in dealing with Washington and the other NATO capitals. The third alternative is to increase labor productivity by one means or another.

Andropov, during his short period of leadership, attempted this not through structural changes in the economy but through purging especially corrupt and incompetent managers and officials and by countering slack work discipline through anti-alcoholism/anti-absenteeism campaigns. Such policies have been credited for the moderate improvement in Soviet economic growth over the last few years, but the economic effects of such campaigns are inherently limited and short-term.

The anti-alcoholism campaign ex-

Yevgeni Khaldei

Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazi occupation. Soviet soldiers hoist red flag from Reichstag, Berlin, May Day 1945.

presses more than simply economic calculation on the part of the Kremlin leadership. There is a genuine concern about the moral debilitation of Soviet society. Within the Communist Party, including its higher ranks, there are ascetic Communists (Andropov and Mikhail Suslov were notable) who willfully do not drink or collect fancy foreign cars like Brezhnev did. Such attitudes are shared and appreciated by a wide spectrum of the intelligentsia.

Resurgence of the Intelligentsia

Gorbachev's new course is more than a conjunctural response by the Soviet leadership to increasing pressure from imperialist militarism amid mounting economic difficulties. It also reflects the changing *social environment* in which the bureaucracy itself exists. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin's purges and the Hitlerite invasion, there has re-emerged in Russia a substantial intelligentsia with considerable social weight. The technical intelligentsia wants to modernize the country even if this entails driving the workers harder and making the concessions necessary to secure economic cooperation with Western capitalism. The intelligentsia resents the philistinism of the typical party boss and is repelled by the drabness of official culture. They are embarrassed and also perhaps envious that leading artistic figures (e.g., Brodsky, Baryshnikov, Rostropovich) emigrated to the West. Gorbachev has set out to overcome the alienation by the apparatchiks of the intelligentsia, including among elements of the "dissidents" and émigrés.

While there is presently no known tendency within the Soviet intelligentsia which aspires to revolutionary Marxism, the present intellectual ferment and openness could lead elements of the intelligentsia back to authentic Bolshevism. In this respect the most positive aspect of *glasnost* for us is the *critical re-examination* of Soviet history. "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature," Gorbachev stated last February. There has been a spate of new and previously suppressed books and films about the crimes and failures of Stalin. Even more significant is the renewed attention to the old Bolshevik leaders killed by Stalin. A play about the treaty of Brest-Litovsk scheduled to open in Moscow, presenting Trotsky and Bukharin as historical figures—i.e., as leaders of the Communist Party—constitutes clear repudiation of the Moscow Trials' shameful fabrications. Lenin's Testament has been publicized for the first time (although it has long been available in the *Collected Works*). The new edition of the Soviet encyclopedia *The Great October Socialist Revolution* to be published next fall will include for the first time such figures as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek.

Gorbachev and his supporters have denounced Trotskyism not as a disguised form of counterrevolution but as ultraleftism. Thus intellectuals who consider themselves to the left of Gorbachev, especially on international questions, may well be drawn to Trotskyism as they are given to understand it.

Viktor Bulla

Bolshevik Revolution gave power to the working class. Putilov factory workers elect delegates to Petrograd Soviet, 1920.

Potential for Worker Resistance

While Gorbachev's course has been generally and warmly welcomed by the Soviet intelligentsia, the working class has been far from enthusiastic if not outright distrustful. And for good reason. Before Gorbachev took power in the Kremlin in 1984, there was much speculation in the West that he would introduce sweeping market-oriented reforms along the line of Kadar's Hungary and Deng's China. Gorbachev himself has spoken of the need for "radical" and even "revolutionary" changes in the economy. However, to date the economic changes have been quite modest, far less significant than those introduced by Brezhnev/Kosygin after they ousted Khrushchev in the mid-'60s. The main economic changes thus far have been making legal and therefore taxable individual and family entrepreneurship (e.g., handymen, taxi drivers); granting the 20 industrial ministries and over 70 industrial associations and large enterprises the right to conduct foreign trade; and most recently widening income differentials between workers and technical intellectuals, and reintroducing piece rates, only now based upon quality.

While modest in scope, the *direction* of these economic changes is toward greater dependence upon market competition. Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy, a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems.

A leading Soviet manpower expert, Vladimir Kostakov, maintains that layoffs of redundant workers are necessary to improve labor productivity. The Gorbachev regime itself identifies more rapid economic growth with increasing inequality. A recent television program presented an imagined debate between a young Gorbachev reformer and an older, conservative apparatchik. The latter argued that things aren't that bad and then said, in any event, "People would prefer to live equally in poverty, rather than unequally in wealth." Many workers are bound to ask, why can't we have *both* wealth and equality as is promised us by our country's official socialist doctrine?

Gorbachev's *perestroika* not only goes against the immediate material interests of most workers but also affronts their deep reservoir of collective feeling. At the same time, the regime's call for *glasnost* permits a degree of organized dissent against official policies. Thus last December workers at the Kamaz truck plant east of Moscow protested against cuts in production bonuses, arguing that they were being penalized for the faults of management. The present situation in the Soviet Union is probably more favorable for the emergence of an *independent* workers movement than at any time since the 1920s.

Prague Spring 1968, Moscow Spring 1987

In its internal dynamics the present situation in the Soviet Union bears a resemblance to the 1968 Prague Spring. (Perhaps it is more than a biographical accident that Gorbachev's roommate at Moscow University in the early 1950s was a young Czech Communist, Zdenek Mlynar, who later became one of the leading architects of the Prague Spring.) After a period of economic stagnation, there was a linkage between a section of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia and a modernizing section of the bureaucracy against the old-time Stalinist apparatchiks, secret policemen and trade-union functionaries. There were proposals to close uneconomic plants and to make labor more plastic.

Initially, the Czech workers, through their bureaucratized trade unions, *opposed* the Dubcekite reformers since they did not want labor to be plasticized. They were satisfied drawing down a not very good wage while doing nothing. But then the issue of soviet democracy came into play, and sections of the workers began to realize that the parasites who were sitting on top of their "trade unions" could be dumped, that maybe they could get something fundamentally better than the status quo. There was a historical moment—not very long—in which the censorship, secret police and the rest of the Stalinist ruling apparatus was embarrassed and paralyzed. It was fear of an incipient proletarian political revolution which caused the Soviet-bloc armies to invade Czechoslovakia and put a stop to the Prague Spring.

TASS from Sovfoto

Kamaz truck factory near Moscow: last December workers protested against cuts in their bonuses due to their managers' production incompetence.

Compared to Czechoslovakia in 1968 the divisions within the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy today are far less sharp and the popular response far more passive. Thus the present liberalization could well gradually give way to a conservative restoration, as happened with Khrushchev's "thaw" in the mid-1950s. But there is also in the dynamic of the situation the potential for a Soviet version of the Prague Spring. The Soviet army has been reliable in suppressing working-class unrest (Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968). However, in the face of an incipient proletarian political revolution within Russia, the army might well split, with some units (both ranks and officers) going over to the soviets, other units supporting the existing Kremlin regime. It would look perhaps more like a civil war, with the armed forces already in place, than a revolution. (A variant of

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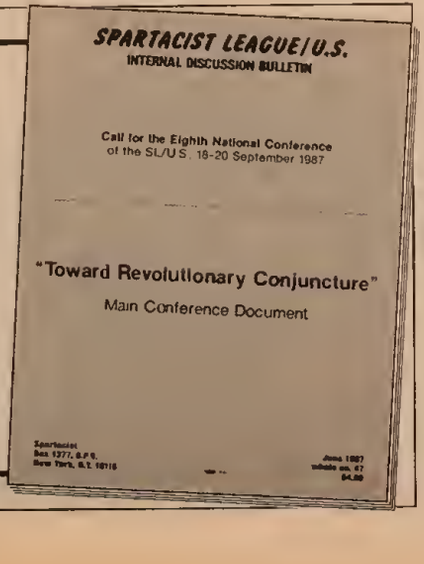
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Call for the Eighth National Conference of the SL/U.S., 18-20 September 1987
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Gorbachev's Russia...

(continued from page 7)

this was sketched in Craig Thomas' novel *The Snow Falcon*.)

For Soviet Victory in Afghanistan!

The fundamental difference between what is now happening in Russia and the Prague Spring is that the Soviet Union is not Czechoslovakia. Gorbachev's policies are very much directed at improving relations with Western imperialism. For the Kremlin tops are genuinely frightened of nuclear war and in this they reflect the mass sentiment of the Soviet people: a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. However, the nationalistic and parasitic bureaucracy translates the justified fear of war into a détentist outlook that is groveling, absurd and self-defeating.

Gorbachev has indicated he is prepared to go further to secure "peaceful coexistence" than his predecessors in the Kremlin. Addressing the international celebrities who assembled for the Moscow "no nuke" conference last February, he declared:

> "Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country."

Georgi Shakhnazarov, a senior official in the CPSU's Socialist Countries Department, has stated that "political ends do not exist which would justify the use of means liable to lead to nuclear war." The implication of this position is that the Soviet Union should not seriously confront or challenge U.S. imperialism anywhere on any issue.

While Shakhnazarov's is an extreme expression of the Gorbachev line, the perception among the imperialist bourgeoisie, including sections of its far right wing, is that the current Kremlin regime is softer, more capitulatory on international questions than its predecessors. Thus Arthur Hartman, who recently completed a five-year stint as Reagan's ambassador to Moscow, believes:

> "The Soviet leadership is preoccupied with their domestic situation. Our relationship is colored highly by the Soviet reactions to what they really have to do internally. And I think basically what they would like to have now is a period of calm. And therefore, there could well be opportunities for serious negotiations in a variety of fields."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 March 1987

Above all, Washington aims to pressure the Kremlin to capitulate in those armed conflicts it considers *proxy wars* with Russia: Afghanistan, Vietnam/Cambodia, Angola and Nicaragua. For U.S. imperialism, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, is a *key test* of Gorbachev's "sincerity."

For his part, Gorbachev has called Afghanistan "a bleeding wound" and stated: "We should like, in the nearest future, to withdraw the Soviet troops...." In this same speech, given at the 27th Congress of the CPSU in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary war" as "Trotskyite" and "Left Communist" heresy. These remarks were presumably directed at those elements in the Soviet bureaucracy less ready to abandon Afghanistan and perhaps also more supportive of the Vietnamese in Cambodia and the Cuban forces in Angola.

The main obstacle to the Gorbachev regime extricating itself from Afghanistan is finding an acceptable, face-saving compromise. The nature of Afghan society and the savage civil war it generated precludes establishing a stable, "nonaligned" regime in Kabul which would honor agreements with Moscow. It is impossible to envision the Finlandization or Austrianization of Afghanistan.

From the standpoint of the protection of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan must be won. It is an organic component of the already assimilated Soviet Central Asia. This is *why* the bureaucracy has found itself, against its will, so deeply involved and so unable to extricate. We must demand, in consonance with all Soviet peoples, that this nettle be firmly grasped. To promise war here for a generation is to conclude that war in a few years. To temporize is to protract it and leave endless opportunities for imperialist provocation. It is also important, as Soviet victory is seen as inevitable, that effective means be used to facilitate the return and integration of the millions of the pathetic, murderous, backward emigration in Pakistan. Victory in Afghanistan!

Planeta Publishers Photos

Extend social gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghanistan! Woman computer technician in Soviet Central Asia (left); enslaved Afghan women under the veil (right).

Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists hailed Soviet intervention against Islamic counterrevolutionaries.

Defend the USSR Through World Revolution!

More generally, Gorbachev's apparently greater willingness to make concessions to imperialism has *not yet been tested*, for the imperialist bourgeoisie has yet to offer anything of value to the Kremlin in return. However, we must warn of the possibility of new deals, even if their concrete nature cannot now be predicted, between Washington and Moscow at the expense of revolutionary and national liberation struggles around the world.

From our standpoint, the Gorbachev regime in the Soviet Union represents a highly *contradictory* development. Internally, the combination of *glasnost* and *perestroika* produces a more favorable condition for the emergence of left-wing currents among the intelligentsia and of an independent workers movement. Externally, there seems a greater likelihood for abandoning support to revolutionary and national liberation struggles in the Third World and reducing economic aid to Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua, thereby strengthening and emboldening imperialism and weakening the defense of the USSR. One should however keep in mind that the Kremlin tops could pursue an aggressive détente line, as Brezhnev did in the early 1970s, *without an internal liberalization* which can open the road to proletarian political revolution.

The future of the Gorbachev regime is organically linked to developments in the imperialist West, centrally the United States. The Reagan administrations, as well as that of Carter, were and are a response of the American bourgeoisie to its loss of imperialist hegemony growing out of the defeat in Vietnam. Central to this response has been a massive arms buildup designed above all to give U.S. imperialism capacity for an effective thermonuclear first strike against the USSR. This has been accompanied by a virulent anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, as well as an aggressive policy of military provocation aimed at the Soviet Union.

During this period the SL/U.S. has indeed faced the Russian question "pointblank." Our principled unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, from Afghanistan to Central America to opposition to the capitalist-restorationist Polish Solidarność, has given us a very high profile indeed in this period of disgraceful capitulation by the fake-left to the bourgeoisie's rampant anti-Sovietism. After Reagan & Co. sent over 200 helpless airline passengers to their deaths aboard the Korean Air Lines 007 U.S. spy provocation, the SL/U.S. and international Spartacist tendency waged a virtual campaign of propaganda documenting the U.S. government's lies and incidentally underlining the flinch of the CPUSA. Our forthright Soviet-defensist propaganda on Afghanistan, Poland, Vietnam, KAL 007, "détente," etc. has brought our small French section to the attention of a layer of advanced workers as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union."

American imperialism's military program aims to break the will of the USSR, extracting counterrevolutionary concessions from the Soviet bureaucracy. However, this program has now brought the U.S. and indeed imperialism internationally to the brink of a major crisis. The present conciliatory tack of Gorbachev and Co. is thus doubly stupid and dangerous—both the best evidence that Gorbachev represents simply another variation of Stalinism, historically anti-revolutionary and committed above all to "socialism in one country," and also an imperative argument for a Soviet section of a reforged Fourth International to lead a proletarian political revolution to defend the gains of October and pursue a course of revolutionary proletarian internationalism. ■

L.Y. Leonidov

No "blank walls" in Soviet history? Moscow News (24 May 1987) still removed Trotsky (next to Lenin, saluting) and other Bolshevik leaders from historic photo (right) taken on second anniversary of October Revolution.

Young Spartacus

Chapel Hill: 2,000 Say "KKK Has Got to Go!"

North Carolina Students Protest

Two thousand students and young people turned out in force to protest the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan as they marched in Chapel Hill, North Carolina on Sunday, June 14. These hooded murderers armed with guns, knives and a stun baton had strutted through nearby Durham earlier that same day where 100 anti-Klan protesters organized a "silent vigil" on the steps of the Durham post office. But in Chapel Hill, despite pleas by community leaders to stay away, an angry, integrated crowd lined the Klan's route. When the KKK scum marched into downtown, hundreds swung in alongside and behind them, jeering and chanting, "Murderers!" "Bigots!" and "Hey, hey, make my day—get out of Chapel Hill, KKK!"

One protester managed to hit "imperial wizard" Virgil Griffin with an egg. The Klan was forced to cut short its "recruitment rally" as the outraged anti-Klan protesters moved in at the end of the march. As the Klansmen scurried into their cars, they were surrounded by protesters who blocked their exit. It was only the intervention of the police, who cleared an alleyway for the Klan, that freed these cowardly "Christian Knights" from the encircling ring of their intended victims.

One participant told *Young Spartacus*: The Klan "were definitely, totally intimidated. A lot of people thought these folks are going to be intimidating themselves, but in this particular situation they were totally intimidated." As the badly shaken Klansmen hightailed it out of town, hundreds of protesters converged on a group of Klan supporters who had been lurking in a parking lot across the street. As the police attempted to rescue the Klan-lovers, a group of young black men began taunting the police (many of whom were black) for protecting the Klan. The cops threw one of the protesters to the ground and hauled him off to jail. Two other militants face charges for throwing eggs at the Klan. The Spartacus Youth Clubs demand: Drop the charges against the anti-Klan militants!

Wendy Walsh/North Carolina Independent

Anti-Klan protesters confront racists in white sheets and their bodyguards in blue along Franklin Street, Chapel Hill.

Chapel Hill, home of the main campus of the University of North Carolina and known as "Communist Hill" in the backwaters of rural North Carolina, has a reputation for being an oasis of liberalism and tolerance in a deeply reactionary state. The Klan figured that if they could march unmolested through Chapel Hill on their statewide recruitment drive, like-minded racists would join their ranks to terrorize blacks, union organizers and minorities. Beneath its paper-thin liberal skin, Chapel Hill oozes with the rotten legacy of the unfinished business of the Civil War. "Silent Sam," the statue of the Confederate soldier that stands on the UNC campus, is a daily reminder to black students that they are "second-class citizens" at this elite public university. How apt—and satisfying—that the imperial wizard was humiliated in the shadow of this monument to the slavocracy.

In a school year marked by an unprecedented wave of racist assaults in schools north of the Mason-Dixon line, it's no accident that racist incidents are on the rise at a university known as the "mind of the South." Last year, a gang of racist coeds terrorized a black woman student in Conner dorm, and a black student's door in Morrison was defaced with a Nazi swastika. Less than 9 percent of the UNC student body are minority students. Beverly Greer, a professor who specializes in African studies, is but one of many black faculty members denied tenure in recent years.

North Carolina is one of the most "open shop" states in the country. Racism and union-busting go hand in hand, and the Klan is on active duty for the textile mill bosses to help smash organizing drives and pit black and white workers against each other. The five Communist Workers Party members who were gunned down in broad daylight by the Klan and Nazis in Greensboro in 1979 were union organizers at Cone Mills and fighters against racism. Under capitalist "justice," their killers never received a jail sentence and are free to stalk the streets today, wreaking racist terror.

As in Radford, Virginia, a smaller college town where 500 students blocked the path of the Klan last September, the protest in Chapel Hill was apparently an unorganized outpouring of anti-Klan indignation. A "peace march" for racial harmony was organized by the black student group to urge students to stay away from

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CHICAGO

Chapel Hill...

(continued from page 9)

confronting the Klan. Marching from the center of campus, students joined townspeople at the First Baptist Church. But even some of these ignored the barrage of advice and joined the 2,000 anti-racists waiting to "greet" the Klan on Franklin Street.

Dale McKinley, a member of the campus group "Action Against Apartheid," told *Young Spartacus* that passers-by got caught up in the militant spirit of the protest. Students clustered around his group's banner reading "KKK-Helms-Reagan Get Out of Chapel Hill-North Carolina-USA." As the Klan marched down the street, the protesters poured off the sidewalks and kept up a din of chants and jeers that drowned out the Klan for the entire duration of the march. The police were unsuccessful in shoving people back onto the sidewalks.

Wendy Walsh/North Carolina Independent

KKK, parading for genocide with banner of slavery and flag of imperialism, was drowned out by students chanting "Make my day—Get out of Chapel Hill, KKK!"

The Klan paraded with both the banner of the Confederacy and the American flag. In the South, the diehard segregationists formerly eschewed the "Yankee" flag. But the stars and stripes is not the emblem of the victorious anti-slavery forces but the bloodsoaked rag of racist imperialism. Mark Twain's suggestion after the U.S.' bloody suppression of the Philippine insurgency in 1890 that the field of stars in the American flag be replaced with a skull and crossbones is particularly apt for a flag the murderous Klan is proud to wave.

In the context of a string of racist atrocities across the country, from Howard Beach to Forsyth County, the anti-racist stand by students and others in Chapel Hill is welcome news. *Young Spartacus* would like to hear more from participants in this action. We believe anti-racist youth must be won to support a revolutionary party. Racism is deeply rooted in this country's history. The Civil War was itself a social revolution which ended chattel slavery but did not fulfill the promise of black equality. Another revolution, led by the working class, is required to truly fulfill that promise by smashing the capitalist system. Capitalism in its decay, which has placed in the White House a demonstrated liar on an open program of racist reaction, union-busting and anti-Soviet war, spawns the fascist bands. The Spartacus Youth Clubs want to organize anti-racist activists around a program to put an end to the system which nurtures fascist violence. ■

NYPD...

(continued from page 3)

hours, dragged and beat him in the stationhouse (*New York Times*, 26 June). Kaufman is suing the city for $24 million.

The police in NYC's ghettos and barrios act like they're in occupied military zones. Meanwhile, they try to divide blacks and Hispanics. The director of the NYPD "Anti-Bias Unit" claims Hispanics are not targets of racial attacks in New York (*El Diario*, 30 June). Yet of 24 people killed by the cops in 1986, twelve were black, nine were Hispanic. Jury selection has begun in the trial of two young Hispanic women charged with "assaulting" a squad of at least *nine* transit cops last December when the women came to the aid of a friend who was being robbed on the IRT in the Bronx. And on July 5 three Hispanics were brutally beaten by a mob of 20 whites screaming racial epithets in the Ozone Park section of Queens.

With New York City on the edge, the situation cries out for a massive mobilization of the integrated workers movement to put a stop to the racist terror against the black and Hispanic populations. But who will lead such a struggle? Certainly not the wretched pro-capitalist labor "leaders" who may (rarely) pull out the ranks on Labor Day or for toothless anti-apartheid marches, but turn a blind eye to the rampaging racist cops in NYC while chaining the workers to the Democratic Party. And even those black leaders on the cops' hit list are trying to police the ghettos for NYC rulers. Sonny Carson and members of the New York Eight have organized "Black Men Against Crack," whose vigilante squads play into the hands of Reagan's drug witchhunt. Al Sharpton competes with the Guardian Angels on the subways. And the Revs. Calvin Butts and Herbert Daughtry appear on recruiting posters for the NYPD!

In Reagan's America and Koch's New York, a class-struggle leadership is urgently needed to mobilize the social power of labor at the head of all the oppressed to stop the racist terrorists in and out of uniform. Last December following the hideous racist lynching of black worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, the SL issued a statement: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" Transit militants called for integrated union defense squads to patrol the streets and fought for the TWU to "take the lead in mobilizing NYC labor in staging a powerful demonstration of opposition to and hatred of the racist killers throughout this city." Today it is more urgent than ever to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities—a majority of New York City's population—with the social power of organized labor. A multiracial vanguard party must be built to lead the working class to power and sweep out the capitalist system which breeds racist terror. ■

New York Magazine

Hands off the New York Eight—Stop racist vendetta against black radical group!

Forum...

(continued from page 5)

period the ILD went through. During the very bitter and historic confrontation between the British miners and the Thatcher government, the PDC in the United States and throughout North America raised over $23,000 for the miners. And now, in part thanks to the aid we brought to the British miners, they have taken up the case of former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt, who has been robbed of 17 years of his life for serving the cause of the oppressed. Already, I understand, three miners' locals have sent telegrams on his behalf.

Concretely posed by every one of these issues is the defense of the Soviet Union from U.S. imperialism, the need to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky in the Soviet Union and throughout the deformed and degenerated workers states. We need a party in this country and internationally to accomplish these goals. We encourage you to work with us in the areas of work where you see a common concern. If you believe that our program and the things we stand for represent the future for a society that you want to live in, an alternative to the barbarism and the threat of nuclear annihilation on this planet, then we encourage you to join with us. For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! *Zur Wiedergeburt der Vierten Internationale!* ■

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Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

In response to mounting government repression, the CATH called a general strike for June 22 and 23 based on a series of defensive demands and a call for increasing the minimum wage to $6 per day. The bourgeois opposition denounced the general strike as "counterproductive" and a "provocation." The wretched Haitian Communist Party opposed the demands of the general strike as "maximalist" and as a distraction from "the most important political problem," namely organizing elections (*Haïti Observateur*, 26 June). But the strike was 90 percent effective. In response the regime ransacked CATH offices and arrested seven of its leaders.

In the last years of "Baby Doc" Duvalier's U.S.-backed dictatorship, while reformists and the bourgeois opposition called vaguely for a "popular government," the Trotskyists of the Spartacist tendency proclaimed, "*A bas Duvalier, pouvoir ouvrier!*" (Down with Duvalier, workers to power!). Events since the tyrant's fall have amply demonstrated that the Haitian masses' lot has not been improved by "Duvalierism without Duvalier." Today a coalition of 57 varieties of "opposition" groups, prominent among them former World Bank official Marc Bazin, is "discussing various combinations of civilians and military officers" as an alternative to the CNG (*New York Times*, 5 July). But the working people will not be served by another junta beholden to the imperialist bankers and "Tonton Sam."

Haitian workers in the heavily proletarian diaspora, from Montreal to Miami, have played a vital role in organizing the militant CATH. They are also key to forging an internationalist communist vanguard, built on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Such a party would combat illusions in building "socialism" (or even bourgeois democracy) in this dirt-poor half an island. It would extend the struggle to the Dominican Republic, where Haitian sugar cane workers have labored in virtual slavery. And fighting for a reforged Fourth International, it would be part of the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centers of North America and West Europe. ■

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Dump Reagan...

(continued from page 12)

its own army, air force, diplomatic agents, intelligence operatives and appropriations capacity." A secret government, certainly, but not run by Oliver North and Fawn Hall. The tracks lead straight to the Oval Office, yet as the Moscow *New Times* (1 June) noted, "the Democrats are bending over backwards not to attack the President." So with His Majesty's "loyal opposition" protecting the Imperial Presidency, the cover-up goes on.

And sensing weakness in the Democrats' knees, Reagan once again gave the finger to Congress by proposing Nixon Watergate crony Robert Bork to replace retiring justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. on the Supreme Court. Liberal Democrat Kennedy said that "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists could be censored at the whim of government and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens" (*Washington Post*, 2 July). Sounds a lot like present-day America to us. Meese and his crooked "Justice" Department need Bork not only for his reactionary politics but also for his pliant application of the law to the crimes and cronies of the presidency. And let's not forget Chief Justice Rehnquist himself, appointed by that pardoned escapee from multi-felony charges, Richard Nixon, whose portrait still hangs on Rehnquist's private chamber wall. Who believes this man could have anything to do with "law" or "justice"?

Replacing the "moderate conservative" Powell with the gung-ho New Rightist Bork would decisively make it the Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist court, finally tipping the scale in a series of 5-to-4 decisions that have upheld some vestiges of individual rights. The "original intent" crowd want to wind back the clock to the days when slavery was constitutionally sanctioned. And Bork is a living symbol of bonapartist appetites—it was he who carried out Nixon's infamous order to fire Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox in 1973, resulting in the infamous "Saturday night massacre." Ex-Marine Bork was reportedly deeply influenced by the University of Chicago school of "free market" economics as implemented in such "free world" bastions as Pinochet's Chile.

The Reagan gang would love to give a Pinochet-style "shock treatment" to the American judicial and political system. And they certainly won't get much resistance from the cowed Congress. The Democrats just swallowed it when Contragater General Richard Secord blithely announced that "the covert operation was designed to be concealed from Congress." And no one batted an eyelash when North's secretary Fawn Hall blurted out the White House position: "Sometimes you have to go above the written law." Just about everyone (excepting the craven *New York Times*) has concluded that Attorney General Meese's dramatic November 25 press conference was a cover-up to shift the spotlight from Reagan to North. But rather than calling for impeachment, the Democrats only want to put Colonel North in jail for 30 days for buying snow tires with government funds.

Nevertheless, the drawn out Iran/Contragate investigation is taking its toll on the White House, creating a regime crisis for the ruling class. "Reagan's Ability to Lead Nation at a Low," moaned the *New York Times* (28 June). For the first time he is on the defensive, with polls indicating under 30 percent think he's telling the truth. His "memory lapses and rambling discourses are no longer a source of friendly jokes, but one of concern," the *Times* reported. He even uses cue cards in meetings with Republican Congressional leaders. A Reagan partisan, defending him from the charge of depression, commented lamely: "I even saw him do a cowboy doodle the other day, and I haven't seen him do that in years." *Newsweek* (13 July) commented: "this presidency, already in decline, is now essentially history."

Reuters

Ficara/Newsweek

Reagan's "national hero" Oliver North (left) helped plan for military overthrow of constitutional government. Fawn Hall, his secretary, headed White House basement shredding corps.

U.S. Up the Persian Gulf?

Yet Reagan is still in the White House, and still commander in chief of the U.S. armed forces; he still has his finger on the nuclear button. It's 19 months to go and counting. Moreover, instead of handing the affairs of state over to the White House chief of staff and serving out his term under a Baker regency, says the *Times*, "Mr. Reagan is using the same kind of confrontational approach he has used in the past." He's daring the Democrats, vetoing the highway bill, nominating Bork, seeking a showdown over the budget. And by sending in the Navy with orders for a hair-trigger response, he's challenging Khomeini's Iran to a shootout in the Persian Gulf. *Newsweek* reports the Democrats' concern that "Reagan might be tempted into military adventurism: historically, the most reliable of all presidential restoratives has been a shooting war somewhere."

Now Reagan has agreed to provide Navy escort for "reflagged" Kuwaiti oil tankers. The Pentagon isn't exactly enthusiastic. "It would be stretching it to say that the Chiefs were in on the decision, or even asked their opinion on it," a bitter admiral confided to the *New York Times* (29 June). For the last decade, American military planners have insisted that the lesson of the Vietnam debacle is to avoid getting involved piecemeal in a major war lacking clear objectives and without public support. And what does Reagan do? First in Lebanon and now in the Persian Gulf, the White House sends in U.S. forces to act as sitting ducks, on the theory that "projecting power" and "showing the flag" is enough to intimidate the natives. Over the USS *Stark* fiasco, as one Washington columnist put it, the U.S. showed the flag and they shot it down. Now what?

The Reagan gang is living in a fantasy world. They dream of running the Near East and India like the old British raj and restoring the tsar to the throne of Russia. Last month, after the U.S. first offered Maverick missiles to the Saudis and then backed off in response to Congressional pressures, an exasperated Pentagon "senior official" complained: "Are we going to continue to be engaged east of Suez or are we going to follow the British?" (*New York Times*, 13 June). So what do the ex-Marines running Washington intend to do—establish an American protectorate in Persia, open the Khyber Pass, reconquer the Baluchis and seize Japan?

And they dream of running the U.S. like Pinochet's Chile. We have previously reported the existence of a secret Reagan administration plan, under National Security Decision Directive No. 52, issued on 6 April 1984, calling for proclaiming a state of emergency (including concentration camps to hold 400,000 Hispanic "illegals") in the event of a U.S. invasion of Central America. Does NSDD 52 also authorize the North "contingency plan" for a military takeover of the United States government? Quite possibly. Reagan may want to play out the plot of *Seven Days in May*, only this time with the president himself usurping dictatorial powers. Ultimately it's all fantasy. The "American Century" is over and the sun is setting on the U.S. empire. But Washington refuses to face facts, and Reagan & Co. still yearn to invade Nicaragua and "project U.S. power" in murderous local wars that could trigger World War III.

U.S. Navy

Crippled frigate USS Stark last May in Persian Gulf: 37 dead seamen are latest victims of Reagan's criminal adventurism in the Middle East.

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

The bourgeoisie clearly hopes they can get rid of Reagan through the normal electoral process, but things could come apart long before then. Leave it to the fake "left" to try to resolve the bourgeoisie's problem. The rad-lib *Guardian* (10 June) wants "a mass campaign calling for Reagan's impeachment," in order to "stiffen some congressional spines"—and, by the by, enhance some Democratic election campaigns. Likewise with the ultra-reformist Communist Party USA, which hails the framers of the Constitution for providing checks and balances to "prevent a dictatorial concentration of power." But first prize in electoral cretinism must go to the Internationalist Workers Party, followers of the recently deceased Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, who proclaim: "Force Reagan, Bush and the Cabinet to Resign!" and "Call Special General Elections Now!" This would be wretched reformism in a parliamentary system like Britain's. In the U.S., with its built-in bonapartism, it is ludicrous: it would be about as easy to organize a socialist revolution.

The workers and oppressed can benefit from this ruling-class crisis only if the moment is seized for sharp *class struggle* against the years of takebacks and racist attacks. As stated in the draft conference document of the Spartacist League/U.S., "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture":

> "With Reagan now discredited and certainly hated the likelihood is that the coming period will see some truly oppressed and disgruntled section of society begin to probe and struggle. Yet if the Reagan administration is in some disarray, the American bourgeois state has neither ceased to exist nor stopped working."

While the reformists seek to channel mass protests back into electoral channels, revolutionaries call to dump Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist and forge a workers party to replace the rule of capital with a workers government ■

WV Photo

Angry hotel workers strike in New York, 1985. For labor struggle to dump Reagan & Co.: Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!

WORKERS VANGUARD

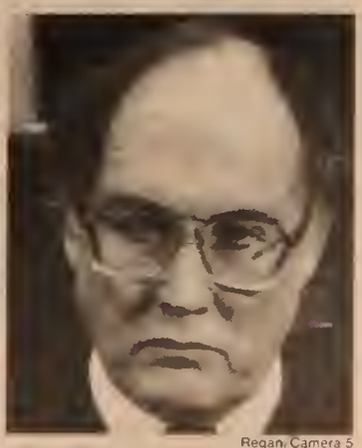
Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

Dump Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist!

JULY 6—He's guilty as hell, even by the lights of the American rulers' own Constitution. Ronald Reagan was at the center of a conspiracy systematically and deliberately thwarting the will of Congress, violating U.S. laws left and right, exporting state-sponsored terrorism, running guns, trafficking in drugs, plotting murder—all in the name of fighting the Soviet "evil empire." Revelations in the Iran/Contragate scandal keep piling on the evidence, but as the Congressional hearings tell the tale there's a big hole in the center. This void is supposed to be filled by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, portrayed by his lawyer as "your ultimate Marine," who "wants to step forward and take the spears in his own chest" in order to save the administration. In other words, a willing fall guy.

Souza/White House

AP



Regan, Camera 5

Three racist pigs: Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist.

Now, on the eve of North's testimony before Congress, it is revealed that he drafted an elaborate "contingency plan" to impose military rule on the United States. According to an article by *Miami Herald* reporter Alfonso Chardy, "The secret plan called for suspension of the Constitution, turning control of the government over to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), appointment of military commanders to run state and local governments, and the declaration of martial law in the event of such a crisis as nuclear war, violent and widespread internal dissent or national opposition to a U.S. military invasion abroad" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 July). "Abroad"—like Nicaragua. The plan, drafted in 1984, was part of an executive order to be held within the National Security Council until needed.

"It is not known whether Reagan signed the plan," writes Chardy. Just like it is "not known" if Reagan knew about the Iran-contra arms ploy—not known to those who don't want to know. Senate investigating committee chief counsel Arthur Liman wrote of a "secret government-within-a-government, operated from the Executive Office Building by a Lt. Col., with

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Down with the Junta—Workers to Power!

General Strike Paralyzes Haiti

JULY 5—For the past two weeks, general strikes have shut down Haiti, and opponents of the ruling junta promise more to come. Facing the most sustained mass protests since the dictator Duvalier fell in February 1986, the army has officially admitted to killing over 20 people and wounding hundreds more. The real toll is much higher. After the National Government Council (CNG) of General Namphy blatantly violated its own "democratic" constitution and outlawed the left-wing Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the Haitian masses are insistently demanding, "Down with the CNG!" But what shall replace it? The bourgeois "opposition" in Port-au-Prince and the junta's U.S. patrons are haunted by the spectre of revolutionary social struggle that could spread throughout the Caribbean.

The current confrontation resulted from the rapid organization of the Haitian masses since the fall of Duvalier. Unions have struck for wage increases; the government responded by closing many factories and the HASCO sugar refinery. As IMF "free market" policies destroy the precarious agricultural economy, flooding the country with cheap imported food, peasants have seized and burned truckloads of rice. The army has repeatedly intervened in strikes, and shootings are common. The hated Tonton Macoutes secret police are still active and have even organized their own political party. In this situation of sharpening class antagonism, 15 additional U.S. military advisers arrived in Haiti on May 8 to "train" the army. A young Haitian worker told the *New York Times Magazine* (21 June): "The Duvalierist system was not uprooted. Only the top of its head was cut off."

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Jean-Bernard Diederich

Port-au-Prince: Haitian masses rise up against U.S. puppet regime.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 433 | 24 July 1987

UPI

WV Photo

Contra in chief Reagan; media hype over sinister Colonel North.

Reagan/North's Plot for Military Coup

Democrats Grovel Before Contra Colonel

The media image-makers raved about "Olliemania," and the TV networks rolled all their daytime soap operas into one running serialization of "Colonel North Goes to Washington." The Iran/Contragate conspirators bragged about lying to Congress, concocting false chronologies, shredding evidence and flouting laws, all in the cause of providing "plausible deniability" to the president and achieving a "democratic outcome" in Nicaragua. The Congressional "investigation" became a platform for glorifying counterrevolutionary cutthroats. *Not once* in the hearings of North and his putative boss Poindexter were the crimes of the sadistic contra killers against the Nicaraguan people so much as mentioned. Instead there was an orgy of anti-Communist patriotic gore that was the witchhunting Senator Joe McCarthy and the strutting General Douglas MacArthur combined. The Democrats on the dais lapped it up.

And they squelched the most sinister revelation of the whole conspiracy: that the ramrod lieutenant colonel and his doddering commander in chief had *plotted a military takeover in the United States*. The chief counsel Liman was duly shocked when North blurted out that the Contragaters intended to continue their "Project Democracy" as a worldwide self-financing, "stand-alone" privateering operation completely independent of Congressional appropriations or even presidential control. But when an out-of-step Dixiecrat Congressman asked about newspaper reports that there was a "contingency plan" for martial law and suspension of the Constitution, committee chairman Daniel Inouye shut him up quick. The ominous fact that the secret government was already in place, ready to be implemented in case of a U.S. invasion of Central America, was not supposed to come out.

The White House cheered as their born-again hero, the bemedaled Marine, brazenly lied through his maniacal gap-toothed grin and thumbed his nose at Congress. Challenged if he had "denied the elected representatives of our people the facts," Honest Ollie crowed proudly, "I did." It was under the shield of the oversized presidential seal North still wears on the right pocket of his uniform. Inouye responded with the cherry tree fable about George Washington who could not tell a lie. Democratic Congressman Dante Fascell intoned, "The fact is, they dispensed with Congress and the Constitution" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12 July). And how did Congress respond? Every time North kicked them in the teeth, they asked for more. When Admiral Poindexter blew smoke in the committees' faces, baldly claiming that "the buck stopped with me," they breathed a sigh of relief even though nobody believed it.

So now Oliver North has been officially proclaimed an "American hero." There is soon to be an Ollie doll (does it salute and say it was only following orders?), an Ollieburger (everything shredded), "Ollie for President" T-shirts, etc. The *Washington Post* (19 July) worried whether a "self-professed liar and desk-chair martinet" who only recently recovered from his "Fifth Amendment lockjaw" was a proper role model. Well, maybe he is—for them and their system of murder and lies. We have *our* heroes, like Benjamin Linder, the courageous young American engineer assassinated by the contra scum for bringing electricity to impoverished Nicaraguan peasants. When Ben Linder's parents denounced the U.S. government for the murder of their son, they were subjected to Congressional vilification; one Republican grotesquely said, "you've asked for it"! And now the contra Congress is passing a "Linder law" banning travel to Nicaragua for those who would defend the embattled country against Yankee aggression!

The contras, meanwhile, flaunt their crimes. On the eve of the eighth anniversary of the Sandinista victory over the tyrant Somoza, they tried to storm the town of San José de Bocay. They were stopped at the outskirts, but not before killing three children and a pregnant woman, burning the houses of a cooperative farm to the ground and stealing 40 head of cattle. The American media never mentioned that this was the same town where Ben Linder was shot to death! Despite all the "human rights" baloney from Washington, Reagan's "freedom fighters" are the same old murderers: in July alone a Catholic priest was blown up by a contra mine, seven peasants were killed in a contra raid and eleven civilians riding a bus were ambushed. And the contras are still losers. Their "offensive," begun after receiving $100 million in U.S. aid last fall, has flopped militarily.

North was able to put the Democrats in Congress on the defensive because they share his goal of overthrowing Sandinista Nicaragua in the name of a global war against Communism. What's the big deal, demanded North at the outset. I just kept the contras going until you guys in Congress came around again. It's not just that the Democrats are pusillanimous; they realize something "this Marine colonel" does not: there's a big difference between gung-ho Annapolis and West Point grads and the mass of the American people. And if the U.S. invades Central America, popular resistance among Americans would *begin* at the level reached after seven years of the dirty, losing war on Vietnam. North claimed the Vietnam War was lost in Washington. Wrong, it was lost on the battlefield by a U.S. and puppet army that wouldn't fight, facing the heroic people of Vietnam.

Popular revulsion against militarism was so great and the army such a demoralized mess that the draft was

continued on page 10

Dump Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist!

Bc Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Hugo Pinell!

When they left the California state house Reagan and his top cop Meese left behind a trail of corpses of black activists while the survivors were condemned to a lifetime of prison hell. Hugo Pinell spent much of his youth in California reformatories and prison. At Soledad prison Pinell became a leader in the prisoners' rights movement together with Black Panther George Jackson. For his leadership in combatting racial conflict among prisoners he was repeatedly brutalized by prison guards. And he was set up to be a victim of the racist FBI/cop COINTELPRO conspiracy.

Pinell was one of the San Quentin Six—prison activists accused of conspiracy murder of prison guards in the melee touched off when the state assassinated George Jackson on 21 August 1971. Following an 18-month trial, in which the Six were brought to court shackled like slaves and chained to seats which were bolted to the floor, Pinell was convicted of two counts of assault.

Prison officials have inhumanely kept Pinell in "security housing" for the past 17 years—preventing him from having contact visits even with his wife—citing "affiliation" as one of their grounds. Last September we began sending a monthly stipend to Pinell as part of our class-war prisoner program. He wrote us of the state's cruel vendetta to crush his unbroken will to struggle.

3-31-87

Dear Paul,

Have received all the newspapers and the money for Feb and March. Thank you, kindly, for your attention and support....

I was born and raised in Nicaragua. I came to the states in 1957, at age 12. In 1964, at age 19, I turned myself in to authorities to confront my accuser. Racism, brutality and manipulation led to a plea bargain and in Feb 1965 I was sent to prison. I entered with the possibility for parole in 18 months on a sentence of 3 years to life. The prison movement began in 1967 in California and I joined it because I was impressed with its programs, its opportunities for self development and growth, the real individuals in charge, but mainly because I had experienced 2 years of extreme racism, injustice and deception by my keepers. The Department, with the collaboration of judicial and authoritative outside forces, came down violently on the movement in Jan 1970, murdering 3 blacks. One of them was W.L. Nolen, the chairman and co-founder of the Movement. Massive confusion, hysteria and violence erupted after this treacherous act and prison guards and black prisoners were getting killed, assaulted and accused of crimes never proven.

I continued to function within the programs of the Movement. In late 1970 I organized and represented a long strike in the lock up unit of O Wing in Soledad prison. The second leader of the Movement, George Jackson, had been isolated on charges of killing a prison guard, and by force I was sort of pushed in the forefront. Had to keep the programs going forward because the movement was under heavy attack and we couldn't let it be destroyed. The Administration had been after me for years in attempts to discourage me and they used the strike as an excuse to isolate me from everyone. My whole world was turned upside down. My contact visits were taken from me, kept me in special cells, chained and taken to court for charges against prison guards and labeled most dangerous prisoner. This process of chains, isolation and court procedures, lasted 6 years in which time the movement was destroyed (1973) and the Administration was back in control of prison activities and racial violence was back stronger than before. In 1976 I was transferred to Folsom prison from San Quentin. I was placed in a special cell but no more manacles and I could move around people. Staff said I could do my time and in 90 days regain the privileges of contact visits. A new strategy was in motion and I suspected it but I had to move around and try to unify the prisoners and maybe bring the movement back. But things had changed drastically and the staff created a heavy atmosphere of racial violence in my section that I was becoming a victim of racial discord. Staff quickly accused me of being responsible for the racial violence and therefore I invited racist gangs to come after me. The plan was clear as well as the contradictions. For six years (1970 thru 1976) I was accused, punished, brutalized, persecuted, for charges of unifying the prisoners, for attacking prison guards and for agitating prisoners to attack prison guards.

LNS

Class-war prisoner Hugo Pinell, framed up by the killers of George Jackson.

I went to the board last year and was denied parole for 3 more years. Now I am in Tehachapi. I've been in prison over 22 years. I've gone without a contact visit for over 16 years. Every human and constitutional right violated, convictions purely circumstantial and crooked. It is all political and personal because I am a Nicaraguan and you know what is being done to Nicaragua. I should have been out long ago but the *powers* who detain me have too much power.

That's about it. I like to hear from you. Maybe I can get busy and not having to constantly feel this pain of what has happened to my wife.

In truth and Justice,
Hugo

* * *

After several months of illness, Hugo's wife, Shirley L.A. Pinell, died in April of cancer. We extend our deepest sympathies to Hugo, who wrote about her: "Shirley is the best person I know. We built a beautiful relationship and made many plans for a future but those plans will have to be realized elsewhere." To the end, prison authorities refused to allow Hugo to see Shirley.

The workers movement must take up the fight to free Hugo Pinell and all class-war prisoners!

* * *

The fifth issue of the PDC newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is now available, centering on our program for international class-struggle defense. This issue features other letters from class-war prisoners and speeches by Wadiya Abu-Jamal for her husband, MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, and Judy Zimmet on behalf of Mordechai Vanunu, the technician who disclosed the Israeli arsenal of 100-200 nuclear weapons. We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Imperialist War and Bourgeois Democracy

TROTSKY

LENIN

In pursuing its war policies, supposedly in the name of "defending democracy," the Reagan administration set up a secret government to bypass Congress and even readied a plan for declaring martial law in an "emergency." Almost 50 years ago, in the opening stages of the second imperialist world war, Leon Trotsky described how the capitalist "democracies" of Europe and America were prepared to transform parliamentary forms of bourgeois rule into authoritarian, dictatorial bonapartist regimes.

The war has not halted the process of the transformation of democracies into reactionary dictatorships, but on the contrary is carrying this process to its conclusion before our very eyes.

Within every country as well as on the world arena, the war strengthened immediately the most reactionary groups and institutions. The general staffs, those nests of Bonapartist conspiracy, the malignant dens of the police, the gangs of hired patriots, the churches of all creeds, are immediately pushed to the forefront. The Papal Court, the focal point of obscurantism and hatred among men, is being wooed from all sides, especially by the Protestant President Roosevelt. Material and spiritual decline always brings in its wake police oppression and an increased demand for the opium of religion.

Seeking to gain the advantages of a totalitarian regime, the imperialist democracies launch their own defense with a redoubled drive against the working class and the persecution of revolutionary organizations. The war danger and now the war itself is utilized by them first and foremost to crush internal enemies. The bourgeoisie invariably and unswervingly follows the rule: "The main enemy is in one's own country."

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)

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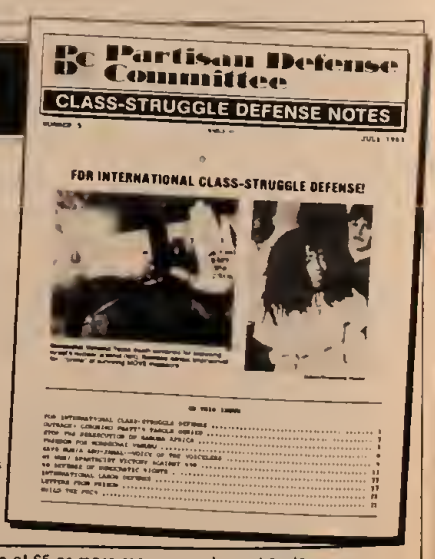

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"The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

Chicago
21 February 1987

To the Editor:

Recently the famous title from K. Liebknecht's anti-imperialist leaflet "The Main Enemy Is At Home" has been seen here and there; as a subheading in *WV* No. 418 (the Stonewall article) and as a chant during our Chicago anti-*Amerika* demonstration. In both instances we have used the slogan out of context, its original meaning unclear, only depending on its great authority and militancy with the result being militant confusion.

Advanced as the title of an antiwar leaflet by the German internationalists upon Italy's entry into WWI in 1915, taken up by Russian internationalists in a November 1915 leaflet "Where Is the Main Enemy?" both insisted that "every people's main enemy is in their own country." This was specific to the conditions of interimperialist war and even then use was limited. In the world of 1915 this slogan would not be advanced in a situation of war waged by Italy upon, say, Ethiopia; rather we would desire the defeat of Italy (perhaps, two, three, many defeats for Italian imperialism!). Two years later another "limitation" was imposed on this slogan with the Russian Revolution (October *not* February); certainly the Soviet working class was not at all interested in raising this slogan and *it still ain't.*

But neither should U.S. communists raise it as part of our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union. While all recognized that German militarism was an enemy of Russian workers and conversely the tsar of the German workers, millions arrayed on either side, we do not want to suggest any similarity in the U.S./Soviet situation (or U.S./Central America). There are those that would, however. Take PL. If consistency were their strong point this would be their slogan.

Comradely,
Marc V.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Workers Hammer

Karl Liebknecht addresses Berlin workers, January 1919 (left). British Spartacists correctly used "Main Enemy" slogan in opposing 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war between "Iron Lady" Thatcher and Argentine military rulers (right).

Reagan's America: How Bad Is It?

12 July 1987
Iowa City, Iowa

Comrades,

I would like to comment on something you said in *WV* 432 (I haven't got the whole thing read yet). In the article "Dump Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist!" speaking of the Bork nomination to the Supreme Court (p. 11): "Liberal Democrat Kennedy said that 'Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists could be censored at the whim of government and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens'.... Sounds a lot like present-day America to us." The point though is that that is *not* present day America. As *WV* reported a short time ago those who would ban or tie the teaching of evolution to creationism were defeated in the Supreme Court. Overt legal segregation does not exist in this country. (De facto segregation perhaps, but the difference is important.) Women still have the legal right to an abortion—if they can afford it. Cop raids (and apparently not just "rogue" cops as Kennedy says) happen, and there is some censorship, but these things are limited. If it is already that bad what difference would the nomination make? What you seem to have done is in trying to make a cute comment you misstated the severity of the current situation. When dealing with a situation it is important to keep it in perspective—what really does exist and what doesn't (but could). Action is best when based on reality, and the main point of analysis is to provide a basis for action.

In solidarity,
Loren Schutt

WV replies: Perhaps our comment was a bit telescoped. Reagan's agenda for counterrevolution has not been completed, but it is certainly well under way. It's important that abortion is still legal, though all kinds of legal restrictions have been imposed, to say nothing of the scores of clinic bombings. Despite the Supreme Court creationism decision, separation of church and state is under heavy attack, especially in the classroom. There is a wholesale legal onslaught against school integration, and in the North today schools are substantially more segregated than two decades ago. From Tampa to New York, police are on the rampage against minorities.

Bork's America is Reagan's America—with a lot of help from the Democrats. Liberals stabbed busing in Congress while the racists were rioting in the streets of Boston. Kennedy himself is the main architect of preventive detention, which was part of his S-1 "anti-crime" bill. It is because these bipartisan attacks on democratic rights have gone so deep that we have found ourselves impelled to intervene more actively around defense cases and in defense of democratic rights. Now the NAACP, ACLU, ADA, NOW and a host of liberals have announced a drive to block Bork's Supreme Court nomination. But the American ruling class' program to roll back social gains won in the past can only be smashed by hard class struggle.■

Japan Inc. Wants Sakhalin, Too

Seattle, Washington
18 May 1987

To the Editor,

"Japan Inc. vs. Wall Street" [*WV* Nos. 424 and 425, 20 March and 3 April] was a tremendous article. I would just like to add one small footnote. Not only are Japanese right-wingers demanding the strategically important Kuril Islands return, they are also demanding one-half of Sakhalin (viz. the old imperial borders). This is common knowledge not only to anyone who has ever heard the demagogues on the corners of Shibuya Station, Tokyo but also it is seen by looking at modern Japanese maps which often show the Kuril Islands and one-half of Sakhalin as disputed (i.e., Japanese) territory.

Comradely greetings,
Lawrence

Wallis/JB Pictures

Japanese imperialism has designs on strategic Kuril Islands and Sakhalin, vital to Soviet defense.

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UAW Tops: Company Cops

Pentagon's War on McDonnell Douglas Workers

Aerospace giant McDonnell Douglas, aided by the United Auto Workers leadership, is waging war on workers at its Southern California plants. On June 9 some 350 workers, members of UAW Local 148, were suspended for a walkout protesting company interference in union elections and the seizure of the local by the UAW International. Seventeen others, including local president Bob Berghoff, were fired. In an ominous move, Reagan's Labor Department has stepped in to take over and run the election of Local 148 officers. This is a deadly threat to all aerospace workers, targeted by a company/Pentagon union-busting drive. The anti-Soviet war drive means war on the workers at home. According to *Aviation Week* (16 February):

> "Defense Dept. is prepared to invoke federal national security restrictions against any threat of a strike at McDonnell Douglas Astronautics, Huntington Beach, Calif., to prevent delay of the next Strategic Defense Initiative Delta booster mission set for launch late this year."

The aerospace industry is wallowing in massive profits from Reagan's trillion-dollar military buildup. McDonnell Douglas, the Pentagon's largest contractor, raked in $8.4 billion in government revenues in 1986. It has a whopping $28 billion in back orders for commercial airliners and Pentagon contracts, including F-15 and F-18 fighters, the new C-17 transport, Tomahawk and Harpoon missiles and Star Wars components. But despite record profits, and the highest employment levels since the Vietnam War, aerospace bosses have shoved two-tier wage agreements and benefit cuts down the throats of the ranks of the UAW and the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

In St. Louis, 11,000 McDonnell Douglas workers settled in early June for a givehack contract patterned after the IAM's Boeing agreement last fall. At the Douglas Astronautics plant and the aircraft plants in Long Beach and Torrance, contracts for 9,500 UAW Local 148 and 5,900 IAM Lodge 720 members expired in the fall. After the company's takeaway demands were rejected twice, the management ripped up job classifications and imposed cuts in benefits (including forcing retirees to pay for part of their medical coverage). But despite three one-day protest walkouts, the UAW and IAM misleaders have refused to *strike*. On July 16 IAM members narrowly approved a separate settlement, which requires workers to pay part of their medical insurance and provides paltry wage hikes of 3 and 2 percent in the first two years.

Berghoff has misled Local 148 members with a disastrous AFL-CIO ploy dubbed "The Inside Game." Instead of strike action, with mass picket lines that nobody dares cross, they call for "staying on the job and working from the inside." This work-to-rule scheme keeps the planes rolling off, while setting up individual workers for victimization. But even this "no-strike" strategy was too much for the UAW tops. With the aid of the company, Solidarity House worked overtime to defeat Berghoff in the May 12-13 local elections. A poll watcher reported that the International's candidate appeared with gun-toting thugs, and 15 sheriff's patrol cars and a helicopter were called in.

Despite this and the *33* International reps sent in, Berghoff won a large plurality of the votes. So on May 27 UAW president Owen Bieber held a 12-hour kangaroo court in Detroit. The following day the International seized the local hall with hired security guards. Rather than fight the Solidarity House traitors, Berghoff ran to the capitalist courts, pleading that they restrain the International. On June 8 Berghoff called the walkout and picket in support of his court suit; the mass suspensions and firings followed.

In their latest attack on Local 148 members, the UAW tops asked the Labor Department to intervene and run new local elections, scheduled for August 11. And Berghoff *agrees*: "The best remedy we could expect was for the DOL (Department of Labor) to run the election" (Long Beach *Press Telegram*, 17 June). Both sets of bureaucrats place their confidence in the strikebreaking government agencies and courts—the same ones currently plotting to take over the Teamsters in order to break its union power. Aerospace workers must fight for the complete independence of their unions from the capitalist state; those chains must be broken for successful class battle against the bosses.

From Boeing to McDonnell Douglas, the aerospace companies are squeezing givebacks out of the workers. And the UAW and IAM tops are the hatchet men for the Democratic Party. They support the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive and peddle racist anti-Japanese protectionism in order to defend U.S. imperialism. These labor traitors will *never* take on the aerospace giants and the Pentagon's strikebreaking. IAM head William Winpisinger knifed PATCO and the entire labor movement when he refused to pull out the Machinists and fight Reagan's smashing of the air controllers union. And there is a long, sordid history of the McDonnell Douglas IAM and UAW locals *scabbing* on each other's strikes.

Effective strike action in any industry rapidly escalates into a confrontation with the capitalist state. But in aerospace, *every* work stoppage is political, and requires a leadership that will prepare the workers for battle with the bosses' war machine—something the UAW and IAM officials, from *top to bottom*, are *against*. What's needed is industrywide strike action, led by a militant class-struggle leadership that can sweep away the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and smash the company/Pentagon union-busting drive. With Reagan on the ropes, a hard-fought aerospace strike, *now*, could spark a labor offensive against the years of givebacks, and throw a giant monkey wrench into the war plans of the labor-hating "contra in chief." Bieber and Labor Department—hands off Local 148!■

WV Photo

Striking McDonnell Douglas workers march through Long Beach, California in 1984.

Packinghouse Bosses Slaughter Workers

CHICAGO—At plants from Wisconsin to Nebraska almost 7,000 meatpackers are on strike, as the packinghouse bosses want to give everyone the "Hormel treatment" with massive takebacks, lockouts and scabbing. Workers at the Dakota City, Nebraska IBP plant, the largest meatpacking company in the nation, have been out for seven months, fighting to defend their jobs at the only unionized IBP plant in the Midwest. At the Patrick Cudahy Co. plant near Milwaukee, 700 scabs daily cross the lines of striking United Food and Commercial Workers Union members, while the UFCW tops preach reliance on Reagan's labor board and the capitalist courts. But 3,300 strikers at John Morrell Co. in Sioux City, Iowa and Sioux Falls, South Dakota have defended their picket lines from cop attacks.

The meatpackers are literally fighting for their lives in the most dangerous industry in America. It's the workers who are being butchered, just as they were at the turn of the century when Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*, his famous exposé of conditions in the slaughterhouses. An article by William Glaberson in the *New York Times* (14 June), unusual for these haughty labor-haters, told the story of workers at the Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, members of UFCW Local 304A:

> "Meatpackers work in extreme heat or refrigerated cold, often standing shoulder to shoulder, wielding honed knives and power saws. Grease and blood make the floors and tools slippery. The roar of the machines is constant. Occasionally, an overpowering stench from open bladders and stomachs fills the air. 'The workers cut themselves. They cut each other. They wear out their insides doing repetitive-motion jobs. They are sliced and crushed by machines that were not even imagined when Sinclair published his book in 1906.'"

Bob Gomel

The most dangerous industry in America: workers on the line at IBP's Amarillo, Texas plant.

Twenty-five years ago Morrell's hog kill rate was 365 an hour; now the hog chain runs at 1,065 an hour. Workers have as little as 3.4 seconds to make their cuts. Those who last long enough wind up with carpal tunnel syndrome, which cripples the hands by pinching the nerves in the wrist. On the line, drive sprockets and chains, pulleys and belts are often left exposed, waiting to mangle a hand or sever a worker's fingers.

Mary Tvedt, a worker at the Sioux Falls plant, told the *Times* of losing four fingers on her right hand when a co-worker accidentally restarted a bacon slicer she was cleaning. Morrell refuses to provide safety locks to shut down equipment—that would slow down the line. So Mary Tvedt is crippled for life. Another worker, Marrianne Sudenga, told of being forced to return to work *three days* after she broke her leg in the plant. Three years earlier she lost two fingers in a sausage wrapping machine. And now, with the massive givebacks engineered by the UFCW sellouts, she has to take a second job, at near-minimum wage, to make ends meet. The *Times* reported there was an outpouring of outraged letters at the conditions exposed in the article.

Local 304A vice president Jim Lyons told *WV*, "All they want is our bodies—

continued on page 10

Reuters/Bettmann Photos

San Salvador, July 15—Police open fire on demonstration of striking workers.

Defiant workers march after police attack. Banner of ASTTEL phone workers contingent.

El Salvador:

Duarte's Cops Shoot Down Strikers

MEXICO CITY, July 18—Frustrated at its inability to crush leftist rebels after seven years of civil war, ultraright-ist Salvadoran capitalist/landlord/mil-itary reaction is lashing out against a combative working class fighting for its survival. Twice in the last ten days, police have opened fire directly on demonstrations of striking workers in the capital. Miraculously, no one was killed although more than two dozen were wounded. Simultaneously, the death squads have raised their heads and are once again publishing their hit lists in San Salvador newspapers. And the isolated U.S. puppet regime of José Napoleón Duarte, besieged from left and right, sinks further into corruption, ineffectiveness and violent internal feuding. The stage is set for a bloody showdown.

For both Democrats and Republi-cans, El Salvador was the "success story" of U.S. policy in Central Ameri-ca. The American-engineered 1984 election of Christian Democrat Duarte was supposed to have "stabilized" the situation in El Salvador while Washing-ton focused its anti-Soviet war drive on overthrowing Sandinista Nicaragua. Three years later, the Sandinista Army has creamed the cutthroat Nicaraguan contras despite their $100 million from Congress. And in tiny El Salvador, where the U.S. has poured in $2 million *a day* in aid as well as an estimated 300 military "advisers" (six of whom just died in a helicopter crash), the govern-ment army still hasn't won a single bat-tle against the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Life for the Salvadoran proletariat becomes daily more impossible. Unem-ployment in the cities is a staggering 50 percent, and real wages have fallen precipitously since 1980. Last fall's earthquake in San Salvador, which caused an estimated $2 billion worth of damage, compounded the problems of an already destitute economy. Three hundred thousand were left homeless, added to half a million internal refugees who had fled the army's indiscriminate bombing and murderous sweeps in the countryside. And now the country is bracing for the return of tens of thou-sands of Salvadorans from the U.S. due to the racist Simpson-Rodino immigra-tion law. As Duarte tried to raise taxes and slash subsidies to pay for the war, the union movement had no choice but to fight for its life.

In May alone there were 28 strikes and 20 workers' demonstrations. In June, 13 unions representing 55,000 state employees agreed to take joint action demanding a $60 per month raise, expulsion of the CIA labor front AIFLD, union recognition and an end to anti-union repression. Leading the class battles of the last two months is the strike of 7,000 employees of the Salva-doran Social Security Institute. The government responded to the strike call by firing 103 union activists and send-ing in the military. On July 8, 200 strik-ers tried to reoccupy the administrative offices. They were met with bullets of the National Police. Fifteen strikers and two TV reporters suffered bullet wounds; 50 received minor injuries. The next day, 100,000 workers struck in solidarity.

These shootings are part of a rightist offensive threatening to drown the workers' struggles in rivers of blood, as they did in 1980. On June 3, security vice minister Colonel Reynaldo López Nui-la, reputedly a death squad leader, warned that the almost daily labor demonstrations had reached "the limits of tolerability," and that "the armed forces have decided to act with full capacity and drastically" (*El Salvador Proceso*, 10 June). Already on May 31, a leader of the ANDES teachers union, Julio César Portillo, was shot in the back at a workers' demonstration out-side Mariona Prison. Duarte himself has refused to meet with leaders of the UNTS labor federation, denouncing it as a front of the FMLN guerrillas. And on July 15, a UNTS march was fired on, this time by the Treasury Police.

Meanwhile, the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission has denounced a resurgence of death squad activities with the murders of 14 persons and the dis-appearance of hundreds more in the first five months of this year. On May 28, the offices of the COMADRES (the Com-mittee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated) were bombed. In mid-June, the feared Maximiliano Her-nández Martinez Brigade resurfaced, publishing a death list of 14 National University students. Of the 65,000 killed since 1979, more than 40,000 have been murdered by death squads. And now these psychopathic killers are spread-ing their terror to the U.S. with kidnap-pings, torture, rape and death threats against solidarity activists in Los Ange-les (see page 12).

Comité El Salvador

May Day 1987—Thousands of Salvadoran workers protest U.S.-imposed austerity and war, demanding Duarte must go.

Politically, El Salvador has become extremely unstable. Duarte's power-hungry Christian Democrats have bro-ken into warring factions over the pres-idential succession and have literally come to blows. The far right is rallying around the fascistic ARENA party of death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuis-son, who calls for a "peace" of 200,000 dead. One of the army's most notorious butchers, Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa, resigned to run for president on the ARENA ticket, denouncing corrupt politicians and U.S. "human rights" restrictions for preventing victory in the war. The only reason there hasn't been a coup already is fear of losing U.S. aid.

Militarily, the spectacular FMLN raid on the supposedly impregnable El Paraiso army base on March 31 shook the army's confidence to the core. Increasingly, the FMLN's actions have been coordinated with urban struggles. On May 2, the leftist insurgents carried out an operation "Salute to the Coura-geous Working Class" occupying the departmental capital of San Francisco Gotera. And in response to the shoot-ings of trade unionists, in early June and mid-July the FMLN decreed trans-portation boycotts which brought traf-fic to a standstill for several days across the country and in San Salvador itself.

Yet the radical-nationalist FMLN and its petty-bourgeois liberal allies of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) continue to call for a negotiated solution "among Salvadorans" and the formation of a "government of broad participation." Does the FDR/FMLN propose a coalition with the hit squads of ARENA, or perhaps with "death squad democrat" Duarte? Any "nego-tiated solution" laying down arms in the face of this blood-drenched bourgeoisie is a death trap for the Salvadoran toil-ing masses. The present stand-off will not last. An implacable struggle by the working class to smash the murderous security forces and uproot its capitalist masters could win the support of a war-weary population. But it requires the leadership of a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard party fighting for workers rev-olution throughout the isthmus.

The Caribbean and Central Amer-ican region continues to boil. In Haiti, demonstrators against the U.S.-imposed junta chant "Down with Amer-ica! Long live Communism!" Strike struggles mushroom in Mexico. Even in Honduras, 20,000 marched on May Day demanding the U.S. Army and the con-tras get out. In the United States, while there are ruling-class divisions over sup-porting the loser contras in Nicaragua, there is a bipartisan imperialist consen-sus to crush the leftist insurgents and combative workers in El Salvador. Yet the liberal/reformist "solidarity" milieu still looks to the Democrats who keep voting for aid to Duarte. It is the American workers who must be mobi-lized to smash the U.S. war on the embattled working masses of Central America and on the unions and the op-pressed black and Hispanic minorities at home.

Military victory to the leftist insur-gents—Workers take San Salvador! ■

Imperialists' Hands Off the South Pacific!

Fiji Coup Made in U.S.A.?

Adapted from Australasian Spartacist *No. 121, July-August 1987, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.*

On the morning of May 14, an opposition MP in the Fijian parliament was expounding on how the "peace and harmony" of this small South Pacific state contradicted Mao Tse-tung's dictum that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun. Moments later a squad of soldiers led by Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka burst in and arrested the month-old coalition government of Dr. Timoci Bavadra at gunpoint. The coup shattered Fiji's image as a remote South Sea paradise and spotlighted it as a powder keg of communal-racial division, the legacy of British colonial divide-and-rule policies. It also underlines the increasing impact of the global anti-Soviet war drive on the South Pacific island micro-states. Their chief overlord Australia, under the Cold War Labor regime of Bob Hawke, polices the region as Reagan's "deputy sheriff," in the words of the Soviets.

The imperialist media like the *New York Times* (20 May) have tried to paint the coup as simply a parochial "ethnic power struggle" (the Fijian population of 700,000 is divided between the 46 percent indigenous Melanesians and 49 percent Indian descendants of imported plantation labourers). But more and more evidence is surfacing implicating the CIA. One month before the coup, U.S. general and top-level White House agent Vernon Walters (former deputy director of the CIA, now ambassador to the UN) visited Fiji. In Washington this month, ousted Fijian prime minister Bavadra suggested that Walters' visit provided the opportunity to arrange the coup with opposition leaders. He added a bombshell:

> "The deposed leader and his personal adviser, Dr James Anthony, said they had evidence from Fijian intelligence sources that figures from the Iran-contra network, such as retired general John Singlaub, may have been involved in the coup.
>
> "It was noted that General Singlaub, the chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and fund-raiser for the Nicaraguan contra rebels, was in Fiji before, during and after the coup."
>
> —London *Guardian*, 17 June

Bavadra is now lobbying for a Congressional investigation into CIA involvement in the coup. Given the Democratic-controlled Congress' polite friendliness with Singlaub during the latter's appearance at the Iran/Contra-gate hearings, such an appeal is worse than worthless.

Cold War Coup

The Fiji coup serves Washington's anti-Soviet Cold War, and the interests of its Australian imperialist junior partners. Since independence in 1970, Fiji had been a "model Pacific democracy" and regional Cold War pivot, ruled by Ratu (chief) Sir Kamisese Mara's Fijian-dominated Alliance Party. The 2,500-strong Fijian army is trained by Australia, New Zealand, Britain and more recently the U.S., with over half of it manning imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in the Sinai and south Lebanon. Mara "befriended the Reagan administration by reversing Fiji's ban on visits by U.S. nuclear ships," noted the *Wall Street Journal* (26 May). But in April, Bavadra's coalition of the new trade union-based Labour Party and the Indian-based National Federation Party won the election and formed Fiji's first mainly Indian government (though also with significant Fijian support). Washington and Canberra were antagonised by its pledge to again close Fiji's ports to U.S. nuclear warships. Rabuka, who went golfing with Mara before the coup, made clear his motives:

> "First of all the way the foreign policy was being taken. I believe it was heading towards pushing Fiji away from traditional allies . . . the Foreign Minister in the Government I have just ousted (Mr Krishna Datt) is a known, frequent visitor to the Soviet Union, as is the Finance Minister. The other one is that his Cabinet is dominated by the Indian race and the Fijians feel their land rights being taken away."
>
> —*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 May

Rabuka emerged as the instrument of Mara and the Fijian "Great Council of Chiefs," established by the British to "cede" Fiji to the Crown in 1874. And this very British coup found its "constitutional" fig leaf in the Queen's representative, the governor-general, who emerged at the head of an "interim" regime in a deal dictated under the guns of seven Australian and two New Zealand warships off the capital Suva. The regime has imposed press censorship, suppressed trade unions and imprisoned a number of opponents including union leaders. However multiracial protests continue especially in the west, where the sugar cane harvest has been held up by strikes by the mainly Indian growers and mill workers. Many Indians want to leave and the economy faces ruin. Fiji is poised on the brink of bloody repression and possibly descent into a communal civil war.

A year ago, U.S. Commander in Chief Pacific Admiral Hays worried "about the growth of the Fiji Labour Party" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 24 May) and when Bavadra took office you can bet the CIA was not lazing about on the sand at Waikiki. In addition to General Walters' visit, five CIA men were reportedly seen meeting with Lt. Col. Rabuka at Fiji's airport, and one was seen in parliament during the coup. This was undoubtedly a joint operation with Australian intelligence, for in U.S. eyes Fiji is an Australian protectorate. The *Wall Street Journal* (18 May) editorialised: "Australia and New Zealand, assuming they would prefer not to be surrounded by outposts of the Russian empire, might have to face up to some greater responsibilities for the peace of the region."

Hawke's rabid Cold War campaign against Libya in recent months gave Rabuka the green light. Hawke undoubtedly had advance warning—two Australian warships just happened to be in Suva on the day of the coup. The revelation that the strategic U.S. spy base at Pine Gap in Australia collects "comprehensive intelligence about military developments in the South Pacific region" means it had a role in this piece of imperialist dirty work also. Fiji itself is hardly strategic but they fear the spread of "Kiwi disease"—referring to New Zealand's ban on U.S. nuclear ships—through the island micro-states which cover vast stretches of ocean where U.S. warships prowl. Bavadra's pleas that they would not allow the Soviets to open an embassy cut no ice with the crazed warmongers in Washington and Canberra, for whom any dereliction of Cold War duty is "anti-Western."

The Pacific, an American lake since World War II and ringed by U.S. military bases and alliances, has seen a massive anti-Soviet war buildup in recent years. A major nuclear flash point is in the North Pacific around Korea and Japan, key to the U.S. Navy's "forward strategy" to bottle up and destroy the Soviet Pacific fleet in its bases. Another Cold War hot spot is Vietnam, whose victory over U.S. imperialism (and its allied troops from Australia, New Zealand and South Korea) over a decade ago resulted in Soviet access to bases at Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang. We defend the historic gains of the Russian and Vietnamese revolutions and welcome the Soviet naval presence in the Pacific, crucial to staying the hand of the imperialist madmen. Meanwhile, the huge U.S. bases in the Philippines rest on the unstable ground of the crisis-racked Aquino regime.

The small South Pacific islands have not figured prominently in American geostrategic war plans except perhaps as weapons testing grounds—e.g., the H-bomb tests at Bikini and Enewetak atolls in the '50s in which the native populations were forcibly removed and suffered supposedly "accidental" radiation contamination which became the subject of war "studies." There are also some key American bases, such as Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands. The U.S. has been offering "free association" to the Palau islands in exchange for its agreement to be a backup for U.S. bases if the Philippines are "lost." However, this would require a reversal of the Palau constitutional ban on everything nuclear, and four votes have so far failed to achieve the required 75 percent majority.

Even after independence movements began in the '60s and '70s, South Pacific island governments were considered firmly "pro-Western." But in the '80s second-generation leaders have charted a more independent course which has caused the White House to see reds under the beds. In 1985 the small atoll of Kiribati signed a fishing agreement with the USSR which brought in much-needed cash. Last year a broader agreement between the USSR and Vanuatu

continued on page 8

James Pozarik

Trippett/Sipa

Reagan's puppet? One month before Col. Rabuka's coup, U.S. general Vernon Walters (right) turned up in Fiji.

WV Map

U.S. nuclear fleet wants to keep South Pacific an "American lake"—ousted Bavadra government closed ports to U.S. warships.

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Uproar Over West German Census

Der Spiegel Photos

May Day, 1987: Berlin's Kreuzberg district in flames (left). Police broke into local headquarters of boycott movement, confiscated literature and provoked street battles. Boycotters burn census forms in protest action (right).

Fourth Reich Counts Heads

West Germany today: pitched battles in the streets, police raids on leftist offices, books seized, leaflets confiscated, members of parliament fined thousands of deutschmarks—and all over a census. A comrade writes us from Hamburg:

Hamburg
9 May 1987

Dear comrades,

The census has become quite a big issue in West Germany, especially amongst rad-lib and leftist layers which have (again) started a boycott movement. There are three aspects to the census: a wave of persecution against the opponents of the census; the importance of the census for war preparations and the state machinery of suppression; and direct dangers, e.g., for foreigners. An especially ominous development occurred in Hamburg, where fascists are enlisting as "counters."

A wave of repression has come down on organizations and individuals who call for boycotting the census. Since even this call constitutes an infraction of regulations. Hundreds of bookstores have been searched, especially in southern Germany. Virtually every book against the census has been confiscated—a massive test run of the recently reinforced law on political censorship. Boycott groups have not been allowed to meet in public places, their information stands are being cleared. On May Day, after the police raided the left-wing "autonomous" center Mehringhof in West Berlin, a cop riot was started in Kreuzberg. This led to a whole night of demonstrations, arrests and fires in that neighborhood, which is overwhelmingly inhabited by immigrant workers, poor people and students who feel they are being targeted by this newest government scheme. "Green" party members of parliament were fined DM 200,000 for unfurling a protest banner in front of the Bundestag (parliament) on February 18, calling for "Boycott the census." And the phones of lawyers calling for a boycott have been cut.

The census is not only a trigger, but part and parcel of the state machinery of suppression. It comes together with the introduction of computer readable ID cards, the intensification of the "security" laws, the all-inclusive use of any file the police can get their hands on. There will be special files for those who boycott the census which will be transferred to the state security police. Some time ago biochemical labs were ordered to report positive AIDS test results to the federal ministry of health, in some semi-anonymous fashion. The census data would make re-identification trivially easy. Given that public discussion of concentration camps for AIDS victims is common, this is another ominous aspect.

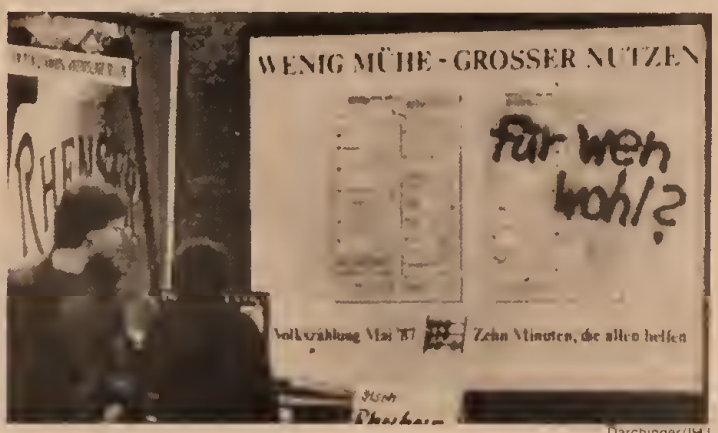
In fact, censuses have a special tradition in this country: 48 years ago, in 1939, there was a census which was not only used for the war plans of the Third Reich, but also provided the data for the inventory and murder of the Jewish population. Today's census includes a question on "membership in a Jewish religious community"!

With the background of growing racism, the question referring to nationality becomes important. Given the possibility of checking against existing files, and subsequent deportations, this question can become deadly for refugees with unclear legal status. But there is a still more direct danger: in Hamburg the fascist HLA ("Stop Foreigners") slate announced that a large number of their members have enlisted as census "counters." They expressly state that they are aiming at foreigners living "illegally" in Hamburg. So the fascists will be armed with address lists, paid by the state, to mark down their victims.

Calling for a boycott of the census is a petty-bourgeois strategy not capable of stopping the census. The boycott may affect the statistical use of the census, but not its use for repression. On the other hand, answering the census has become something like saluting a Gessler hat put up by the government.

Comradely,
Ronald Kamp

WV replies: It's hardly surprising that in West Germany, when people are asked to fill in a census form asking "Are you Jewish?" many think of gas chambers. (To provide data on hundreds of thousands of "guest workers" from the Near East, a prime target of state repression today, they added: "Are you of the Islamic faith?") Indeed, the data from the 1939 census was used to round up Jews, block by block, house by house, to send them to their death. And they had the same "guarantees" of "anonymity" which the Federal Republic authorities make today. West Germany is in fact the successor state of Hitler's Third Reich, and formally proclaims this by insisting that it represents "Germany within the boundaries of 1937." To "restore" those boundaries would require war, and the census is part of a broader tightening of control and surveillance by the German imperialist state in the context of the anti-Soviet war drive.



Darchinger/IHJ

Government poster campaigns for census: "Little effort—great benefit." "But for whom?" opponents' graffiti inquires.

The West German government has made the issue of the census into a "test of power" and of the authority of the state. In the legend of William Tell, the despot Gessler placed his hat atop a pole and required the citizenry to bow before it as a sign of submission. Tell refused, ultimately leading a popular rebellion for Swiss freedom against Austrian tyranny. Today there are quite a few Germans who are defying the authorities. While the "active boycotters" so far number only 800,000, many more have refused to fill in the census forms properly. *Der Spiegel* (6 July) estimated that in Hamburg alone about 12 percent of all households refused to accept the forms, and according to preliminary reports "one out of four forms is unusable for computer analysis."

Why all the uproar over a census? In the U.S. it is largely (except for undocumented immigrants) a routine collection of statistical data every ten years. But the West German state already has such information, and much more. Everyone must register with the local police each time they move: the national tax department keeps records on your work history and every citizen is required to carry an identification card. Now every West German citizen is obliged (under penalty of fines of up to 10,000 D-marks) to fill in detailed questions about education, religion, nationality and means of livelihood. Many questions in the census like those regarding religious belief are justly and deeply resented by wide sections of the population. These questions reflect the absence in Germany of a mass bourgeois revolution establishing such fundamental rights as the separation of church and state. Even today West Germany imposes religious instruction and a church tax for Protestants and Catholics.

As for the promised "confidentiality," this week a scandal broke out when it was discovered that, with the secret approval of federal interior minister Zimmermann, records on AIDS victims have been entered in the police computer network. It is widely believed that the government intends for the census to provide crucial linkage in a nationwide computerized data bank on all West German residents—that would include everything from traffic violations to the voluminous files of the political police. This is why the census has alarmed civil libertarians and is instinctively identified by a large segment of the population with a draconian police state.

Comrade Kamp reports on the Kreuzberg May Day riots. Certainly the immigrant workers and squatters of this run-down district feel threatened. A resurgent fascist movement in West Germany has whipped up anti-foreigner hysteria and fascist "counters" armed with lists are a deadly menace. The census also will uncover "illegals"—immigrant workers who made it into West Germany against all odds fleeing poverty and unemployment, or political refugees hiding out to escape persecution in their home countries. Also in danger are immigrant workers who defied the inhuman alien laws and illegally brought in their wives or refused to send away their children over 18 years of age. The West German workers movement must come to the defense of its foreign-

continued on page 9

Fiji Sun

AP

Legacy of British colonial divide and rule: anti-Indian protest by indigenous Fijians (left); Indians (right) protest military coup.

Fiji...

(continued from page 6)

gave the Russians access rights for Soviet boats and landing rights for the Soviet airline Aeroflot. The pro-NATO *Jane's Defence Weekly* (23 May) recently noted that the target of ANZUS-sponsored "exercises" a few years ago was a mythical "enemy" country which was "sited just about where, in reality, Vanuatu sits astride some of Australia's most sensitive lines of economic and political communication."

Cold War Libya Scare

This is no idle speculation. Australia's Labor prime minister Gough Whitlam was ousted in 1975 at the behest of the CIA by the Queen's representative, simply for asking too many questions about the U.S. spy base at Pine Gap. The U.S. needs a junior partner to take care of its South Pacific rear and Hawke's Australia is ever willing. Hawke has raised the spectre of Libyan penetration of the region, supposedly as a surrogate for the Soviet Union. So Hawke has issued barely veiled threats to give Vanuatu the Grenada/Fiji treatment because of its Libyan contacts. As usual, Hawke was dancing to the Reaganites' tune: when the 18 May *Wall Street Journal* said it was time to expel the Libyan People's Bureau in Canberra, it was ordered out within 24 hours!

Hawke's "condemnation" of the Fijian coup was mainly a "democratic" imperialist posture for domestic consumption, behind which he moved rapidly to legitimise this Cold War fait accompli. It was telling that at the recent South Pacific Forum meeting—Australia's ministry of colonies attended by the island government leaders—Bavadra's ministers were barred at the door. The duty of the Australian working class is to fight Australian imperialism, exploiter and oppressor of Fiji's oppressed masses, including through political strikes demanding, "Hawke: Bloody hands off Fiji! Australian navy get out of Fijian waters!"

In New Zealand, Prime Minister Lange was initially more aggressive than Hawke, proposing to fly Fijian troops back from the Near East to put down the coup. Lange must know he's skating on thin ice by posturing as an "anti-nuke" leader while trying to remain loyal to the anti-Soviet alliance—the U.S. wants allies who don't talk back. Lange has of late been anxious to prove that even without nuclear ships he can still be a good Cold War soldier, expelling Russian diplomats and pursuing illusory Russian submarines round the Cook Islands. But the U.S. has been stepping up the pressure.

The Fijian coup drew a hard line on the Australian left: while the Spartacist League/ANZ denounced the machinations of Australian imperialism, the social-democrats and Stalinists urged Hawke to act more aggressively in defence of its little sphere of influence. With a bit more left cover and a trade-unionist twist, this was also the line of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), one-time followers of British fake-Trotskyist bandit Gerry Healy and now of his American ex-lieutenant David North. While denouncing Australian military intervention the SLL backed the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) blockade of all trade to Fiji. This was the labour fakers' Accord with Hawke in foreign policy, designed to back his grandstanding as a knight of democracy and called off at his bidding.

Revolutionaries oppose the ACTU's pro-government blockade, and fight for effective class solidarity action directed against the Australian ruling class and its military. A concrete opportunity came at Cockatoo Island dockyard in Sydney, when orders came down to rush through repair work on a naval ship to go to Fiji. Militant iron worker and Spartacist supporter Neil Florrimell agitated for class-struggle action to oppose Hawke's war moves, meeting a receptive ear from union militants, who are facing the government's threats to close the island. The "left" union leadership on the island killed this off, revealing that the navy was "exempted" from the ACTU bans, clear proof of their pro-imperialist nature.

Fijian "Democracy"—Imperialist Divide and Rule

Australia's island neocolonies are economic slums hopelessly dependent on aid, getting poorer every year as their population grows, their tiny industries crippled by Australian protectionism, and the immigration escape route from poverty increasingly closed off by racist barriers. Larger and more viable than most, Fiji's economy is 80 percent Australian-owned. Colonial Sugar Refining (CSR) was Fiji's version of the United Fruit Company in Central America, monopolising the sugar industry for nearly a century. The Indian sugar workers were originally imported as indentured labour for its plantations, slaves in all but law. After reaping decades of superprofits, CSR was generously bought out in 1973 by the government—"independence" meaning little more than handing over running the plantation to local intermediaries.

The simple-minded Australian "left" has tried to deny any communalist factor in the coup, but the fact is that the former British imperialist masters of the island left behind a knotty ethnic problem in Fiji as they did practically everywhere they went (Ireland, India, Cyprus). Thus the much-ballyhooed "democratic" constitution was in fact thoroughly anti-democratic, designed by the British to perpetuate the political supremacy of their agents, the Fijian chiefs. Fijians were guaranteed ownership of most land (with the chiefs taking the lion's share of the mostly Indian tenants' rents), overwhelmingly dominated the army and ran the government, leaving commerce, industry and the professions to the Indians. Bavadra's Labour Party, under the tutelage of the Australian and New Zealand Laborites, tried to bridge the racial divide with a mildly reformist program. But it was not hard for the agents of imperialism to whip up a demagogic anti-Indian racist campaign as a backdrop for the coup.

In addition to Australia and the U.S., France is active in the region—witness its 1985 bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* peace ship in New Zealand, to prevent it from sailing to the site of a French nuclear test. In New Caledonia, imperialism has bequeathed another intractable communal conflict which could outlive direct colonial rule. The generally privileged Caldoche (between 35 and 40 percent of the population, largely descendants of French settlers, French exiles, including from the Paris Commune, and other "Europeans"), together with descendants of immigrants from Vietnam, Java and French Polynesia (who work the nickel mines), comprise an anti-independence majority over the Kanaks, the pre-colonial Melanesian population. The Chirac government has announced a new "referendum" on "independence" designed to affirm the colonial ties. Marxists denounce Chirac's "referendum" fraud and call for a boycott. We demand immediate independence and the withdrawal of all French troops, police forces and colonial apparatus, not conditional on any colonial election.

The Kanak independence front (the FLNKS) has called for a boycott, but demands a referendum under the tutelage of imperialism, in which the franchise would be restricted to second-generation (or earlier) Caledonians. This position reflects the FLNKS' program for "Kanak independence," a program which is not only a negation of democratic principles for all the other ethnic groups, but is also suicidal for the Kanak people. This is an island populated by a mosaic of peoples and ethnic groups. All these people have the right to live and exercise their rights in an independent island. The horrible crimes of French imperialism cannot justify a (futile and reactionary) attempt to deny the existence of other minorities and decide arbitrarily which are more equal than others. Moreover, every attempt to exclude any of them can only lead to a military solution where the Kanaks will be decisively beaten, if not exterminated, and is an invitation to an intervention by the French or by Australia, which longs to become the new master of New Caledonia. The expulsion or departure of the more educated economically active layers would be an economic disaster disrupting links with the world economy.

Within the confines of these tiny South Pacific islands, where one can hardly speak of full-fledged nations given the small size of the populations and the primitiveness of the political economies, it is absurd to project an isolated "liberation struggle." A future of plenty and equality for the island peoples can be envisaged only in close connection with the proletarian struggles in Australia/New Zealand and especially Japan, the powerhouse of Asia.

But ANZ-style Laborism is built on "yellow peril" racism with its sordid history of anti-Asian xenophobia and oppression of Aborigines and Maoris. With many immigrant workers from the islands now living in Sydney and Auckland, the opportunity is there for common proletarian struggle—by cracking the white-chauvinist unity of imperialist Australia and releasing the working class from the shackles of Laborism. The key lies in building a revolutionary Trotskyist party which fights for a racially integrated workers republic of Australia in a socialist Asia. ■

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Contragate in the South Pacific

"AFL-CIA" at Work

The same gang who brought you the Grenada invasion have been up to their dirty tricks in Fiji. In fact, some of the Contragaters who hit the beaches of this South Pacific isle during the recent military coup flew in direct from Congressional hearings in Washington.

Speaking at a June 16 press conference in the U.S. capital, deposed Fijian prime minister Bavadra revealed that Reagan emissary General Vernon Walters (a former CIA deputy director) and World Anti-Communist League (WACL) leader General John Singlaub were both in Fiji at the time of the coup, attending a meeting of the so-called Pacific Democratic Union chaired by former pro-U.S. prime minister Ratu Mara. Also present were the Institute for International Affairs, affiliated with Contragater Carl Channell's National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty; the CIA-conduit National Endowment for Democracy (NED); and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). The AAFLI likewise attended a meeting between Mara and U.S. admiral Hays in Hawaii shortly after Bavadra's election.

That this "Free Labor" Institute finds itself in company with "the Company" is no accident. The AAFLI is a CIA front, the Asian/Pacific counterpart of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), notorious for its anti-labor activities in Latin America. From helping topple the leftist Jagan government in Guyana in the early 1960s to its role in the bloody Chilean coup of 1973 to its recent counterinsurgency "land reform" program in El Salvador, the AIFLD has earned the name "AFL-CIA" for its parent organization. And wherever there is a pro-American military coup or dictatorship in the Pacific basin, you will find the AAFLI. Since its formation by the Cold War AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy in 1968, the AAFLI has been deployed in 18 countries.

It is active in open-shop South Korea—which boasts a 54-hour workweek, the longest in the world, and wages under 50 cents an hour—bolstering the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, sponsored by the military dictatorship to suppress any independent working-class organization. We noted last month that there was little direct participation by the industrial proletariat in the mass protests rocking South Korea. The AAFLI wants to keep it that way. The lavishly paid, KCIA-connected "union" bureaucrats at the Daewoo Motor Company, bragged AAFLI's country director George Curtin, are "the kind of guys we like to work with." When garment workers in Seoul were arrested and beaten while occupying AAFLI offices, a spokesman for the "free labor" institute amnestied this union-busting with a racist slur about "different ethnic standards" (*Nation*, 15 February 1986).

AAFLI activity in the Philippines was drastically stepped up as social struggle escalated following the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1983. There it supported the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, an instrument of the Marcos dictatorship. Its primary aim was to undercut the mushrooming leftist unions of the Kulusang Mayo Uno (KMU—May First Movement). The NED, created by Reagan in 1983 to launder CIA funds, allocated $3.2 million to the Philippine AAFLI operation through April 1985. This money is used for more than the usual stuff of propping up reliable labor toadies and buying elections. Last year the head of the KMU was assassinated, and now Salvadoran-style death squads are proliferating under the "democratic" rule of conservative landowner Cory Aquino.

AFL-CIO

Australian prime minister Hawke (left), Reagan's man in the South Pacific, with Lane Kirkland, CIA's labor stooge.

Since last fall, General Singlaub has been in and out of Manila frequently. The cover story is he's hunting for the "Yamahita treasure"! Meanwhile he hired 37 mercenaries, veterans of the U.S. Special Forces in Vietnam, who have been training Filipinos in "unconventional warfare techniques." One of the death squads set up with army backing is the Alsa Masa vigilante group, linked to CAUSA, the political arm of the "Unification Church" of Korean ultrarightist Sun Myung Moon, a Singlaub associate in the fascistic WACL. Alsa Masa *Führer* Jun Porras reads CAUSA manifestos over local radio, declaring, "I imitate the style of Hitler," and threatening Communists: "We will exhibit your heads in the plaza...your head will be cut off... your brains will be scattered in the streets" (*New York Times*, 4 April).

The hidebound anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy has had its hands deep in CIA blood money for decades, in Asia as well as Europe and Latin America. Before the 1965 Djakarta coup, ILGWU tops carried out a "training program" for Indonesian trade unionists who were subsequently involved in massacring *hundreds of thousands* of members of pro-Communist unions. And this anti-Communist terror has spread to the U.S. as well. In June 1981, two Filipino American militants in Seattle Local 37 of the ILWU were gunned down in their union office two months after embarking on a campaign of support for the KMU within the labor movement here. The murder weapon belonged to former local president Tony Baruso, a friend and supporter of Marcos, but the FBI intervened to scuttle any investigation.

The AAFLI, AIFLD and other CIA "labor" fronts are a deadly threat to independent unions everywhere. The AFL-CIO labor lieutenants of American imperialism police the workers movement by pushing givebacks at home and burying workers' struggles in blood abroad. Smash the AAFLI/AIFLD! ■

U.S. Murder Inc. in Palau

On July 2, ABC-TV's "20/20" news program revealed an elaborate scheme of American murder and mayhem aimed at turning the tiny Micronesian island republic of Palau into a floating nuclear aircraft carrier akin to the strategic Guam air base several hundred miles to the north. For years, the U.S. has unsuccessfully tried to hamboozle the 14,000 Palauans into repudiating their constitution prohibiting nuclear weapons in the islands. Hundreds of thousands were spent on "voter education" and *one billion dollars* in "aid" was promised. When voters didn't buy it, Washington engineered a financial swindle to bankrupt Palau, imposing a $30 million white elephant power plant while pulling out three generators left over from the post-WWII U.S. occupation. ABC's Tom Jarriel reported that Palauans suspect "the whole expensive project was conceived for one purpose—to force Palau into such a desperate financial situation that its only hope for economic survival was to rescind the nuclear-free constitution."

It didn't stop with lies and dirty tricks. The home of an American attorney working with Palauan opponents of the U.S. deal was firebombed. And on 30 June 1985, just hours before he was to appear on television to blow the lid off this scandal, Palauan president Haruo Remeliik was assassinated. The U.S.-appointed attorney general of the tiny "trust territory" colony picked up the son and nephew of a principal spokesman against the American deal (who was also a leading contender to replace Remeliik) and threw them behind bars for 25 to 35 years! At press time, an appeals court ordered them acquitted. Micronesians have vivid memories of the slaughter which ravaged their islands during WWII and which continued with the calculated nuclear devastation of several islands after the war. In the face of Reagan's Murder Inc., in early July Palauans once again rejected the American *diktat*. U.S. out of Micronesia! ■

ABC-TV

Palauan president Haruo Remeliik, assassinated in 1985.

West Germany...

(continued from page 7)

born class brothers, organizing union-based defense guards against fascist attacks, mobilizing against reactionary anti-foreigner laws and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers.

But the anti-census protest by the ex-New Left milieu is marked above all by petty-bourgeois hysteria. Virtually the entire West German left has been consumed in the boycott, but they studiously ignore the plight of the immigrant workers and the political refugees. There were no protests from the nationalism-intoxicated left against a measure making it harder for foreign-born workers to get legal work papers, nor against the concentration camp-like conditions in which Tamils and other political refugees are held. This is hardly astonishing given the German nationalism of the "peace" movement which is silent about West Germany's expansionist threat to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This deep-seated nationalism is also behind the left's refusal to fight rising anti-Semitism in West Germany, demonstrated most drastically by its absence from the protest organized by Jewish groups against Reagan and Kohl's despicable salute of Nazi graves in Bitburg.

There has been an ominous escalation of state repression in West Germany in recent months: late last year "anti-terrorist" laws were "toughened" with a "muzzle law" threatening jail sentences and fines for any publication supporting "violent" acts like blocking an entrance; now rail, postal, airline or maritime workers who take such action as stopping trains during a strike, as the French railwaymen did this winter, could be tried for terrorism! And now these terrorist laws are being used against the census boycotters. The head of the Republican Lawyers Guild was given a heavy fine, thousands of leaflets have been seized by the police, boycott offices were broken into by cops and mail to the Green party and radical newspapers like the daily *TAZ* has been held up.

As our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) wrote in 1984, when they were the object of a vicious government smear campaign by Zimmermann:

> "All of us on the state's hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist and 'enemy of the constitution' in West Germany. We are compelled to undertake this battle not only to defend ourselves...but also to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. The revolutionary Marxists are the only consistent defenders of democratic rights, particularly in a period when the anti-Soviet war drive places the defense of all gains by the working class, from the trade unions to the Soviet Union itself, clearly on the agenda."
>
> —*Spartakist* supplement, 12 December 1984

There is an urgent need to forge a Trotskyist party in West Germany capable of mobilizing the powerful German proletariat, with its sizable foreign-born component, for internationalist socialist revolution. Only this can sweep away the nightmarish legacy of the Nazi Third Reich and its "free world" successors in the "Fourth Reich" of German imperialism. ■

Packinghouse Workers...

(continued from page 4)

and then they dispose of you." A new book by James Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle, Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1894-1922* (1987), graphically describes the barbaric conditions faced by meatpackers 70 years ago. It could easily be about plants in the Midwest today:

> "...one of every two of the [Armour] company's 22,381 workers was injured or became ill at work during 1917. Armour's Chicago plant averaged twenty-three accidents per day. Each job had its own dangers, the dampness and cold of the pickling room and hide cellar; the sharp blade of the beef boner's knife; the noxious dust of the wool department and fertilizer plant, the wild charge of a half-crazed steer on the killing floor."

These are the conditions that led to bitter, hard-fought strikes for three decades in Packingtown. With the migration of black workers from the South during the First World War, the battle for unionization of the Chicago packinghouses turned on the race question. The 1919 Chicago meatpackers strike was smashed when the bosses fueled bloody race riots and broke the unions (see our review of the TV film *The Killing Floor*, "Chicago 1919: Racism and Union-Busting," *WV* No. 422, 20 February).

The *official* injury rate in the industry today is over 30 per 100 workers every year, *four times* the average for all industry. And this is only what gets reported by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), justly known throughout the working class as "OSHit." At the Dakota City plant of IBP, a subsidiary of Armand Hammer's Occidental Petroleum, UFCW Local 222 uncovered systematic fraud in which the company grossly underreported its slaughter of meatpackers so as to avoid in-plant inspections. In a *three-month* period, IBP reported 160 injuries in one part of the processing department alone, while a second set of hidden books revealed 1,800 injuries (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 March)! IBP places injured workers on the "cripple crew," at reduced wages. In 1978 a company nurse remarked: "It's a heartless outfit. They do have humane ways of killing cattle"!

Meatpackers from Hormel to IBP have fought hard class battles against the vicious packinghouse bosses. There have been five strikes in 17 years at the Dakota City IBP plant where National Guard troops have brought in armored personnel carriers and machine guns. When roving pickets from Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota set up lines at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Nebraska, their fellow meatpackers shut down those plants. And the Morrell plant in Sioux Falls struck in solidarity with Local 1142 strikers in Sioux City, who picketed the plant on May 1.

In every instance the courageous packinghouse workers have come up against the courts, cops and troops of the capitalist state. And they are saddled with a union "leadership" which has openly *scabbed* on striking UFCW locals. The UFCW tops, led by strikebreaker president William Wynn, preach reliance on useless consumer boycotts and faith in the agencies of the bosses' state. But the opposition to the Wynn gang, such as former P-9 president Jim Guyette, shares the same program. Guyette dragged the union into the bosses' courts and appealed to the NLRB when Wynn took over P-9 during the Hormel strike. And supported by various pseudo-socialists, Guyette fled from the *political fight* against the UFCW tops, forming a separate union.

The Wynn gang and his "militant" opponents place their faith in the capitalist Democratic Party. *Both* have brought in Jesse Jackson to derail labor struggle into votes for the Democrats in '88. A host of Democratic presidential candidates are crawling all over Iowa, including Arizona governor "Scabbit" Babbitt, who sent in the National Guard against the Morenci copper miners. From Jackson to Babbitt to Minnesota governor Rudy Perpich, who sent the National Guard against P-9, these capitalist politicians are the sworn enemies of labor and minorities. It was the Democrats Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale who used the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law against the 1978 coal miners strike.

To win, meatpackers must break the stranglehold of the bosses' labor traitors. Instead of "Cram your Spam" boycott rallies, there must be plant occupations, defended by mass picket lines. The labor movement, especially the Teamsters and rail workers, must come to the aid of the meatpackers by shutting down the transport of scab products. Above all, there must be a *political* break from the bosses' parties, to forge a *workers party* fighting for a workers government that will stop the butchery going on in this country's packinghouses. ■

L.A....

(continued from page 12)

war on Central America. Neil Lancaster, a staff member of CISPES in Los Angeles, pointed to the Contragate hearings, specifically the testimony of Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, who read a list of solidarity organizations. "When he came to CISPES' name, he said it was a front for the Communist guerrillas in El Salvador," which is "a code way of saying that it's OK to do anything to them."

According to Varelli, only a few weeks after he left the FBI in 1984, he was visited by two former operatives of the CIA who, "asked him to develop avenues of support in the United States for the Nicaraguan *contras*—an effort that his visitors said was being coordinated by Lieut. Col. Oliver North" (*Nation*, 7 March). North sat on the interagency Crisis Management Committee together with Oliver Revell of the FBI. "Asked if an investigation of CISPES would be a topic for coordination" by the Committee, reported the *Guardian* (4 March), Revell replied, "Yeah, but we don't comment on specific cases."

The FBI has admitted it mounted a nationwide search-and-surveillance operation against CISPES, citing Executive Order 12333 as a license for domestic spying in the guise of "counterintelligence" against supposed "agents of a foreign power." They tried to label CISPES as agents of the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN rebels. In fact, CISPES is a pressure group, mainly geared to lobbying Congressional Democrats, which calls for a "political solution" to the Salvadoran civil war rather than a victory on the battlefield by the leftist insurgents. Throwing charges of "communism" against these left-liberals is setting them up for a hit.

Since 1979, tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers, peasants, students, leftists and church people have fallen victim to the death squads of the U.S.-backed junta and bloody "democrat" Duarte. In this country, the Reagan regime has sought to criminalize political opponents, branding them as "terrorist" outlaws to be shot first and interrogated later. Now the death squads are stalking L.A. The left and labor movement must come to the defense of the organizations and individuals under attack. This campaign of terror is inspired by the Contragate war criminals, from the top levels of the White House to North and his buddies in the basement. To stop Reagan's rabid dogs of war, the workers and oppressed must kick out their capitalist masters. ■

Barricada

Wohl/Sygma

Nicaraguan mothers (left) protest contras' murderous crimes.

Reagan/ North...

(continued from page 1)

abolished the year after U.S. troops were pulled out of Vietnam. As a result, the low-paid "volunteer" armed forces, especially combat units, were increasingly recruited from black and Hispanic ghetto poor. And black America hates the contras and their quartermasters like North. In a recent poll, even as support for contra aid shot up during the Contragate hearings, blacks opposed giving a dime to these butchers by four to one. In his parting words to North, Republican Senator Rudman remarked that in Vietnam "the people had enough of the killing." As for contra aid, he added, "the people in this country just don't think that's a very good idea.... There comes a point that the views of the American people have to be heard." It is this fact which causes the likes of North and Reagan to dream of military coups.

Paris Match

Truman with General MacArthur, the would-be American Caesar.

Col. North Goes to Washington

He was prepared to be the fall guy, take the spears, protect his boss, said Lt. Col. Oliver North, until he found out it might mean a few months behind bars. From that point on he was looking out for Numero Uno. While flashing his medals as a patriotic military hero and vituperating as a diehard anti-Communist, he took care to indict everyone below Reagan. If I go, you go, he said to Meese, Shultz, Weinberger, Poindexter, McFarlane. And the mastermind was CIA chief Casey, now conveniently in the grave. It got pretty sleazy. North offered to shadow box with the shadowy Abu Nidal, and used his 11-year-old daughter as a sympathy shill like Nixon used his dog Checkers. His voice cracking, he accused Congress of leaking sensitive information leading to the deaths of American GIs. (Inouye shot back that the leaks over the Libya attack came from the administration, and *Newsweek* revealed that North himself leaked the story of the U.S.' skyjacking of the alleged *Achille Lauro* hijackers.)

North left the politicians breathless with his cynicism, bragging about shredding documents while Justice Department officials sat ten feet away. Above all he flagellated the Democratic-controlled Congress for its "fickle, vacillating, unpredictable, on-again-off-again policy" toward the contras. He denounced not only the Boland Amendment but also the Contragate hearings as a Commie plot:

> "The Congress of the United States left soldiers in the field unsupported and vulnerable to their Communist enemies. When the executive branch did everything possible, within the law, to prevent them from being wiped out by Moscow's surrogates in Havana, in Managua, you then had this investigation to blame the problem on the executive branch."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 July

Replace the Purple Heart by an Iron Cross, and you could just hear the "little corporal" Adolf Hitler denouncing the *Dolchstoss* ("stab in the back") and democratic decadence. With the Democrats' complicity, North turned the Congressional hearings into a court-martial of Congress for being "soft on Communism." North's popularity ratings skyrocketed (though Reagan's did not).

The Congressional "investigation" is widely seen as a cover-up of a cover-up. In Watergate terminology, they were supposedly looking for a "smoking gun." This became a "smoking shredder," and when Poindexter replaced North on the stand, a "smoking pipe." Anything would do, to duck the obvious fact that "Reagan knew." Because, as the *Washington Post* (12 July) pointed out, "That simple political fact

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of life—that impeachment of Ronald Reagan is virtually unthinkable—poses a fundamental problem for the congressional investigation of the Iran-contra affair." So out the window go five North memos to Reagan on the diversion of Iranscam "profits" to the contras; ditto for a 1986 Poindexter memorandum quoting Reagan's insistence "to figure out a way to take action unilaterally" bypassing Congressional bans to aid contras; not to mention Reagan's own admission that "it was my idea to begin with." So the committees put on the kid gloves and let North call the shots. They even let him give his pro-contra fund-raising slide show (without slides)!

Oliver North is a veteran of the ignominious U.S. defeat in Vietnam and of Jimmy Carter's bungled "Desert One" (aimed at retrieving American hostages from the Khomeinites' Teheran embassy seizure). He is a right-wing nut case and psychopathic loser who cracked up after a four-year stint in Vietnam, "reportedly found by a superior officer talking incoherently while running around naked waving a .45 pistol" (*Washingtonian*, July 1987). Posted to the National Security Council, North earned a reputation as "a man who got the job done," be it the invasion of black Grenada, hijacking of a jetliner over the Mediterranean or gunrunning to the contras. Novelist James Michener observed that North's statement to the hearing made him sound like "a South American colonel about to call for a takeover of the Congress" (*Washington Post*, 10 July). In fact, he is reportedly "very popular within Salvadoran military circles" where a colonel of his age and energy should have led a coup already!

Salute Ben Linder! Contra terrorists murdered young American, shown here at work on hydroelectric project in rural Nicaragua.

Reagan's Plan For a "Self-Coup"

But this "colonel's coup" was meant to include the president, not oust him. Among North's Latin military cronies, they call it *autogolpe*—a "self-coup." As we reported last issue, the infrastructure for a military dictatorship had been set up in the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). This "secret government" and preparations for martial law go back to the late '60s when the Reagan mafia ran California. The *Village Voice* (21 July) reports (based on a piece by Ron Ridenhour published in 1975 in the Arizona *New Times*) that between 1968 and 1972 Reagan "organized a series of 'war games' involving state and local police, the California National Guard, and elements of the U.S. Sixth Army. The exercises, code-named Operation Cable Splicer I, II, and III, were aimed at training these groups for the establishment of martial law." Kicking off Cable Splicer II, Reagan remarked:

> "You know, there are people in the state who, if they could see this gathering right now and my presence here, would decide their worst fears and convictions had been realized—I was planning a military takeover."

Ed Meese directed Operation Cable Splicer; Louis Giuffrida braintrusted it. Today Meese is the nation's top cop, Giuffrida became head of FEMA. According to the story by Alfonso Chardy in the *Miami Herald* (5 July), the "scenario" outlined in a 1982 memo for Reagan's plan for military rule "resembled somewhat" a paper Giuffrida wrote in 1970 "in which he advocated martial law in case of a national uprising by black militants. The paper also advocated the roundup and transfer to 'assembly centers or relocation camps' of at least 21 million 'American Negroes'"! A 1984 FEMA plan established ten "military detention camps" for jailing 400,000 Central American "aliens" living in the U.S. as well as some 28,000 American citizens. Then-Attorney General William French Smith wrote a letter protesting this plan for an "emergency czar." Shortly thereafter, he left office, replaced by Meese.

The "genesis" of the "secret government" structure, reports Chardy, came with Reagan campaign manager Bill Casey's creation in October 1980 of a so-called October Surprise Group "to monitor Jimmy Carter's feverish negotiations with Iran for the release of 52 American hostages.... One of the group's first acts was a meeting with a man claiming to represent Iran who offered to release the hostages to Reagan." The hostages *were* released to Reagan, the day of his inauguration; six months later, when a plane crashed on the Soviet-Turkish border, it turned out to be loaded with American-made weapons in transit from Israel to Iran (*Nation*, 20 June). So, the payoffs to the Iranian "terrorists" started a lot earlier than 1985...

Attempts at military bonapartism are not unheard of in this country. As Haynes Johnson observed in the *Washington Post* (14 July):

> "Not since Gen. Douglas MacArthur's return to the United States in 1951 after he was fired by President Harry S Truman for insubordination during the Korean war has a military officer had such dramatic effect on the nation as Lt. Col. Oliver L. North."

After publicly denouncing the Truman government for refusing to launch a frontal assault on Mao's China, MacArthur circumvented the civilian government completely, issuing his own ultimatum to China to either surrender in Korea or be wiped out. When Truman fired him, MacArthur returned to launch an open campaign against the administration. Amid talk of impeaching Truman, he addressed a joint session of Congress and toured the country in a scarcely disguised show of force. The general rode down Pennsylvania Avenue under an umbrella of air force jets; in New York there was a seven-hour ticker-tape parade. He vowed: "Our country will...reassume that spiritual and moral leadership recently lost in a quagmire of political ineptitude and economic incompetence."

This government has a program for anti-Soviet nuclear war and domestic military takeover. Ed Meese, the "cop's cop" who has a chemically pure fascist mentality, gets off on the idea of a police state for its own sake; North sees himself as the man on the white horse. As for the buffoon in the White House, Gore Vidal observed:

> "Thirty years ago I wrote that should the U.S. ever have a dictator, it would not be a spellbinding autocrat like Douglas MacArthur; rather it would be someone really nice and folksy like Arthur Godfrey, a popular radio-TV pitchman of the era."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 13 July

The United States is not some banana republic. All the Reaganauts' wet dreams about getting rid of "Congressional restraints"—codified in bureaucratese in documents like NSDD 52, prepared for in "readiness exercises" like REX-84—would mean *civil war* if they attempted to carry them out. But the nuclear nuts and contra killers running loose in the White House are deadly serious.

And key sections of the American bourgeoisie are visibly biting their nails. A *New York Times* (18 July) editorial is headlined "552 Days of Twilight" and laments the disarray at the helm: "Lame duck is bad enough; paralyzed duck would be catastrophic ..." And yet they refuse to lift a finger to dislodge this proven liar and incompetent who by the standards of their own Constitution should have been impeached months ago. Because on the fundamentals, the American bourgeoisie is united. They are united around the defense of the imperial presidency. They are united around their resolve to "roll back Communism" in Nicaragua and other "Soviet surrogates." And, fundamentally, they are united around the drive toward nuclear war against the Soviet Union, homeland of the world's first victorious workers revolution.

The bourgeoisie's problem with Reagan is not that he is a liar, a crook and a war criminal—that's hardly unique. Every American war since WWII has been a "secret war," and most of them were initiated under Democratic administrations. But the Reagan gang, like the contra killers they deploy against the Nicaraguan people, are losers. Indeed, Fawn and Ollie turned on the shredder the moment American mercenary Eugene Hasenfus was shot down and led away in handcuffs by a young Sandinista soldier. The Reaganites came into power thinking they could score an easy victory in Central America on the road to Havana and Moscow. But for eight years the Nicaraguan masses have courageously defended their revolution in the face of enormous hardship, poverty and terror.

Democratic rights have always been among the first victims of imperialist wars for "democracy." As Leon Trotsky wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934):

> "The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial, Bonapartist or fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with tenfold force."

In Reagan's America, the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive has meant union-busting, racist terror and an across-the-board assault on democratic rights by the Meese police and the Rehnquist Supreme Court. But try as they might, the Reaganites' attempts to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and mobilize the American population for "war against Communism" have failed miserably.

Contra in chief Reagan and his bloodthirsty brothers are losers, but they are dangerous losers. And they are propped up by the Democrats, their partner party of imperialist rule. The warmakers and strikebreakers will not fall because of scandals, however spectacular; they must be driven from power by the working class at the head of all the oppressed. From the start of the U.S. war in Central America we have insisted that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. What's needed to mobilize the opposition to the crazed war plans of the declining American empire, abroad and at home, is a Trotskyist party built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. Dump Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government and the liberation of mankind from the horrors of capitalism in its death agony.

Asher/Time

McNamee/Newsweek

North cows Contragate committee (right), turns hearing into platform for contra terror.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Death Squad Kidnappings in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Salvadoran death squads are stalking the streets of Los Angeles. On the evening of July 7, Yanira Corea, a Salvadoran woman living in L.A., was standing outside the office of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) when she was kidnapped at knifepoint by two men and shoved into a van. For the next five hours she was blindfolded, interrogated and tortured while being driven around the city. Her captors drove her past the homes of other CISPES activists, referring to them as "communists," and saying that the terror was just beginning.

Corea "was beaten, burned with cigarettes and cut on the tongue and hands with a knife.... She was sexually assaulted repeatedly with a stick during the incident" reported the *San Jose Mercury* (14 July). An examining physician, Dr. Craig Stephens from the University of Southern California School of Medicine, said "the pattern of her injuries is remarkably similar to that of other victims of torture from El Salvador and Guatemala whom I have previously examined." Despite the savage torture, Corea refused to talk.

The death squad terror *was* just beginning. On the night of July 17, another Central American woman, Ana Maria Lopez, was kidnapped at a bus stop in Hollywood on her way to a political meeting at the First Unitarian Church, which houses the Guatemalan Cultural Center where she works. Two armed men wearing face masks drove her around for two hours, interrogating her about a list of people involved in Central American solidarity activity. Unitarian pastor Phil Zwerling denounced "these cowardly death squads [which] have chosen to attack unarmed women" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 July).

The killers have targeted Central American activists. Yanira Corea said she had received threatening phone calls and letters over the last few months. One letter was sent to her father in El Salvador demanding that his daughter stop her political activities in L.A. A month ago, a stranger forced her car to the side of the road and threatened her and her three-year-old son. A passer-by intervened and the stranger left, taking her handbag. A few days later, she received another threatening letter—and a picture of her son that had been in the purse.

Over the last two weeks, there have been at least a dozen written or phoned threats to Salvadoran activists around Los Angeles. On July 10, Marta Alicia Rivera, a representative of the Salvadoran teachers union, ANDES, received a death threat in her mailbox. Written in Spanish, the letter listed her and 16 other people: "For being a traitor to the country you will die together with your companions," the letter said. The last line was hauntingly familiar, Rivera said: "Flowers do not live in the desert." This was almost identical to the language of threatening letters she received six or seven years ago in El Salvador, before she was kidnapped and tortured by the National Guard.

Is This Next?

Der Spiegel

El Salvador, December 1980: discovery of the bodies of four American Catholic church women murdered by Salvadoran death squads.

Among those listed was Victor Rios, CISPES Southwest regional coordinator, whose car was also broken into and a threatening note left behind. On July 11, the house of another CISPES activist was ransacked. Then on July 15, Rev. Luis Olivares received a letter with the initials "E.M." scrawled on it, standing for *escuadrón de la muerte* (death squad). "These are the initials put on doors or buildings of those marked for assassination by the death squads in El Salvador," said Olivares, whose church has given sanctuary to Salvadoran refugees.

California Democratic Congressman Don Edwards, who has been holding hearings into the scores of break-ins at offices of groups opposed to U.S. policy in Central America, announced when he heard of the Corea kidnapping, "I'll get the FBI in on this tonight. We're going to get to the bottom of this" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 July). He also charged that the FBI has not been fully investigating the break-ins. Small wonder—when the evidence points straight to the government! Yet CISPES calls for an "independent investigation" by Edwards, a former FBI agent, who in turn calls upon the FBI to investigate.

It was at hearings of Edwards' Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights last February that ex-FBI operative Frank Varelli spilled his guts about an FBI wrecking operation against CISPES between 1981 and 1984. Varelli testified that they broke into the Dallas CISPES office, members' phones were tapped and the feds kept "terrorist" files on almost 700 people, including two U.S. Senators, a House member and a former ambassador. Varelli set up the FBI's liaison with the Salvadoran National Guard. Junketing between El Salvador and the U.S., he swapped hit lists from the police intelligence of both countries. When Salvadoran refugees were arrested in the U.S., Varelli supplied their names to the National Guard, so that they would face death upon deportation!

And now the death squads are turning up here. The terror campaign against Central American activists at home goes hand in hand with the U.S.'

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Stop Racist Vendetta Against New York Eight!

Three weeks ago the cover was blown on the sinister New York City police "black desk" operation: taping and filming of black activists, undercover agents spying on community meetings, monitoring talk shows on black radio station WLIB. The cops' prime targets are the radical black nationalists known as the New York Eight. When the NYPD distributed photos and rap sheets of the eight to 75 police precincts, we called it a "hit list, *setting them up for the kill*." Already the cops are moving in. On July 16, two members of the New York Eight, Robert Taylor and Coltrane Chimurenga, were arrested in upstate New York. The lives of these black activists are in danger. We demand the charges be dropped and this outrageous victimization of the New York Eight be stopped!

Taylor and two other men were charged with weapons possession after being stopped for alleged speeding in Monroe, New York. The cops incredibly claim that Taylor's companions, Arthur Barnes Majedd and Abdul Haqq, freed themselves from their handcuffs with a key hidden in Haqq's sock and that Haqq then attacked and injured two cops during fingerprinting. The three men are lucky to be alive. Such stories usually "justify" executions "within police guidelines." That night, Chimurenga was arrested by "suspicious" police four miles away for driving without a license.

Racist mayor Koch's black police commissioner Ward, who owns property in the area, said the men were "perhaps looking for me" (*New York Post*, 18 July). It's the other way around. The NYPD is running a local version of the FBI's COINTEL program of the '60s to "neutralize" (eliminate) black leaders. In August 1985, a federal jury found the New York Eight not guilty on "terrorist conspiracy" charges after they were rounded up and held in South Africa-style "preventive detention." This racist vendetta backfired in the courts, so now they're setting them up in the streets. *Hands off the New York Eight!*

New York Magazine

Black radicals on NYPD hit list. Defend the New York Eight!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 434 | 7 August 1987

Black Unions Debate "Divestment"

South Africa: For Workers Power!

South Africa's six-million-strong black working class will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism. The black union movement remains defiant and militant despite savage police-state repression under Botha's "state of emergency." Hundreds of union organizers have been jailed and many killed. Metal workers leader Moses Mayekiso faces the gallows under "treason" charges. Last April armed police stormed the Johannesburg headquarters of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), the main black labor organization, and terrorized the unionists who were there. The following week the headquarters was bombed. Yet in the face of all this the black union movement, which also contains a sizable number of coloured (mixed-race) and Indian workers, has stood out, even more strongly than before, as the main force against white racist rule.

The power of black labor was demonstrated in a protest against the whites-only elections in June when a two-day stayaway brought out half a million workers and students, including white university students. That action followed a six-week rail workers strike which paralyzed the apartheid state's commercial center. The strike ended in a victory when the state-owned railway agreed to rehire the 16,000 unionists it had previously fired. Another sign of the

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Smash Apartheid—For Permanent Revolution!

Miller/Impact Visuals

Founding of South African union federation COSATU: Black workers have the power to smash apartheid capitalism.

Reagan Kicks Persian Gulf Minefield

Lame Duck in Troubled Waters

AUGUST 4—Desperately seeking to extricate itself from the Iran/contra quagmire, the Reagan administration may have capsized in the Persian Gulf. To stabilize their own tottering regime, they decided to destabilize one of the most explosive areas of the globe. And in pursuing their anti-Soviet bugaboo the warmongers in the Oval Office could trip over the trip wire for World War III.

After their secret arming of Khomeini's Iran with Hawk and TOW missiles was exposed, last May Washington tried to regain "credibility" by "showing the flag" with beefed-up U.S. Navy patrols in the Gulf. The result was 37 sailors killed when two Iraqi Exocet missiles slammed into the frigate USS *Stark*. So the White House went full steam ahead with a plan to list even more heavily *toward Iraq* in the squalid seven-year-old Iran-Iraq war which has already taken more than one million lives.

The U.S. would "reflag" eleven oil tankers of Iraqi ally Kuwait with the Stars and Stripes so Navy ships could justify escorting the supertankers

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"Great Helmsman" plays chicken with Ayatollah Khomeini. Der Spiegel

Black Worker Killed, Woman Bus Driver Beaten

Chicago Cops Invade Black Homes

Labor, Blacks Must Mobilize!

CHICAGO—On July 27, four white Chicago cops barged into the South Side home of disabled black auto worker Larry Hawkins and blew him away in cold blood. The police were called to the scene following a minor neighborhood scuffle allegedly involving Hawkins. After cornering their victim in the basement of his home, according to his niece Yvette Hawkins, who witnessed the killing, "One of the officers said to Larry, 'Didn't I tell you that the next time I saw you I would shoot you?' Then a shot was fired. Larry fell down screaming, 'Help me, I don't want to die'" (*Chicago Defender*, 29 July).

But the cops made damn sure Larry did die. As he bled to death, the racist scum prevented Yvette or Ethel Lee Hawkins, Larry's mother, from calling an ambulance *for 45 minutes!* According to a press release issued by the Hawkins family, the cops spent this time scouring the basement for a "weapon" to alibi their crime. They finally came up with a garden rake to place in the dead man's hands. Larry's mother told *Workers Vanguard* that the cops then tried to cover up this calculated assassination by moving the body and wiping up the pool of blood. Later, William Estay, a white neighbor, heard a cop in front of the Hawkins' house say, "Damn—why didn't you kill all of them? Now we have to deal with these f------ witnesses" (*Defender*, 3 August).

Larry Hawkins, a Navy veteran, worked at General Motors until 1982 when a heavy object fell on his head. Left permanently disabled and relying on continuous medical care, Hawkins received a paltry $7,000 settlement from the auto giant. Unemployed, disabled, defenseless—Larry Hawkins was fair game for the uniformed thugs with their .38 caliber "final solution." This hideous atrocity must be avenged!

In racist, segregated Chicago, for a black person to make a wrong turn down a street, picnic in the "wrong" park or move into a new neighborhood is to be at risk. Now the uniformed racists don't even wait for you to leave home before they gun you down or beat you senseless. Black Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus driver Cassandra Seay was sitting in her West Side home July 21 when five Chicago cops kicked in the back door looking for two teenagers who allegedly broke a car window. The cops kicked and punched Mrs. Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant, a state unemployment counselor, before arresting both of them along with Seay's two sons. Mrs. Seay was hospitalized for more than a week with back and neck injuries, blurred vision and internal bleeding. Seay and her mother face frame-up charges, including assault.

As we go to press, militants in the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 are fighting for their union to use its muscle on behalf of their sister Cassandra Seay and to mobilize to stop this wave of police murder and brutality. On August 3, outraged Local 241 members put forward a motion in their union meeting demanding:

> "BE IT RESOLVED That ATU Local 241 call on all Chicago labor and minorities to join in a mass protest rally at Daley Plaza to stop police terror by Chicago cops and demand Jail the cops who killed Larry Hawkins and throw away the key! Drop all the charges against Cassandra Seay, her children and Callie Bryant!"

Jahlova/Chicago Defender Photos

Disabled auto worker Larry Hawkins (above), gunned down by racist Chicago cops. Larry's mother and niece share their grief and outrage.

Encouraged by the growing wave of "official" cop terror, violent racist scum have gone into action from one end of the metropolitan area to the other. On July 26, three black Continental Can Company employees were brutally assaulted by racist creeps wielding pool cues when they entered a tavern after attending a union meeting in the same building on the all-white Northwest Side. The next day a CTA driver living in the suburb of Riverdale was forced to defend his family from a bat-swinging racist; a white cop later advised him to move "because you know niggers are not wanted here" (*Defender*, 1 August). Later that week race-hating nightriders staged a cross-burning against a black family that had moved into an all-white Northwest Side neighborhood.

It's useless to rely on the police department whose "Office of Professional Standards" already whitewashed the murder of Larry Hawkins. Chicago cops carried out Boss Daley's infamous order to "shoot to kill" blacks in the streets following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1969, "Chicago's finest" together with the FBI stormed a Black Panther Party apartment in the dead of night, murdering Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds. In 1983 the cops were at the center of the racist backlash during the election of Mayor Harold Washington, threatening to arrest black voters and vowing never to call a black man "boss."

Harold Washington, mayor of "Segregation City" for the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism, is betraying the aspirations of black Chicago. Like Democratic mayors across the country, Washington's job is to stifle social struggle as the ruling class drives down living standards and takes aim at the rights of minorities, women and unions. Thus in June 1986 Washington told black and working-class Chicago to stay home rather than protest a Klan rally in Marquette Park. When the KKK mobilized a racist mob of 3,000, the cops attacked anti-racists who didn't heed Washington's "advice," beating and arresting a number of Progressive Labor Party supporters who took action against the Klan.

To fight racist terror, whether its perpetrators wear blue uniforms or white sheets, it's necessary to mobilize mass labor/black power. The cops who beat Cassandra Seay and her mother weren't counting on her being a member of a powerful integrated labor union capable of shutting this city down! Two years ago, hundreds of ATU members demonstrated this potential when they massed in front of police headquarters on South State Street and successfully squashed the racist frame-up of driver David Johnson. Carried out against the will of the ATU tops, that demonstration was but a small taste of the power of Chicago transit workers. In alliance with teachers, steel and auto workers and the rest of Chicago labor, and leading the oppressed of the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios, that power must be unleashed. For mass labor action to stop racist terror! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Permanent Revolution!

In countries of belated bourgeois development, genuine national liberation and democratic rights can be achieved only through socialist revolution. In South Africa, black toilers rightly identify the hated apartheid system with capitalist superexploitation, while the nationalist ANC and Stalinists preach "democratic revolution." Trotsky fought against the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" which subordinates the proletariat to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

7. The Comintern's endeavour to foist upon the Eastern countries the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, finally and long ago exhausted by history, can have only a reactionary effect. Insofar as this slogan is counterposed to the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it contributes politically to the dissolution of the proletariat in the petty-bourgeois masses and thus creates the most favourable conditions for the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie and consequently for the collapse of the democratic revolution. The introduction of this slogan into the programme of the Comintern is a direct betrayal of Marxism and of the October tradition of Bolshevism.

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfilment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1930)

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Smash Death Squad Terror From El Salvador to U.S.!

San Francisco Protest

SAN FRANCISCO, July 30—Three hundred demonstrators marched here today from the CIA offices to the Salvadoran consulate. The demonstration was called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to protest the shooting down of striking workers by the police and army of Salvadoran puppet president Duarte and the recent wave of kidnappings and death threats by murderous Salvadoran terror squads in Los Angeles. The appearance of death squad terror in California has graphically brought home the bloody reality of the U.S.' dirty war in Central America. Only the day before the march the Catholic Social Services center in San Francisco, which runs a sanctuary for Central American refugees, also received a death threat.

Yet after murder threats against more than 30 Central American solidarity activists, two kidnappings and a brutal rape, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) regional director Harold Ezell grotesquely claimed these death squad activities are an "orchestrated PR campaign" by the religious sanctuary movement! Asked about the Salvadoran woman who was beaten, burned with cigarettes, cut with a knife on the tongue and sexually assaulted repeatedly with a stick by masked thugs who interrogated her about "communist" associates, Ezell replied: "One was molested...but that happens all over the state" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 July). This same racist Reaganite *migra* boss says hunting undocumented workers is "fun," and "if you catch 'em, you ought to clean 'em and fry 'em"!

WV Photo

In protest called by CISPES, Spartacists call for labor/black/Hispanic defense to smash rightist terrorists.

A Spartacist League contingent participated in the SF protest, calling for labor/black/Hispanic defense to smash the rightist terrorists. SL supporters chanted, "Leftist rebels win the war, workers take San Salvador!" to put an end to decades of terror in that death squad "democracy." SLers also raised our call to "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America!" Our chant of "Hail Ben Linder, Kill the Contras!" drove the CISPES/APC popular-frontists wild. While we Trotskyists take a side for the victory of the workers and peasants of Central America facing the guns of U.S. imperialism, they appeal to the Democrats, who in support of the anti-Soviet war drive arm the contras from Afghanistan to Angola to Central America.

As if to drive the point home, Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein's cops surrounded the demonstrators, clubs in hand, waiting to pounce. When a small group of protesters tried to march on the sidewalk in front of the consulate, Feinstein's cossacks jumped them and clubbed them back behind the police barricades. Six years ago when Duarte came to San Francisco, mounted cops repeatedly charged the crowd, injuring more than a dozen. Feinstein stands by Reagan's butchers.

With our placards and chants, and selling nearly 100 pieces of Spartacist literature to demonstrators and interested onlookers, we put forward the program of international socialist revolution. ■

Chicago Protest Against Contra Criminal Calero

"Shred Ollie!"

CHICAGO—When contra scumbag Adolfo Calero made a fund-raising trip to Chicago last week attempting to capitalize on Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North's congressionally sponsored pitch for contra aid, instead of "Olliemania" he encountered angry protest demonstrations. Without the heavy police protection and carefully managed security preparations supplied by black Democratic Party mayor Harold Washington's cops, this mercenary war criminal would have gotten the reception he richly deserved.

At a July 18 luncheon meeting of the Chicago Executive Club, Calero stated with visible relief, "This time at least I managed to get more words across than I did last time around." He was referring to his 1985 speaking appearance at nearby Northwestern University, where he was spattered with symbolic blood and driven off-stage by angry protesters. As about 200 protesters chanted, "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam—We remember Vietnam," outside the Palmer House, Calero continued, "I'm happy to fight communists wherever they are in Nicaragua or here in the United States." Two protesters in the audience were arrested.

A larger and more militant demonstration protested the dinnertime "contra cruise" sponsored by the United Republican Fund in a vain attempt to attract yuppie contra-lovers. The protest, initiated by the Chicago Pledge of Resistance, was prevented by police barricades from getting near Calero. As posters of North autographed by Calero were auctioned off, shouts of "Mine the lake!" alternated with "Shred Ollie!" and "Country club contras!" The Spartacist League contingent's chants of "Contras no, ohreros si, overthrow the bourgeoisie!" and "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" were picked up by sections of the demonstration, but "1, 2, 3, 4, Smash Reagan's contra war!—5, 6, 7, 8, Defend the Soviet workers state!" drew gasps from the crowd.

WV Photo

Spartacists at anti-Calero protest chant: "1, 2, 3, 4, Smash Reagan's contra war!—5, 6, 7, 8, Defend the Soviet workers state!"

Police arrested a female demonstrator and WV's photographer was manhandled as he successfully resisted a cop attempt to grab his camera. In spite of the evident outrage of the crowd, the most prominent among the banners of the reformists was the slogan "No more Vietnams," a sentiment the white-suited young Republicans on the "contra cruise" could agree with. Vietnam was a *defeat* for U.S. imperialism: as Che Guevara said, we need two, three, many Vietnams. In the heart of the rust belt, in Segregation City USA, it's no secret that the U.S. war in Central America is also a war on the workers and black and Hispanic poor at home. And if the ruling class shuddered at Chicago '68, wait till they see the Loop filled with hardhats determined to take back the givebacks and smash a Yankee invasion of Nicaragua. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

vitality of the black labor movement was the formation in May of a 140,000-strong metal workers union in a fusion including the combative Port Elizabeth auto workers. The new union flexed its muscle last month when 50,000 metal workers in 500 shops across the country walked out in an illegal one-day strike. Now 200,000 gold and coal miners are threatening to shut down the strategic heart of apartheid capitalism.

"South Africa's Black Unions Take Anti-Apartheid Lead," headlines an article in the *Wall Street Journal* (22 July). The *Journal* quoted white South African academic Tom Lodge: "The conflict in South Africa is shifting from the townships to the shop floors." While the 13-month "state of emergency" has crippled black organization in the segregated townships, the article went on, "This politicalization of the unions elevates South Africa's crisis to a new level. It raises the specter of a large-scale withdrawal of black labor from a modern economy utterly dependent on black sweat and skills." From Wall Street to the exile headquarters of the petty-bourgeois nationalist African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia, it is now recognized that the politics of the black union movement hold the key to the future of South Africa.

Work In Progress

South Africa's black workers identify apartheid slavery with capitalist superexploitation.

The second congress of COSATU, held in mid-July at the largely white Witwatersrand University, was the scene of intense debate as many delegates questioned two sacred cows of liberal/nationalist politics in South Africa: support for the ANC's Freedom Charter and advocating economic sanctions by South Africa's imperialist allies and divestment by foreign business. COSATU president Elijah Barayi vowed to "hury" apartheid president Botha and proclaimed, "the black majority will have to seize power from this intransigent government" (*Washington Post*, 16 July). But the decisive question is *which class shall rule*.

Independent

Cape Town university students—black, white and coloured (mixed-race)—protest apartheid, support workers' struggles.

COSATU Delegates Question Freedom Charter, Divestment

The debate at the COSATU congress was conditioned by two major factors. One, the movement of black resistance to apartheid is now at an impasse. A few years ago, when the revolt in the black townships was at its height, there was widespread expectation that the racist police state was about to fall. An ANC "council of war" in June 1985 stated that "the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history." Yet Botha's "state of emergency" demonstrated that the white military apparatus remained intact and would not be overthrown by atomized revolts in the townships. Thus South African black militants are asking anew: what *is* the road to liberation?

The revolutionary temper of the black masses conflicts with the ANC's strategy of collaboration with "progressive" sections of the white ruling class, such as the bosses of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate. At funerals for the victims of apartheid terror, defiant protesters carry red flags with the hammer and sickle. Communism is a positive word among the South African black masses, symbolizing opposition to the hated system of apartheid capitalism. This sympathy for Communism is further reinforced by the war in Angola, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops are defending a black African state against the South African army.

At the same time, the African National Congress and its long-imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, continue to enjoy great moral authority among the South African black masses, including unionized workers. COSATU president Barayi, himself an old ANC militant from the 1950s, declared at the union congress: "There can be no freedom in this country unless the African National Congress is involved." However, the liberal content of the Freedom Charter, the ANC's basic program, does not speak to the revolutionary spirit and socialist aspirations of millions of black unionists. This "moderate" nationalist document calls for a democratic state uniting all men of good will, from "progressive" white capitalists to their superexploited workers. It lacks even the vague socialist rhetoric common to Third World nationalist movements.

Opposition to the Freedom Charter was especially strong in the newly formed National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), the second largest union in the COSATU federation. It was only accepted "as minimum demands for a democratic society" and combined with a "Workers Charter." According to the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (19 June), NUMSA's stand "was designed to appease those 'workerists' in its ranks who opposed the adoption of the Charter." NUMSA president Daniel Dube declared that the union was committed to fighting for the workers' demand "to build a democratic and socialist country." Another COSATU affiliate, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union, refused to adopt the Freedom Charter and instead issued a "socialist programme of action."

While the COSATU congress finally adopted the Freedom Charter, the delegates clearly were *not* interested in fighting for some kind of liberal, non-racial capitalist order. Thus Barayi, who had pushed for adopting the Charter, felt a need to denounce capitalism and not simply apartheid. When he proclaimed, "We produce the wealth of South Africa, yet we are victims of a brutal and exploitative system of apartheid and capitalism," the delegates shouted back "Viva!"

The debate over "stages" of revolution and the leadership of the working class in the struggle for democratic rights and national emancipation is not a new one. During the Russian Revolution of 1917 it was the dividing line between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. It is today in South Africa and throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world a dividing line between revolutionary Trotskyism and the nationalist/Stalinist betrayers.

Thus Soviet academic Victor Goncharov, deputy director of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, insists:

> "Firstly it is necessary to settle the problems of the liberation struggle, and then to come to the next stage of the social revolution in South Africa ..
> "Yes, I believe that in the end South Africa will become socialist, maybe not in 25 years but in a century... I am an optimist."
>
> —*Work In Progress*, July 1987

But South Africa's black workers want socialism now, not in a century. When the exiled Stalinist South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) said in a message of support to the COSATU congress that "although it welcomes the widespread discussions on socialism, this should not be elevated and adopted as a Cosatu policy," there were "many gasps in the audience" (*Weekly Mail*, 17 July).

Socialist aspirations and revolutionary spirit are not enough. As we have noted before, only when the organized working class ceases to haul the ideological cart of petty-bourgeois nationalism can the liberation of South Africa's black toilers be achieved. From what can be gleaned from a considerable distance, many black unionists now organized in COSATU are indeed straining against the weight of hauling that alien class cart. It is urgently necessary to forge in South Africa a genuine Bolshevik party which can break the workers and all the black African, coloured and Indian oppressed from the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC and its Stalinist hangers-on.

The Bitter Fruits of Divestment

American and European liberals and radicals will doubtless be surprised—not to say shocked—that black unionists are questioning the whole policy of divestment/economic sanctions. For years rad-lib and reformist activists have held as an article of faith that to be against apartheid means to be for divestment and sanctions. In 1985-86, big student protests swept U.S. campuses demanding that university administrations sell off their financial holdings in corporations operating in South Africa. The Spartacist tendency alone stood up and told the truth: divestment was at best an empty moralistic gesture, and if foreign corporations did withdraw productive assets from South Africa this would hurt black workers and weaken the black union movement. Almost two years ago we wrote:

> "The flight of capital can only further depress the South African economy. As revolutionaries, we do not believe in 'the worse, the better' in South Africa or elsewhere. Except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed, isolation from the world market is likely to result in massive dislocation and deprivation of black toilers, weakening their capacity to struggle."
>
> —"Wall Street and the Apartheid State," WV No. 387, 20 September 1985

In the past it was cheap to advocate divestment since there wasn't any. But in the past few years over 100 U.S. multinationals—among them Kodak, Coca-Cola, IBM, General Motors and Ford—have sold out to South African businessmen. American investment in South Africa has been cut almost in half, from $2.3 to $1.3 billion, since 1982. But as a report prepared for the COSATU conference noted, this is not the result of pressure from divestment activists:

> "The Cosatu report says that companies which have disinvested from South Africa have mostly done so for economic reasons and not because their consciences were pricked. The return on

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Persian Gulf Minefield...

(continued from page 1)

through the Gulf. But the very first Kuwaiti tanker to be escorted, the *Bridgeton*, had a big hole blown in its hull in late July by an anonymous mine, presumed to be Iranian. Belatedly it dawned on the Pentagon that they had neglected to bring any minesweeping ships with them in a region known to be plagued by mines.

But the U.S. *has no modern minesweepers* in service—it doesn't fit in with the Reaganauts' offensive "forward strategy" for World War III. So they decide to call in Sea Stallion minesweeping helicopters with 200 personnel to run them. Promptly a Naval helicopter crashed while trying to land on the command ship in the Gulf. It's the Keystone Cops daring the ayatollah to attack so they can "retaliate." Even Margaret Thatcher, Reagan's closest NATO ally, turned down Washington's request for aid.

With the U.S. increasingly a laughingstock, Khomeini is urging Muslims to "Break America's teeth in its mouth." Instructed by Teheran, Iranian pilgrims staged a provocative anti-U.S. demonstration at the site of the holiest Islamic shrine in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The feudal pro-U.S. Saudi monarchy responded to the bait with characteristic bloodthirstiness, reportedly slaughtering 600 as police fired on the crowds.

Saudi Arabia, for whom the hajj (Muslim pilgrimage) is the biggest industry after oil, is Contragate "Country 2" (Zionist Israel is Country 1), bankrolling U.S.-backed kill-crazy mercenaries from Afghanistan and Angola to Central America. But this country, the only one in the world named after its ruling family, which uses advanced weaponry to impose 9th century law, is politically very fragile.

Now Iranian military maneuvers (code name "Martyrdom") are scheduled to begin in the Gulf. The U.S. aircraft carrier *Constellation* sits just outside the Strait of Hormuz as a Navy flotilla prowls the region, with the battleship *Missouri* due to arrive soon. France, with its own building confrontation with Iran, is sending a battle group centered on the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau*. The stage is set for a confrontation with unpredictable consequences.

Wide World

Kuwaiti supertanker Umm Al Maradem, now "reflagged" as Sea Isle City. The first of the eleven tankers to be escorted by U.S. Navy in Persian Gulf hit a mine.

Desert One, Gulf Two

When Jimmy Carter's Iranian "rescue" mission for U.S. hostages crashed in a jumble of helicopters at Desert One in 1980, it marked the end of his administration. These days Rambo Reagan is looking a lot like Wimpy Carter.

As usual, the Reagan gang is presenting its latest military adventure in the Persian Gulf as a front-line battle in the Cold War with Russia. Kuwait had cleverly invited the Soviets in to protect their ships, thereby giving Washington the usual pretext to "keep the Soviets out." A think tank expert from the Brookings Institution commented, reflecting the administration mindset: "If we blow this one, we won't be a superpower anymore."

So in the words of the *Los Angeles Times* (12 July): "Like a gambler who doubles his bet after each loss in the hopes of getting even on the next throw of the dice, the Administration has responded to each setback by increasing the stakes." In order to "roll back" the Soviets they're jumping into a maelstrom of religious *jihads* (holy wars). And they're risking a thermonuclear holocaust.

Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster noted at a July 25 Bay Area SL forum:

> "If it weren't for the innocent lives that would be forfeited, it's sort of nice to see the Reaganites bogged down on two fronts. If they get into it in Iran, it makes it a little more difficult to get into it in Central America. I think Reagan's real problem is going to come when he orders an air strike against Iran and some of the Hawk missiles he sent them are going to shoot down American planes.
>
> "All well and good, if it weren't so extremely dangerous, because Iran borders on the Soviet Union, and how close to the Soviet border can they carry out 'surgical' air strikes without provoking countermoves? And this ruling class has shown itself repeatedly to be willing to use nuclear weapons. There have been a number of instances, from Dien Bien Phu to the Korean War to Vietnam, in addition to the Cuban Missile Crisis and during the Yom Kippur War, that the U.S. imperialists have come within an inch of using their weapons."

Theodore Draper, in his recent essay, "American Hubris: From Truman to the Persian Gulf," has been warning against a looming debacle for U.S. imperialism as the Reaganites "cast about for a quick fix for a nasty, little war." To "seek a showdown with the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf," he writes, is "a sure recipe for disaster.... We are heading into the wrong confrontation at the wrong place at the wrong time for the wrong reason." But rationality is increasingly hard to find in the upper layers of this decaying ruling class.

In fact, there is growing evidence suggesting secret Reaganite arms deals with "terrorist" Iran going back to 1980, in exchange for the ayatollahs' promise *not* to release the hostages until after the elections. (Contragate special prosecutor Walsh now reports that the Reagan team did indeed meet with Iranian agents during the campaign.)

Reagan and Khomeini are really brothers under the skin, waving their holy books against the "satans" of science and progress, and secretly allied in a "holy war" in Afghanistan against their ultimate nemesis, the Soviet Union. But religious fanatics don't always get along with each other.

Will the world go up in radioactive smoke all because of Reagan's dare to Khomeini, as pundit Russell Baker put it, to knock the ship off his shoulder? Today, for different reasons, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are tilting toward Iraq in the Gulf war. But as we wrote in "U.S. Up the Persian Gulf?" (*WV* No. 429, 29 May):

> "For both Iraqi and Iranian workers in this reactionary war the main enemy is at home. The world proletariat must have no illusions in a 'peace' brokered or imposed by the bloody U.S. imperialists. Defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state can only be assured through world proletarian revolution, to sweep out the war-crazed nuts in the Pentagon and White House whose Persian Gulf antics threaten to blow up all humanity."■

> investment in South Africa for American companies had dropped from an average of 30% in 1980 to just 7% in 1983."
>
> —London *Sunday Times*, 21 June

So divestment has become good business. But it is *not* good for South Africa's black workers.

The bitter fruits of divestment were strikingly demonstrated in the case of General Motors. Last fall GM announced it was selling its plants in Port Elizabeth to a consortium of its white managers. The black unions demanded that the divestment deal include guarantees of job security and union rights. When GM refused, union militants occupied the plants. Management then called in the apartheid state's police. Some 500 militants were fired, and GM announced it would hire scabs and continue production "with or without the unions." And GM continues to profit from the Port Elizabeth operation. Its subsidiaries in West Germany and Japan sell parts to the new South African firm, the Delta Motor Corp. Delta, meanwhile, now sells its products directly to the South African armed forces, which the former GM management regarded as too politically embarrassing to do.

Especially after the GM disaster, South African black unionists are disillusioned, to say the least, with the divestment strategy. According to the *Sunday Times*:

> "The Cosatu report suggests that economic sanctions could make an additional 2m people unemployed.... The report says that the initial 'quick fix' that many opponents of apartheid believed sanctions could provide, was illusory."

WV Photo

Spartacists expose "divestment" as liberal moralism, call for class struggle to overthrow white racist rule.

Nonetheless, the COSATU congress endorsed divestment while at the same time declaring that "the wealth created by workers must remain in South Africa and be controlled by workers." Certainly, but how? COSATU is demanding that companies negotiate the conditions of divestment with the trade unions involved. These bloodsucking multinationals are not about to let the unions of South Africa control their assets. The divestment that revolutionaries want in South Africa is the divestment of the capitalist bosses—foreign, English-speaking and Afrikaner—by the workers and oppressed.

If ever a country screamed for workers revolution it is South Africa—a monstrously racist society where capitalist superexploitation is integrally tied to the enslavement of the great majority of the population. The emergence of COSATU as a super-union of the black proletariat highlights the vacuum of revolutionary *political* leadership. Even through the distorted prism of the recent COSATU congress it is clear that an advance detachment of black workers are groping toward a program for their own class interests, a program necessarily counterposed to the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC and "two-stage" reformism of the Stalinists.

What is lacking today in South Africa is a Bolshevik (Trotskyist) party armed with the program of *permanent revolution*, capable of establishing the powerful black proletariat as leader in the liberation struggle against apartheid capitalism, uniting the workers' allies among the oppressed coloured and Indian populations, the youth, the unemployed, the women, the bantustan and peasant populations, and, not least, those whites who do not want to live under nor serve the racist police state. The resistance to conscription among white youth and anti-apartheid activism in the white student milieu indicate there are indeed fissures in the white *laager*. Key to the South African workers revolution is forging a racially integrated communist vanguard party infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.■

Anti-Tamil Lankan Regime Bows to Rajiv

Sri Lanka: India Takes Charge

LONDON August 4—On Wednesday, July 29 Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and president J.R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) signed an agreement "to establish peace and normality in Sri Lanka." The next day the agreement's provision that an Indian peacekeeping force "may be invited" was translated into reality as thousands of Indian troops began disembarking in the Tamil-populated Jaffna Peninsula. At the same time, Indian aircraft began transporting Sri Lankan army units out of Jaffna to quell rioting by Sinhalese opponents of the treaty in the south.

What is posed is nothing less than overt Indian overlordship of the island. The presence of Indian troops in the north, removing the Lankan armed forces from the area, seals the de facto partition between north and south established by the anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983, which aimed at destroying the Tamil business layers in the south and forced hundreds of thousands of terrified Tamils to flee to Jaffna (and to India). The new pact, while a long way from granting the Tamil state of "Eelam" which the separatist rebels have been fighting for, establishes a federated administrative unit combining the Northern and Eastern provinces. For the Sinhalese chauvinists, this link-up between the north and east is a "sellout" to "Tamil terrorism," and powerful forces within and outside the government are threatening to blow the whole thing sky high.

Independent

Gandhi (above left) and Jayewardene announce accord in Colombo, July 29. Indian troops in Jaffna Peninsula, July 31.

Mydans/NY Times

Reuters

A dramatic outburst of Sinhalese hostility: Gandhi is clubbed with rifle butt by Lankan honor guard during Colombo ceremony. He's lucky there are no Sikhs in the Lankan navy.

The Colombo regime is deeply divided over the pact. Prime Minister Premadasa, whose base is among the Sinhalese urban and rural poor, and the more patrician "national security" minister Athulathmudali, who orchestrated the anti-Tamil military campaign in the north, both dramatically boycotted the ceremonies with Gandhi. These sections of the ruling United National Party (UNP) could serve as a lightning rod to unite ultra-racist forces including the ex-New Left Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the Buddhist clergy and the bourgeois Opposition SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) in a bid for power.

A big question is to what extent the Lankan government can count on the armed forces, especially the embittered veterans of the anti-Tamil slaughter. As Gandhi was leaving Lanka one sailor from the naval guard of honour clubbed him with his rifle butt. (Gandhi ought to be thankful that there are no Sikhs in the Sri Lankan navy.) Having made the deal with India, the regime's last hope of survival may now be the looming presence of the Indian army and navy. There have been at least two military coup attempts since independence and the current situation appears ripe for another. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (2 August) wrote of an attempted coup reported in the New Delhi *Statesman*:

> "The Statesman said the dissident government ministers abandoned the planned coup against Jayewardene when India dispatched troops to the Jaffna peninsula and ships to the port of Colombo."

Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, a staunch backer of the pact, called for the removal of Athulathmudali but remarked that the cabinet is united on the main issue of the accord especially now that it is a fait accompli. Moreover an evidently well-informed article in *India Abroad* (7 August) states that SLFP leader Mrs. Bandaranaike, who has publicly denounced the agreement, has privately assured the Indian government "she will honor the accord if she returns to power. The Indian High Commission sought to keep Bandaranaike posted on the developments at every stage of the negotiations."

In preparation for Gandhi's arrival in Colombo to sign the agreement, a curfew had been slapped on the whole island and police were given orders to shoot any violators on sight. In the two preceding days police killed at least 38 people during anti-government protests led by Buddhist monks and Sinhalese communalists. This agreement between capitalist rulers is intended to end the bloody conflict between the Sinhala-chauvinist Jayewardene regime and the oppressed Tamil minority but it will only work on the basis of continuing bloodshed and suffering.

Indian Overlordship

Since independence from Britain in 1948, Sinhalese politics has seen the bourgeois parties vie with each other in communalist hysteria directed against the Tamils and also other minorities like the mixed-race Burghers. The July 1983 anti-Tamil pogroms, instigated and orchestrated from within Jayewardene's UNP, were a watershed, marking the de facto partition of the island. Since then the government has escalated a bloody war of suppression against the Tamil population of the north and east, associated with increasing communal atrocities on both sides.

In late May the Sri Lankan army undertook a brutal offensive in the Jaffna Peninsula which had effectively been under the control of the main Tamil guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). This offensive was decisively stymied when the Indian air force flew in relief supplies to besieged Jaffna. As we wrote at the time: "With its act, the Indian government asserted suzerainty, posing possible annexation of northern Sri Lanka. New Delhi is determined that henceforth the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of president J.R. Jayewardene will heed India's dictates regarding the Tamil areas or face more decisive military measures" ("Indian Jets Over Jaffna," *WV* No. 430, 12 June).

The presence of Indian ships and planes bringing relief supplies concretised the Indian threat against any further Sri Lankan offensive operations in the north. Jayewardene says that the agreement was all due to "the stars and planets," but it is more the case that he at least appears to have realised the geopolitical realities of the region. India, with its 700 million people, including 50 million Tamils in the south, would not forever acquiesce to the continued mass slaughter of Lanka's Tamils, which has already claimed an officially estimated 6,000 lives.

The *New York Times* (31 July) reported that the influential Indian high commissioner in Colombo, Jyotindra Nath Dixit, said on July 30 that "the peacekeeping contingent, which brought its own equipment and transport, would answer only to him and to the Indian Government, independent of the Sri Lankan military." The next day, as UNP politicians cringed at the clear acknowledgement of Sri Lanka's status as an Indian protectorate, Dixit

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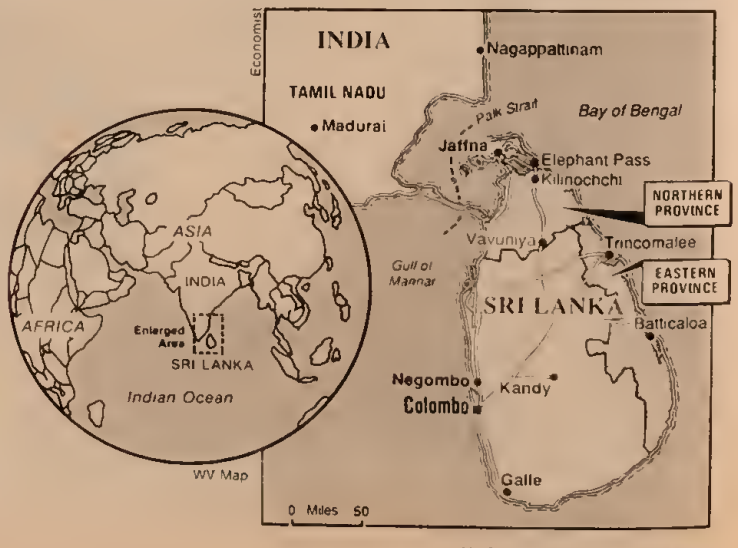

Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads

Nativist fascism has raised its head in Moscow and other cities of the Soviet Union. Fascism is death to the working people of the world. Its ideology in every country is vulgar chauvinism and racism. It represents a particular mortal threat to the Soviet Union, where the victorious Bolshevik Revolution, forged on the program of revolutionary internationalism, transformed the tsarist empire, that prison house of peoples, into a "close voluntary union of the Soviet republics of all nations" (Lenin).

With the advent of Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), everything from leftist currents to sinister ultranationalists are coming out of the closet. Among the latter are "Fatherland" in Leningrad, "Salvation" in Sverdlovsk, and the most prominent, Pamyat ("Memory"), in the Soviet capital. Under a thin cover as a "patriotic" outfit concerned with the preservation of old monuments and churches lies rabid anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinism. On May 6, Pamyat held a demonstration of about 400 people at the Kremlin Wall with signs proclaiming "Legalize Pamyat" and "The Memory of the People Is Sacred."

Pamyat demanded a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin. They were immediately invited in to speak with Yeltsin, and for two hours complained to him about degenerating Soviet morals, rock music, alcohol and drug use. Calling for "national self-consciousness," they warned about "cosmopolitanism," the infamous Stalinist code word for Jews. Yeltsin praised their "patriotism for our motherland" and assured them there would be "no wild outbursts of permissiveness alongside with democratization and *glasnost*."

One cannot take lightly a fascist demonstration such as occurred in Moscow. More ominous still is that a member of the Communist Party Political Bureau politely hosted the people whose brethren lynch black people in the American South, and who turned the skies of the western Soviet Union black with smoke in the summer of 1941, when the Nazis and their Russian collaborators carried out the slaughter of Jews, Communists and Gypsies.

Time

Russian fascists of Pamyat demonstrate on Karl Marx Prospekt, Moscow, in May.

Le Monde (24 June) printed an interview with Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev, in his headquarters adorned with ikons and pictures of the last tsar, Nicholas II, the tsarina and their bloody premier Stolypin. The only thing missing is a portrait of Rasputin. Vassiliev vituperated, "They want to destroy our past . . . they construct factories on the tombs of our saints," and denounced "cosmopolitanism gnawing at the soul and heart of our people."

The *New York Times* (26 July) printed excerpts from a taped meeting in which Vassiliev rails against the "insidiousness of the Jews," and "Jewish infiltration of the Orthodox Church." "How do we tolerate people like that among us?" he adds, a call for anti-Semitic pogroms. The article indicates a bizarre, anachronistic side to this movement as their leader talked of Muscovy's 13th-century fight against the Swedes:

> "During those times, they didn't worry about what kind of pants to wear, what kind of songs to sing. They didn't create artificial problems like listening to disco, roller skating."

But it's no joke when Vassiliev demands that "all the true patriots of the fatherland" battle "the insidious hydra of world Masonry, Zionism and imperialism."

Moscow News (17 May) dismissed Pamyat's raving about the "monster of world Masonry and Zionism" as "absurd fiction." But this paranoid demagogy is far more sinister, lifted wholesale from the infamous bible of anti-Semitism. As the *Times* noted: "Pamyat's conspiracy theory, like those circulated in the United States by such right-wing groups as the Order, the Aryan Nations Church, Posse Comitatus and the Ku Klux Klan, is based on the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion.'" This tsarist police fabrication blaming all historical progress on a Jewish anarcho-communistic conspiracy was a prime source for Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Historian Norman Cohn, in his 1981 study *Warrant for Genocide*, notes that the *Protocols* were first publicized in Russia in December 1905 together with the appearance of the fascistic Black Hundreds gangs who carried out murderous pogroms against the Jewish ghettos. The Black Hundreds were the spearhead of tsarist reaction against the 1905 Russian Revolution. How revolutionary Russian workers dealt with them is described by Trotsky in his book, *1905*:

> "No pogrom took place in Petersburg. But overt preparations for a pogrom went on at full strength. The Jewish population of the capital was in a state of constant dread. . . . The workers made active preparations to defend their city. . . . In the factory areas, beyond the Nevsky Gate, they organized a real militia with regular night watches. . . . By arming itself against the Black Hundreds, the proletariat was automatically arming itself against tsarist power."

International Publishers Photos

Mad monk Rasputin (right) symbolized last days of tsarist autocracy. Russian Orthodox priests march at head of Black Hundreds pogromists, 1907.

What Stalin's Heirs Have Wrought

Meeting with Moscow party boss Yeltsin, Pamyat leader Vassiliev said, "We want deep communist morality to be the foundation of every work of art." One of their slogans at the Kremlin Wall was "Down with the Saboteurs of *Perestroika*" (restructuring). This is an appeal to elements of the Soviet bureaucracy who have in fact been protecting Pamyat and its predecessors for years. Indeed, Gorbachev's industrial reforms, if carried out, would mean increased economic anarchy and social discontent at the base of Soviet society, providing a breeding ground for fascist movements like Pamyat. Two Russian emigré journalists in the 1970s reported that "The Russian party [Slavophile nationalists] is the only unofficial and even oppositionist ideological group which enjoys increasing freedom for chauvinist propaganda and active recruitment of adherents" (quoted in Alexander Yanov, *The Russian New Right* [1978]).

Such tendencies exist also within the bureaucracy. In the late 1960s a functionary of the Moscow Komsomol

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

downplayed the controversy surrounding his statement and said the Indian troops were "at the disposal" of Jayewardene. But the relationship of forces between the island and its giant neighbour is clear. Now Palali air base, formerly the hub of the Sri Lankan military operation in the north, is an Indian air base, with the Sri Lankan armed forces a diminishing presence. The original Indian force of 3,000 men in the north has already been doubled and their field of operations extended into the Eastern Province, occupying Trincomalee harbour. And two Indian frigates loom off Colombo.

Setback to Imperialist Appetites

India, a diplomatic ally of the Soviet Union, fears a U.S.-brokered encirclement including Pakistan, China and Sri Lanka. Part of the current arrangement, wrapped in diplomatic niceties, is that Sri Lanka's advisers—Israeli, British SAS mercenary and especially Pakistani—will have to go. As well Sri Lanka has pledged to reconsider the installation of the powerful Voice of America transmitter at Chilaw intended to beam counterrevolutionary propaganda to the Indian subcontinent and Soviet Central Asia.

But the crucial question is the strategic harbour of Trincomalee, which the U.S. imperialists have had high hopes of getting their hands on under the auspices of the rightist, pro-U.S. Jayewardene. India has forced Sri Lanka to agree not to let any-foreign power use the port for military purposes "prejudicial to India's interests." An Indian presence is underlined by an agreement to jointly restore Trinco's oil storage facilities. Earlier the United States tried to get a foothold by volunteering to undertake exactly the same project. Another provision entrusts India with providing all future training facilities and military supplies for the Lankan armed forces. These developments are to some extent a setback for the imperialist designs on Trincomalee as part of the Americans' war plans against the Soviet Union. While the U.S. has said it supports the pact and has offered military assistance to Jayewardene, the terms can hardly be to America's liking.

As we go to press, the situation is still unfolding and many interesting questions remain unanswered. Among them: How did Rajiv Gandhi get J.R. to go along? And how was the Indian occupation kept secret until the ships and troops were already in place? India could have annexed Ceylon at any time, but the normal expectation would have been that the U.S. would go to war rather than see Lanka go this route. But somehow, Gandhi has pulled off a real diplomatic coup and has slithered past the Americans to assert India's interests while the attentions of U.S. imperialism were overcommitted elsewhere. Champagne must be flowing in Delhi, and in Moscow too.

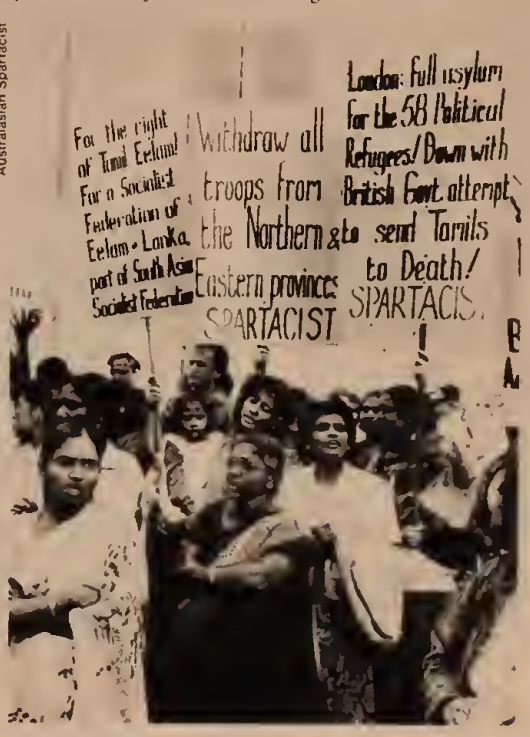
At the same time we have repeatedly warned that the Tamils' illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie are deadly dangerous. It is clear that wide sections of the Tamil community welcome the arrival of Indian troops as ending the bloody onslaught of the Lankan armed forces.

CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 431 (26 June) the article "SS-U.S. Rat Line" referred to the Bolivian Barrientos dictatorship of 1971-78. The dictator at that time was Hugo Banzer.

In *WV* No. 427 (1 May) the article "Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!" reported that 56 percent of all public school students in California are Hispanic. It should have said in Los Angeles.

The bourgeois parliamentarian TULF has always centred its hopes on Indian intervention and they will try to use the Indian presence to reassert leadership of the Tamil population. TULF leader Amirthalingam has in the past explicitly identified with the Bangladeshi leader, Sheik Mujhur Rahman, who rode to power on the back of the Indian invasion of East Pakistan in 1971. The guerrilla groups too, along with their armed struggle strategy, have equally appealed to India. The Tigers' increasing recourse to indefensible terror against Sinhalese civilians has been aimed precisely at provoking bloody retaliation by the J.R. regime, to force India to intervene in response. Now they



Melbourne, Australia, February 21: Spartacists join with Tamil demonstrators protesting visit by Lankan minister Athulathmudali, demand Lanka army out of Tamil areas.

are getting what they wanted... and they won't like it.

Before Gandhi and Jayewardene signed their agreement, Tiger leader Prabhakaran was fetched out of Jaffna "for talks" by an Indian helicopter. He was held under virtual house arrest in a Delhi hotel, surrounded by members of the "Black Cats," an elite Indian security unit. Prabhakaran talked initially of "an act of betrayal" and said that "It appears now that we have walked into a trap" (London *Times*, 28 July). But following the arrival of the Indian military force in Lanka, the Tigers issued a statement that "We are satisfied that Mr Gandhi understands our fears and is fully sympathetic to our Tamil aspirations." And by August 3, reportedly in exchange for the promise of a top position in the newly created Tamil province, Prabhakaran had fallen into line and returned to his men in Jaffna to promote the accord and urge the surrender of weapons. British television reported that Prabhakaran, addressing a rally of 100,000 people in Jaffna today, did indeed tell his "boys" to turn over their arms. He still cherishes the dream of an independent Eelam, he said, but "the war is over."

The Tigers' Dilemma

In Jaffna the Tiger militants had adamantly refused to turn in their arms until the return of their leader. A crowd surrounded and rocked the jeep of the commander of the Indian forces Maj. Gen. Harkirat Singh in a village near Jaffna when he met with Tamil leaders there on July 31. If the Tigers and other groups do not hand in their arms, Singh said, "my charter is, yes, to go and look for them" (*New York Times*, 1 August). And to underline the point, big Indian air force Soviet-made jets have been landing armoured personnel carriers and tanks equipped with anti-mine flails at Palali. It was agreed that a general amnesty will be granted to all prisoners held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other "emergency" laws. However, joint patrols were immediately instituted in the Palk Strait to interdict Tamil guerrilla supply lines and India has promised to crack down on the militants' bases in south India.

The Indian army is ready to do to the Tigers what it did (with the assistance of the Pakistani army) to the Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh—wipe them out. One reporter drily commented that at Palali base it is difficult to tell the Sri Lankan and Indian officers apart since "Their British-style uniforms are almost identical" (London *Guardian*, 1 August). If the Tamil Tigers refuse to come to terms, they are likely to find the Indian army a far more formidable proposition than the Sri Lankan forces.

But it is not just the Tigers' blood that will run. The Eastern Province is heavily interpenetrated, more or less evenly among Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims. A referendum is proposed to be held later next year on whether the Eastern Province should remain linked to the Tamil Northern Province. This arrangement is a recipe for massive communal bloodletting and forced population transfers as the different communities fight to control the province. And, while the agreement will repatriate 130,000 Tamil refugees who have fled to India, some sources report that 100,000 Tamils from the plantation areas of the central highlands will be sent to India. These low-caste, horribly exploited "stateless" workers of the tea plantations, who have historically produced most of the wealth of the island, have always been ignored by both the reformist, Sinhala-chauvinist "left" and the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Tamil liberation groups. In any case, the Sinhalese communalists, impotent before the power of India, are likely to turn their frenzy against the plantation workers and against Tamils in Colombo and the south.

The Sinhalese communalist forces which the UNP government has fomented for so long are enraged at the settlement, seeking to tap racist xenophobia and Sinhalese fears of being engulfed by the greater masses of Tamil and other Indian Hindus across the Palk Strait. Buddhist monks have been in the forefront of the protests. On July 29, with central Colombo deserted, police and troops battled enraged Sinhalese communalist mobs in the suburbs. In Ratnapura, one government MP has been assassinated. The *Washington Post* (3 August) reported:

> "Hundreds of buses, government vehicles and buildings have been burned in mob violence that has left parts of Colombo looking like battle zones. The government's hold in the southern part of the country seems tenuous."

With the arrival of the Indian troops and the communalist frenzy in the south, the reactionary logic of nationalism/communalism has taken its predictable course. The whole Indian subcontinent is a seething prison house of its various nations, exploited classes, oppressed castes, minority religions. It is a bitter irony that many of the Indian troops in Lanka are Sikhs, a minority community which faces harsh repression from the Indian government. Gandhi badly needs a foreign policy "triumph" to divert attention from his troubles at home: corruption scandals, recent electoral setbacks and the multifaceted horror of life in capitalist India.

A *New York Times* report from Jaffna quoted a Tamil school principal who welcomed the arrival of Indian troops: "Many of the Indian soldiers who have arrived here are from southern India, where Tamil is spoken, and Mr. Balasingam said they might have better relations with residents" than the Lankan army (*New York Times*, 1 August). The Sinhalese are reaping the bitter fruit of "Sinhala Only," the chauvinist campaign spearheaded in the mid-1950s by the SLFP (and criminally tailed by the class-collaborationist "left" which claimed to find in the SLFP a "progressive" or "lesser evil" section of the ruling class).

The Tamils' superiority in English, a legacy of British "divide and rule," had placed the majority Sinhalese at a disadvantage in the professions, universities, government bureaucracy, etc. Under the cover of "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, the Sinhalese dethroned English and got preferential access to masses of jobs, from humble clerks on up. The 1972 Constitution, which officially mandates the protection of the Buddhist religion, even changed the name of the country to a Sinhala word, complete with an honorific with religious connotations. The provision of the new Indo-Lankan agreement restoring Tamil and English as official languages alongside Sinhalese is an elementary democratic measure.

Severing their children's links with English through the Sinhala education system, the Sinhalese made themselves an enclave cut off from India and the rest of the world, and split the island's populations apart, for English is the lingua franca between national/religious communities throughout the Indian subcontinent. In the sequel, the Sinhalese troops who went north to combat the separatist insurgency had no shot at "winning the hearts and minds" of the Tamil civilians; they could be only an army of alien occupation.

Revolutionary Marxists, unlike nationalists and their "left" apologists, take no pleasure in the reversal of terms of oppression. Ceylon has been "Ulsterised." Within the nationalist frame of reference, which confers on whole peoples a supposedly "reactionary" or "progressive" status, the Tamils, especially those in Jaffna, are now the favoured "reactionary people" and the racist Sinhalese the new oppressed, in roughly the unenviable position of Cypriot Greeks after the arrival of the Turkish army. "President Jayawardene is now being protected by the empire of beggars," one Sinhalese man remarked bitterly (*Independent*, 1 August).

The working masses of India and Ceylon need Bolshevik parties to lead the workers and peasant masses in the struggle to overthrow capitalism through socialist revolution. No confidence in the blood-soaked Indian rulers! Defeat U.S. imperialism's sinister plans for Trincomalee! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Free all victims of J.R.'s terror! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of the socialist federation of South Asia! ■

Longshoremen Turn Thumbs Down on Sellout Contract

Defend the ILWU! Shut Down the Coast!

OAKLAND, August 3—Opposition to the takeaway West Coast longshore contract is so widespread that it looks like this sellout has been voted down. What the rotten "deal" boils down to is longer hours, harder work, less pay and speedup conditions, all under a rule of fear and harassment. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Jimmy Herman and vice president Rudy Rubio have negotiated the worst contract since the 1961 "Mechanization and Modernization" deal that slashed jobs on the waterfront.

The sellout starts with a whopping $5.43 pay cut for all new-hires, new "flexible" starting times and loss of the six-hour day. Vicious disciplinary procedures are being instituted centering on "safety" and drug testing. This will encourage finking to intimidate and even deregister (throw off the docks) any longshoreman who doesn't jump when a supervisor says to. And there is a letter of agreement with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to "investigate" getting rid of the union hiring hall. The clocks have been turned back to 1934 and the ranks don't like it one bit.

The Herman/Rubio fink contract gives the companies a free hand, surrendering major areas of union control and leading to intensified exploitation. "Judas" Herman sent a clear message to the maritime bosses when he sabotaged the Inland Boatmen's Union strike against Crowley Maritime—still going on after 25 weeks, almost *half a year*. Whenever they wanted to move cargo, labor-traitor Herman ordered picket lines taken down to demonstrate his loyalty to the bosses. That's why such a stinking contract is in front of the ILWU membership today.

But the longshore ranks have been itching for a fight. They showed this determination back in March when their 1,000-strong picket line shut down the Redwood City port. They're showing it again now by registering impressive "no" votes. When Herman showed up in L.A. the Local 13 membership booed and catcalled for 45 minutes before he could take the floor. After delivering a boring speech defending this betrayal he quickly exited to avoid the question-answer period. Down the street at the clerks hall the Local 63 membership nearly booed Herman off the stage.

This rotten deal has produced a deluge of leaflets and "open letters" roundly denouncing the contract. This many leaflets from the membership haven't been seen in years. The word on the waterfront is that the contract was voted down by a 3-to-2 margin in the Bay Area, defeated in Los Angeles, and among the clerks the vote has been running 30-to-1 "no" in some areas! What now? The union must be mobilized for a *solid strike to win!*

ILWU pickets rout scabs at Redwood City port, March 20.

Fink/Times Tribune

Union Work Conditions Threatened

Since *Workers Vanguard* exposed Herman's sellout ("'Two-Tier' Contract Threatens ILWU," *WV* No. 432, 10 July), the details have been published and they are every bit as rotten as we reported. The wage cuts are for all new longshoremen who have worked under 5,000 hours regardless of registration status. With "A" men in the Bay Area and L.A. averaging 1,300-1,600 hours per year, one can't imagine a single "casual" reaching the 5,000-hour level during the life of this contract. As a Local 10 member succinctly stated:

> "What the PMA appears to have in mind for the future is 200 or 300 skilled longshoremen working steady, and 600 casuals doing the lashing for $14 an hour, and probably hating your guts because they won't have Medical, Dental, Vacations, Holidays or anything else."

Flexible start times, linked to the elimination of the six-hour day and mandatory one-hour overtime, will drive many longshoremen out of the industry. This same Local 10 member's leaflet states: "Under the present agreement the companies achieve 21 hours of ship work in three shifts. Under the new agreement they will get 21 hours of work in two shifts."

Enforcing these union-busting conditions are draconian disciplinary measures that quickly set up veteran longshoremen for deregistration. On the fourth violation of "safety" regulations you're out of the industry! If these rules don't get you then the drug and alcohol testing will. The International piecards and the PMA have agreed to set up a method of "identifying substance abusers." This vicious drug and alcohol witchhunt opens up every longshoreman to be bullied, harassed and fired by any drunken or enraged PMA boss.

These new concessions are designed to pit the older workers against the younger newcomers who are to a great degree black, Hispanic and some women. These social divisions are potential tinder for the PMA's long-time goal of destroying the hiring hall and with it the union. The letter of agreement that proposes an "investigation" is the first step in management re-creating the hated steady-man system that will return the waterfront back to the days of the "shape-up." The International paved the way for this betrayal with Rudy Ruhio's participation in the bosses' "Committee of Productivity of Marine Terminals."

A Solid Strike to Win!

During the Reagan years the labor traitors like the Herman gang have preached that strikes can't win. Herman is counting on this defeatist attitude to wear down the membership's resolve through "new" votes on the same rotten deal. And the International gets a little help from its fake-left friends. The Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (8 July) didn't even oppose the Herman/Ruhio deal ("Tentative Longshore Contract Reached").

West Coast maritime is not the rust belt of the Midwest. The bosses are raking in the profits as tonnage has been on a five-year increase for every major port! Now is the time to squeeze the arrogant waterfront employers and teach them a lesson. A little class struggle that shuts down the shipping industry will go a long way in re-establishing fear and respect for the union. The ILWU is not an isolated weak union like PATCO or the Hormel workers, but a powerful social force that, linked to transport and other waterfront workers, can smash this takeaway contract and bust the union-busters.

Longshoremen must know who their friends and enemies are. Arrayed against them are the bosses, the Democratic Party politicians who run the big cities, and the labor lieutenants of capital who run the unions today. During the Reagan years especially, any strike on the waterfront will quickly become a political struggle against the entire ruling class. The Republicans and Democrats are bipartisan in their hatred of the Soviet Union and venomous desire to crush the revolution in Nicaragua, as is crystal clear to every viewer of the Iran/Contragate hearings.

The Spartacist League has said on many occasions that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The labor skates like Herman want to sink any labor fight here to prop up their buddies in the racist, strikebreaking Democratic Party. Look at the pathetic seven dwarfs the Democrats are trying to run for President in 1988. Among them is one "friend of labor" Bruce "Scabby" Babbitt who called out the Arizona National Guard to dismantle the mass picket lines of the militant Phelps Dodge copper strikers.

Now is the time for some hard class struggle that can dump the Reagan/Meese/Rehnquist gang and bust the union-busters. For a militant coastwise strike that links up with rail, airport and trucking workers! Form a solid union front by immediately organizing all the casuals into the ILWU and fighting for a sliding scale of hours and wages to provide work for all with no loss in pay. Smash the PMA's multi-tier wage system and all the other union-busting schemes. Now is the time for a big labor victory that can reverse the defeats up and down the coast! ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated September 4.

Forum

For International Class-Struggle Defense!

Sponsored By: Partisan Defense Committee
Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense

Speakers:

Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee
will speak on the case of Geronimo Pratt (America's foremost class-war prisoner)

This forum will also include speakers on behalf of a number of defense cases.

Friday, August 21, 8:00 p.m.
Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 28 Hall
528 20th Street **OAKLAND**
For more information (415) 839-0852

Pamyat...

(continued from page 7)

(Communist Youth), Valerii Skurlatov, distributed a leaflet demanding:

> "Love for the motherland is a necessary and sufficient condition for citizenship. A cult of the ancestors must be set up.... Every person must be saturated by the cult of his own clump of native earth, soaked with the sweat and blood of his fathers."
>
> —*ibid.*

About the same time the *official* central organ of Komsomol, *Molodaia gvardia*, ran an article praising the efforts of Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible as "something majestic, which inspires even our thought."

Fifty years ago, Trotsky pointed out that the bonapartist bureaucracy contained within it elements which could become capitalist restorationist or even fascist. At the time of the Moscow Trials, he noted the tremendous centrifugal forces in the bureaucracy, writing in the *Transitional Program*:

> "The public utterances of former foreign representatives of the Kremlin, who refused to return to Moscow, irrefutably confirm in their own way that all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko). The revolutionary elements within the bureaucracy, only a small minority, reflect, passively it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat. The fascist, counter-revolutionary elements, growing uninterruptedly, express with ever greater consistency the interests of world imperialism. These candidates for the role of compradors consider, not without reason, that the new ruling layer can insure their positions of privilege only through rejection of nationalization, collectivization and monopoly of foreign trade in the name of the assimilation of 'Western civilization,' i.e., capitalism."

In the conditions of backward Russia, and the isolation of the revolution surrounded by hostile imperialist states, the Stalinist Thermidor represented the triumph of Great Russian chauvinism and Russian *nationalist* traditions over the Bolshevik program of *international* proletarian revolution. An important component of this political counter-revolution was the weapon of anti-Semitism lifted wholesale from the tsarist Okhrana and Black Hundreds and used against the Bolsheviks. Stalin's attacks on the "Jewishness" of Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders served to isolate the Left Opposition from the workers by inflaming prejudice and backwardness. In World War II Stalin embraced the pogromist Russian Orthodox church in order to foster Russian nationalism. Similarly, after World War II, Stalin's crackdown on the intelligentsia took the form of a campaign against "cosmopolitanism" and involved a large-scale purge of Jews from the party, government and academic posts.

There's plenty that's peculiar about Pamyat. They're trying to be fascists while upholding the sacred motherland against the German invasion in WW II—and on behalf of all Soviet peoples, which also screws them up. They're a hodgepodge, but that's not unusual—fascist ideology is everywhere based on impulse and prejudice. According to the *Times*, they think that everybody who's fled to the West is part of a "Judaic-Masonic pyramid including the dissidents Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Andrei D. Sakharov," and fantasize that there is a plot to blow up the Moscow subway (a fiction lifted from the *Protocols*).

Solzhenitsyn is their spiritual godfather, but they don't even know that. In his book *August 1914*, this reactionary mystic who longs for the return of the tsar characterizes Jewish villains as "cosmopolitans" with "nothing Russian either in [their] blood or [their] character." In his Harvard commencement speech in 1978, Solzhenitsyn spoke *for* the Vietnam War, and denounced television, rock music, "Western well-being" and all "modern civilization."

Solzhenitsyn may cause his Cold War sponsors some discomfort when he lets loose against "Western democracy," but his Russian-chauvinist coreligionists are egged on by the CIA. It's no secret U.S. imperialism has embraced the hoary Nazi collaborators who escaped Soviet justice after the Second World War. From its broadcast station in Munich, "Radio Liberty" beams anti-Semitic filth into the Soviet Union (via transmitters in Israel!), obscenely apologizing for the pogroms and praising Ukrainian Nazi collaborators as "freedom fighters." In late 1985, Russian Orthodox xenophobes ran out Jews from this CIA station, accusing them of a creeping conspiracy to sap the "Russian spirit."

Big events are under way in the Soviet Union. As *glasnost* lifts the lid on 60 years of Stalinist rule, many forces are rising to the surface of Soviet society. On July 25, several hundred Tatars demonstrated in Red Square demanding restoration of their Crimean homeland. The Tatars, descendants of the Mongols who under Genghis Khan conquered Russia in the 13th century, were brutally expelled from the Crimea in 1944 on charges by Stalin (now admitted to be false) that they were all Nazi collaborators. Over 40 percent of the Tatar population, about 110,000 people, perished during the forced march to Central Asia in one of the most shameful acts of national oppression by the Great Russian-chauvinist bureaucracy.

Schocken Books

1905—Russian and Polish socialist workers commemorate victims of anti-Semitic pogrom in Vilna.

UPI

Crimean Tatars, brutally driven from their homeland by Stalin during World War II, protest near the Kremlin in July.

Meanwhile, a *New York Times Magazine* (26 July) article on Russia's alienated youth refers to a "budding back-to-Bolshevism movement in Leningrad and Minsk, with young people carrying books of quotations from Lenin and Trotsky." *Der Spiegel* (27 July) writes that "Trotsky's spirit still haunts the universities and studies of Russia, where men recall the ideas of the world revolutionary as if they were legends." The article reports on a recent Moscow Komsomol meeting where Yuri Afanassyev, director of the Institute for History and Archives, was asked if he favors publication of Trotsky's works. When Afanassyev answered "yes," older listeners were aghast. In the intellectual ferment in the USSR today, with the emphasis on stripping away the Stalinist falsifications of history and returning to the sources of Leninism, the revolutionary-minded will discover the continuity of Bolshevism in Trotskyism.

And they will discover the sharp *discontinuity* between the party of Lenin and Trotsky, and the Stalinist bureaucracy. The heirs of Stalin can't tell the difference between Tatar irredentism and Great Russian fascism. It would be foolish to call upon the bureaucracy to carry out workers justice and undertake political suppression of the nativist fascist scum, whom they have encouraged and conciliated in myriad ways with their own Great Russian chauvinism. The Bolshevik Revolution broke the back of the Black Hundreds, put an end to the bloody pogroms against the ghetto, and freed all the peoples of the Russian Empire from the grip of tsarist mysticism and feudal obscurantism. But the Soviet workers have been politically expropriated. The fact that fascist scum are now growing back like poisonous weeds after having been uprooted by the victorious socialist revolution is a telling condemnation of Stalinist rule.

Resurgent nativist fascism is a deadly threat in the United States as well. The Reagan counterrevolution was ushered in under Democrat Jimmy Carter in the 1979 daylight KKK/Nazi massacre of five leftists, blacks and labor organizers in Greensboro. Emboldened, the fascists crawled out into the open, flaunting their white robes and swastikas in open provocations in the black proletarian strongholds of the Northern cities. In November 1982, when we gauged we had the strength among the black working masses, and taking advantage of the sometime showcase democracy of the imperialist centers, the Spartacist League successfully confronted and stopped Pamyat's cothinkers, the Ku Klux Klan, mobilizing more than 5,000 working people in Washington, D.C.

In November of 1917, comrade V.I. Lenin led the Soviet peoples to power. Our party is a party in the spirit of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. We have defended the just cause of the Vietnamese people against French and American imperialism, the present struggle for the social emancipation of Afghanistan, and the suppression of clerical counterrevolution in Poland. Today we fight to defend Nicaragua and complete the revolution. And we ask—on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution—what have the heirs of Stalin wrought? Neo-Black Hundreds openly massing at the Kremlin Wall? Fascists in Red Square—in a country where 20 million died defending the land of the October Revolution against the Nazis! The working masses must deal with this fascist exerescence, as part of the struggle for the return to genuine revolutionary communism in the Soviet Union. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m. Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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Eyewitness Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

the economic crisis. Just getting to work is a major effort. Every bus stop looks like a mass demonstration and every bus is packed to overflowing. Simple things we take for granted just don't exist. The whole country is like one big Transit Authority storeroom: "No stock." You hear it all the time—*No hay*—there isn't any. No parts, no tools, no wire, no terminals, no electrical tape, no screws, no nuts.

Every job takes six times as long because first you have to dig up the parts and materials. While cutting some tubing to install fluorescent lights the 16-year-old helper broke the hacksaw blade. It was the only blade in the entire shop for some 220 employees. Before we hung the lights in the machine shop we had to craft our own ladder. Less than half their work plan was accomplished this year because of lack of parts, lack of skilled personnel, workers mobilized for the war, and "discipline" problems. A

NICAT

Hail Ben Linder, heroic American volunteer in Nicaragua killed by Reagan's contras!

lot of these have to do with being late for work, partly because of impossible transportation problems and partly because they're doing some work on the side, in order to survive.

I was constantly impressed with the youth of the people who were running things. The *responsable* for the shop was only 31 years old. There is very little division between the workers and management. Once or twice a month there are assemblies of all the workers to discuss problems in the shop. This is in stark contrast to the days when Somoza ruled. My partner told me how Somoza's OSN finks used to infiltrate union meetings to identify the leaders and have them killed. "Now," he said, "we have liberty."

Yet there is clearly a pressing danger of the working class dissolving as the black market overwhelms the official economy. It has become an act of political consciousness for workers to remain in the government sector or industrial enterprises. The income of those in the speculative economy is much higher than that of the salaried workers. Almost *half* of the entire population of Managua is involved in the "informal" section of the economy. The newspapers carry stories of people using CAT tickets to get goods at subsidized prices or simply stealing goods to resell on the black market at many times the cost. Government attempts to control this have not met with much success.

The government has come up with various voluntaristic proposals to deal with the economic crisis, demanding even greater sacrifices of the workers. Workers are expected to participate in the *rojinegros* ("red and black" Saturdays), voluntary days of unpaid work. They have also begun to form economic brigades in various enterprises which are groups of exemplary workers whose job is to spur productivity. Despite the workers' willingness to sacrifice, one detects a sense of weariness after eight years of struggling simply to survive. The need to expropriate private property (disarming the fifth column) and to institute a real economic plan effectively utilizing the scarce professional/technical resources is painfully obvious.

In central Managua there's a huge socialist realist type statue of "The Fighter" inscribed with a quote from Augusto César Sandino, who led the resistance to the U.S. Marines in the 1920s and early '30s. "Only the workers and peasants will go to the end," he said. But today the Sandinista regime, wedded to its principles of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment," is actually preventing the working masses from carrying the revolution through to the end, to the destruction of capitalism.

In fact the best thing they have going for them is the assistance of the Soviet Union, the Eastern bloc countries and Cuba. Sturdy Soviet-made tractors, reportedly admired even by Midwest U.S. farmers, are everywhere. Most of our equipment at the machine shop was from East Germany, though some was from the Scandinavian countries. Many of the mechanics had been sent to the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Cuba for anywhere from three months to six years for technical training. Of course the military aid from the Soviet Union has been crucial. The Soviet helicopters have been key to routing the contras and I certainly felt more secure as they patrolled the hills surrounding Matagalpa during the Eighth Anniversary celebration.

Yet the government recently announced that the Soviet Union is cutting back its oil shipments to Nicaragua to about 40 percent of the country's needs. With their sources of hard currency curtailed by the U.S. embargo, the Nicaraguans can't afford to buy crude oil from Venezuela and Mexico even at concessionary rates, and their requests for favorable terms were rebuffed. This development is truly ominous. With repeated massive U.S. military "exercises" on Nicaragua's borders, like "Solid Shield," it's clear that they're not just aiming at the Sandinistas. The defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union itself is posed.

Despite the poverty and hardship, Nicaragua has become a beacon of hope for the struggling masses throughout Central America. One of my compañeros was a refugee from El Salvador who was hounded by the Salvadoran army. He has two brothers who were members of the militant telephone workers union and are now in exile in the U.S. They face possible deportation to death squad terror in the wake of the new racist immigration law in the U.S. The papers carried extensive coverage of the upsurge of class struggle in El Salvador. These events showed the urgency and possibility of extending revolutionary struggle throughout the region, as opposed to the Contadora and Arias plans which are designed to thwart revolution and preserve the interests of the imperialists.

International workers can help develop consciousness of the need to complete and extend the revolution. I ate lunch with a Cuban who was there to work on equipment maintenance. He had also worked in southern Angola and said that there, as in Nicaragua, there was a lot of misery and suffering. He compared the South African attacks on Angola to the U.S.-backed contra war in Nicaragua and spoke of how conditions are much better in Cuba, citing

Mary Jo Marino

Portraits of martyred union members killed by contra terrorists displayed at maintenance workers union hall.

in particular education and health care.

There is an avid curiosity about life in the U.S., and in particular a concern for the condition of black people. A number of the workers asked about Jesse Jackson—is he some kind of socialist? I had to explain how in the last election he had acted as a shill for Mondale whose program was "Quarantine Nicaragua" and how the Democrats and Republicans are both parties of war and racism. One of the automotive electricians also asked about Jesse Jackson and said he also knew about someone named Abraham Lincoln. He said he'd read some about the Civil War. He also wanted to know who really killed Martin Luther King, which sparked a conversation about the FBI's COINTELPRO and the destruction of the Black Panther Party.

What this revolution promises more than anything is the possibility of a future and they're willing to fight to the finish, house to house if necessary, to defend that. The position of women in Nicaraguan society is a real indicator of the contradictory, uneven, incomplete nature of the changes that have occurred. Under the pressures of the Catholic church and rampant *machismo*, the government has refused to legalize abortion, a point which was evidently hotly debated around the new Constitution.

Even so, there's no question that there have been significant changes for women, who were among the most valiant combatants in the insurrection. Many women are now attending the universities, entering professional and technical occupations in unprecedented numbers. For the most part women have not moved into nontraditional occupations, yet at the shop where I worked there were two women in the training class for mechanics, which would have been unheard of before.

I noticed a particularly warm regard for Ben Linder among the Nicaraguans. I attended the *Misa Campesina*, a peasant mass with music written and sung by popular singer Carlos Mejia Godoy with his brother Luis Enrique and a visiting Swedish chorus. During the portion honoring the dead, mothers called out the names of their sons who fell in combat. One woman shouted out "Benjamin Linder!" and the entire congregation responded "*¡presente!*" The week that I left there was to be a tombstone laid at Ben's simple grave in Matagalpa. The residents of the dirt-poor barrio neighboring the grave site contributed 100,000 córdobas to the effort.

In the U.S., the House recently passed a bill to ban travel to Nicaragua for anyone going to help the Sandinista government militarily. Well, I certainly hope that the work that I did contributed in some way, no matter how small, to the defense and development of Nicaragua in the fight against U.S. imperialism. And campaigns on the home front, like the Spartacus Youth League campaign that raised over $25,000 for material aid to defend Nicaragua, are inspiring to the people I worked with. There's now a "Nicabucks" button hanging in the union hall.

The work of many of the internationalists like Ben Linder has been very important. But you come away with a sense of the urgency of organizing a revolutionary political opposition to the U.S. war moves here at home in the belly of the monster. If Reagan invades Nicaragua, American society could explode. The possibility exists for working-class action, for labor political strikes against the war. But that will only happen if there is a party of the working class prepared to fight for and lead such actions. ■

JUST OUT!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Maintenance welding shop named after Francisco Rojas, worker killed in contra war.

Photos: Mary Jo Marino

Managua railroad workers repair scarce rolling stock.

Eyewitness Nicaragua

Survival Under Reagan's Guns

We print below a report by Mary Jo Marino, a New York City subway worker and member of Transport Workers Union Local 100, who recently returned from Nicaragua.

While Lt. Col. Oliver North was using the Iran-Contragate "investigation" as a platform for glorifying the sadistic contra killers, I had the privilege to be in Nicaragua working shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters as an expression of solidarity against the murderous crimes of the U.S. government. I witnessed firsthand the toll of the U.S.-backed contra war and the human cost of the attempt by the U.S. to strangle this popular revolution. The faces of the young compañeros who fell fighting the contras flash through my mind and the memory of my fellow workers, who can't get enough to eat and work long hours in brutal conditions because of the war and the blockade. I have deep admiration for the heart and spirit of these people who have fought and sacrificed in the face of incredible hardship, for *their* revolution which to them represents a deep-felt hope for a better future.

While in Nicaragua, I worked as an industrial electrician at the Plantel Central "Jackson Jacomo," named after a leader of the union who was killed by the murderous National Guard during the 1979 insurrection which overthrew the dictator Somoza. At the Plantel they repair the city's construction vehicles, garbage trucks and other small vehicles used by the mayor's office. A big sign over the truck maintenance shop reads: "Heroes in Combat, Heroes in Work." As you walk in the plant gate there's a beautiful mural promoting Patriotic Military Service (the draft) with the slogan: "*Al costo que sea, vamos hasta el fin*" (No matter what the cost, we're going to the end).

This shop was my first exposure to the reality of the contra war. Nearly all of my compañeros had fought in the insurrection, done their military service and were currently active in the militias of their respective barrios. Every section of the shop is named after someone who died in combat. Over 20,000 have died in the contra war. When I visited the union hall, the front wall was covered with pictures of the martyred dead—33 members of this union alone, so young (17, 18, 24 years old), and they died so recently. The area where I worked was plastered with decals of Che Guevara.

Our TeleNica delegation also had the opportunity to meet with the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs in León. Many of the women were almost stoical but others were reduced to tears as they described the savaging of their children at the hands of the National Guard. One mother told of her 14-year-old son whose job was to find safe houses for the *frente*, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). He had been denounced and seized by the Guard 15 days before the insurrection. He was lashed, had electric shocks placed on the bottom of his feet, was strangled and tossed into the garbage underneath a bridge where his mother found his body.

In spite of the pain, these women are proud of their children because they died for a noble cause. At lunch I got a chance to speak to Berta, who lost one son but is proud to have five boys in the military now. She has a little sewing shop in her house but is presently not working because she can't get any cloth, and is supported by relatives and a small pension from the death of her son. She described the harsh conditions—no parts in the industries, the black market. Some people, she said, are falling away from "the process," as they call it. She hasn't much tolerance for such people, just has nothing to do with them.

The remnants of Somoza's Guard are the backbone of the contras, the sadistic killers the U.S. bankrolls and hails as "freedom fighters." Strategically the contras are washed-up and that's understood on all sides. Still their cowardly hit-and-run tactics continue to take a toll in human lives and drain the economy. The working class is literally unable to make ends meet. Fifty percent of the national budget and 25 percent of the country's material production goes to defense. Inflation is skyrocketing at a rate of 30 percent *per month*. At my shop, the *responsable* (shop organizer) made about 100,000 cordobas (about $25) per month and a mechanic made 79,000 (about $20). While I was there they raised the salaries 55 percent, yet real wages continue to fall. Obviously nobody can live on this little, so everybody in the family has to scrounge for work to make ends meet.

Carlos Duran

Sandinistas capture American contra mercenary Eugene Hasenfus.

What's available to eat changes from week to week. There's no meat, no cooking oil, no butter. Shortly after I arrived they received a big shipment of potatoes from one of the Soviet-bloc countries. So "*papas*" were news. There was a special spot on the TV news: "101 ways to prepare potatoes." The women in our guest house watched with great interest, dragged the cook out of the kitchen and chatted about the various recipes. Whereas potatoes are not an ordinary staple of the Nicaraguan diet, rice is. Yet the papers carried a story and pictures one day that showed shelves and shelves of bags of rice in the supermarkets and government subsidized "CAT" stores (workers supply centers) which went unsold because wage earners couldn't afford the 8,300 cordobas in the supermarkets or even the 7,500 in the CAT.

I ate in the workers' *comedor* (cafeteria) at the shop one day. It was stark, dirty, all the lights out. Everyone brings his own plastic bowl and cup. As part of the productivity drive they're supposed to have a half-hour lunch, yet we stood in line for at least 50 minutes. By the time we reached the front of the line there were no tortillas or beans left. Lunch was a small piece of fried fish—good, but not much. These guys are all young, 16-25, doing hard physical labor. They had some appetites. I know they went hungry.

You have to work down there to experience the impact of the blockade and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 435 4 September 1987

"Peace" Hoax Threatens Nicaraguan Masses

Smash the Contras— Complete the Revolution!

Gentile/Picture Group

Barricada

Crack Sandinista troops disembark from Soviet-made helicopter as they swing into action against Reagan's contra mercenaries. Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs demand vengeance for their sons who fell fighting for the revolution.

The "peace plan" adopted by the five Central American presidents last month is an attempt to reverse by negotiations the spread of revolution. They want to achieve at the bargaining table what Reagan's contra mercenaries and the U.S.-financed Salvadoran army have failed to accomplish on the battlefield. In return for accepting the Sandinista regime, the "Arias plan" would impose international controls to guarantee the survival of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It would prop up Duarte's death squad "democracy" in El Salvador by banning aid to leftist insurgents. The signing of this counterrevolutionary accord by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega is a betrayal. But contra godfather Ronald Reagan is doing his best to screw up the deal. And ultimately, the fate of the Central American revolution will be decided by guns, not a piece of paper.

According to the "procedure" signed

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Black Miners Strike Showed Power of Labor

South Africa: Forge a Bolshevik Party!

They work deep underground in black pits where the temperature reaches 110 degrees. Every year hundreds are killed and thousands are maimed. They live in male-only, prison-like barracks forcibly separated from their wives and children eleven months of the year. The gold they dig out of the ground supports the most hideously racist state on earth.

But for almost three weeks the gold stopped flowing from the Witwatersrand to the banks of Wall Street, London and Frankfurt. The apartheid state was hit with the biggest, costliest strike in South African history as over 300,000 black gold and coal miners walked out. Every day the Randlords lost some $8 million. This was not just a strike, it was a war. A raw, savage class war in the racist hell of South Africa.

In the aftermath of this hard-fought strike, the bloodsucking apartheid capitalists were in such a hurry to start up gold production that they plunged 89 miners into a fiery death as an explosion rocked the No. 10 shaft at St. Helena, about 160 miles south of Johannesburg. The mine is owned by the General Mining Corp. (Gencor) who also own the Kinross mine where last September 177 black miners died in the world's worst gold mining disaster.

The strike ended in a standoff. The union accepted the same terms it had

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Independent

Militant black South African miners demonstrate at headquarters of mine bosses in Johannesburg.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti!

August 23 marked 60 years since the bloodthirsty capitalist state executed anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Targeted by the "Justice" Department as "radicals to be watched," Sacco and Vanzetti were framed up as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant hysteria of the 1920s. Led by the International Labor Defense (ILD) and International Red Aid, protests by millions of workers, from Buenos Aires to Berlin, stayed the executioner's hand for six years. Following this legalized murder ILD secretary James P. Cannon expressed what six decades later remains an appropriate means of commemorating these class-war martyrs:

> "The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America. The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution.
>
> "Against this system—the system of labor frame-ups—we must deliver our heaviest blows. The defense of individual workers, the material support of their families and our general work of defense agitation must be carried on as a part of the fight to build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system."
>
> —"A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti," *Labor Defender*, October 1927

In the tradition of the early ILD, the Partisan Defense Committee now sends monthly stipends to 21 class-war prisoners on three continents. Former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt and Ramona Africa, the sole survivor of the 13 May 1985 police bombing of Philadelphia MOVE, are two of these imprisoned victims of racist capitalist "justice." Another stipend recipient is MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Framed on charges of killing a cop, Mumia has been in the living hell of death row while the Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court opens the floodgate of Jim Crow executions.

no credit

Bartolomeo Vanzetti (left) and Nicola Sacco (right) on their way to trial.

We have also added as stipend recipients MOVE members Merle Austin Africa, framed up on charges of killing a cop, and Alberta Wicker Africa and Susan Leon Africa, jailed on charges stemming from an earlier cop assault on a MOVE home. We seek to sear the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti and the MOVE martyrs into the consciousness of the working class as part of laying the foundation for the mass organization of class-struggle defense. Join our struggle—Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Abolish the death penalty! Free all MOVE prisoners!

* * *

For nearly three weeks racist South Africa was rocked by striking gold and coal miners. Despite mass firings, vicious attacks and more than 300 arrests the courageous miners stood fast against their apartheid bosses and racist cops. We sent a contribution of $100 to the strike support fund and sent the following telegram of support:

> "Victory to your resolute strike in defiance of apartheid police state. International working-class solidarity is imperative. Your courageous struggle is inspiration to workers throughout the world. Black labor has power to smash racist apartheid capitalism. Wealth of South Africa belongs to its toilers.
>
> "Demand immediate release of all arrested miners along with metal and allied workers union leader Moses Mayekiso and all victims of bloody apartheid terror."

Donations can be sent to: South Africa Solidarity Strike Fund, United Mineworkers, 900 15th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

* * *

In a series of dawn raids on 30 August 1985, some 250 FBI agents backed up by local police in San Juan, Puerto Rico rounded up 13 pro-independence activists. Along with three others subsequently arrested, the *independentistas* have been charged with a broad conspiracy to commit robbery in Hartford, Connecticut. Most were held without bail for 16 months. Enrique Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios remain behind bars. The FBI raids, massive wiretaps, RICO conspiracy laws and preventive detention of the *independentistas* were used to try out Meese's arsenal for criminalizing political opposition and suppressing the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. Puerto Rican newspapers have recently revealed that the island's colonial overseers are maintaining intelligence files on over 19,000 pro-independence activists. The PDC sent a telegram of solidarity to the August 30 defense rally in Hartford noting, "Your defense is vital to all workers, oppressed and enemies of colonialism. PDC demands immediate release of Enrique Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios. Drop all charges against Puerto Rico/Hartford 16."

* * *

As prime targets of New York's racist mayor Ed Koch's local version of the FBI's COINTEL program of the '60s to "neutralize" black leaders, the lives of the New York Eight are in danger. In 1985, a federal jury rejected the government's "terrorist conspiracy" frame-up attempt against the eight after they were rounded up and held in South Africa-style "preventive detention." On July 16 two members of the eight, Robert Taylor and Coltrane Chimurenga, were arrested in upstate New York. We sent telegrams to the Goshen, New York district attorney and United States Attorney protesting the arrests and demanding that all charges be dropped. Send your protests to: District Attorney, 265 Main Street, Goshen, NY 10294 and United States Attorney, 101 East Coast Road, White Plains, NY 10601

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. We are pleased to announce we now have 75 sustaining contributors. Become one yourself. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

The Communist Press

The Organization Resolution passed at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 codified the experience of building the Bolshevik Party which led the Russian Revolution. The resolution aimed at training and transforming the fledgling Communist parties of the West. Regarding distribution and use of the party press, it stated:

LENIN

A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into such a real combat organization and a strong, vital working collective of communists....

Sales and subscription work for our newspaper must be systematized on a formal basis. First, use must be made of every situation in which the workers go into more rapid motion, and in which political or social life is further inflamed by any political and economic events. Thus, after every major strike situation or lockout where the paper has openly and energetically represented the interests of the struggling workers, as soon as the strike has ended a sales and subscription drive should be organized to approach each individual among the strikers. The communist plant and trade-union fractions within the trades involved in the strike movement must not only propagandize for the newspaper with lists and subscription blanks in their own areas of activity; but, if they possibly can, they must also obtain lists of addresses of workers who took part in the struggle, so that special working groups for the press can conduct energetic house-to-house agitation....

The social-democratic and independent-socialist press must be overcome through a continuous offensive: without getting lost in petty factional polemics, we must expose their treacherous attitude of concealing class contradictions through a number of examples from daily life. The trade-union and other fractions must strive, through organizational measures, to free the trade unionists and members of other workers organizations from the confusion and paralyzing influence of these social-democratic papers. Both in door-to-door agitation and particularly in the plants, sales and subscription work for our paper must be skillfully and deliberately aimed directly against the press of the social traitors.

—"Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work" (July 1921)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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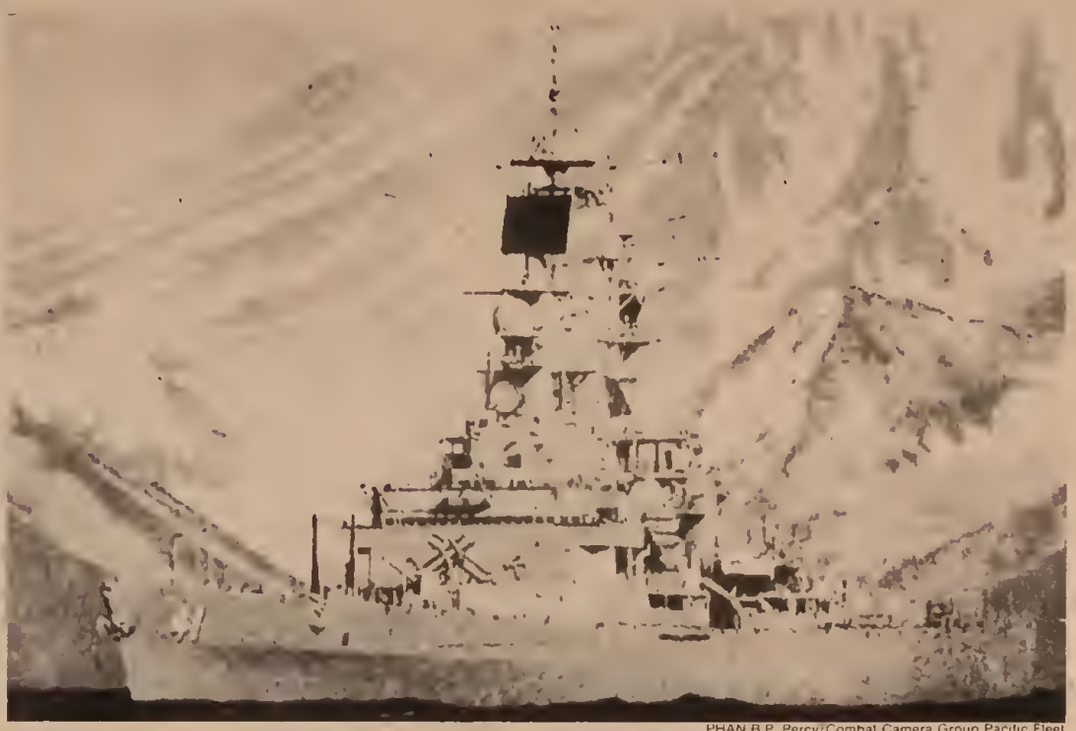


PHAN B.P. Percy/Combat Camera Group Pacific Fleet

THE END OF THE WORLD? U.S. guided missile cruiser Arkansas invades Soviet territorial waters off Kamchatka. You come in, you don't come out.

While Reagan assembles the largest war fleet since the Vietnam War for an adventure in the Persian Gulf, an even more ominous American naval provocation has gone unreported in the major media—a practice assault on the Soviet Union. Last month details leaked out about the so-called "exercises" of the U.S. Third Fleet, spearheaded by the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser USS *Arkansas*, which suddenly turned up in May inside Soviet territorial waters just off Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East.

The *Arkansas*, part of a nuclear "task force" centered on the aircraft carrier *Enson* (home port Alameda, California), deliberately sailed into the restricted waters of Avacha Bay near the top-secret Soviet naval base at Petropavlovsk. The Soviets "responded in force with planes and ships," reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 August), and U.S. sailors worried they might be rammed. But the Soviets stopped short of blowing the intruder out of the water, which they had every right to do. Moscow issued an angry public protest on May 21 and Soviet ships dogged the U.S. fleet halfway back to the Aleutians.

While the Soviets mobilized their defensive forces, the *Arkansas* launched a small boat so that a photographer could snap a picture of the ship with the mountains of Kamchatka in the background. The picture was published in the 10 August *Navy Times* with an appropriate caption—"Too Close for Comfort." In a bit of braggadocio, the ship's officers had T-shirts made with the same photo. What are they trying to prove—that they could get the world blown up?

Like Ollie North, these war-crazed maniacs are no "loose cannons" but strictly following orders from Washington. Reporting on the Kamchatka provocation, Moscow's *New Times* (8 June) notes that the American military regularly engages in such "games," the most popular one dubbed "Chicken of the Sea." In recent years, U.S. warships have repeatedly rammed and sideswiped Soviet naval vessels. When the *Arkansas* made a port call in Anchorage, Alaska, UPI interviewed some of the crew, revealing that a very dangerous confrontation had occurred. One sailor said, "I was scared to death, man," while one macho type bragged that it was a "real thrill."

The Pentagon tried to pooh-pooh the Kamchatka incident, and the American media dutifully hushed it up. But imagine what the U.S. reaction would be if a Soviet guided missile ship blithely steamed into Chesapeake Bay off the Atlantic Fleet headquarters at Norfolk! *New Times* reported that the *Arkansas* violated Soviet waters *twice*, on May 17 and May 21, and concluded correctly that this was no "accident," it was a deliberate provocation: "the 'chicken of the sea' is growing increasingly aggressive.'" Rambo Reagan could start World War III this way.

It's all part of a criminal White House *strategy of provocation* designed to intimidate the Russians in preparation for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. The policy was brazenly spelled out as the so-called "Forward Strategy," devised by the Naval War College, in which the much-ballyhooed 600-ship Navy would sail right into the "lair of the Russian bear" at major naval installations, such as Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula and Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk in the Far East, to sink the Soviet fleet. In other words, a Pearl Harbor-style sneak attack!

In explaining the "maritime strategy" (U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*, January 1986), Admiral James D. Watkins, former chief of naval operations, boasted that one of the major objectives would be "destroying Soviet ballistic missile submarines" in the first few minutes of a war in order to "alter the nuclear equation" in the U.S. 'favor. Almost half of Russia's nuclear-powered ballistic missile-firing submarines are reported based at Petropavlovsk—so the *Arkansas* was checking out its intended targets close up.

Last year the U.S. Navy pulled off a similar provocation in the Black Sea. Just before the U.S. bombing raid against Qaddafi's Libya, the destroyer *Caron* and the guided missile cruiser *Yorktown*, packed with electronic intelligence gear to probe shore-based defense facilities, deliberately penetrated into Soviet waters off the Black Sea Fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. Only the restraints imposed on Soviet defense forces prevented a military clash. Similar U.S. "exercises" have been held near the Soviet Northern Fleet base at Murmansk.

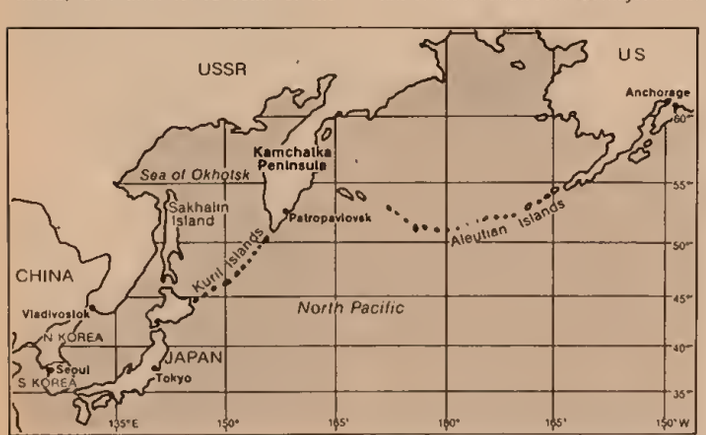
The Kamchatka Peninsula in particular has been the object of repeated provocations. In April 1983, an armada with three U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups comprising 40 ships and 23,000 personnel assembled off the Aleutians. The carrier *Midway* suddenly went into electronic silence, as it would in wartime, and then popped up southeast of Kamchatka, followed by a sudden mock attack by Navy planes from the *Midway* and the *Enterprise* which "violated Soviet borders by overflying the island of Zeleny in the Kurile archipelago" (Seymour Hersh, *The Target Is Destroyed* [1986]).

A few months later, on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, the KAL 007 spy plane made its provocative flight across Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island, triggering Soviet defenses along the way as intended by U.S. intelligence agencies monitoring the "errant" flight, before being shot down. More than 200 innocent lives were sacrificed by the Reaganauts in pursuit of their anti-Soviet war drive. It was not the first time U.S. intelligence used civilian airlines as cover. UPI (12 August) reported that "administration officials" now admit:

> "The United States also has equipped civilian airliners of Middle Eastern allies including Israel, Egypt and 'possible [sic] Saudi Arabia' with sophisticated, U.S.-made radio monitoring equipment to intercept communications."

And the insane anti-Soviet provocations continue. This week, an Aeroflot jetliner coming into New York's JFK airport was almost hit by a U.S. Air Force F-16 fighter playing "chicken of the air." According to Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, the Aeroflot pilot saw the jet "at the same altitude on a head-on course"; the fighter suddenly veered off and passed "at a distance of 50 to 100 yards" (*New York Times*, 28 August). Air traffic controllers say they did not see the military jet on radar, speculating that it didn't have its electronic transponder switched on. This recalls an incident in January 1980 when air controllers blipped an Aeroflot jet landing at Kennedy off the radar screen, deliberately endangering the lives of Soviet ambassador Dobrynin and all those aboard.

The insanity emanating from the White House is the sign of a ruling class gone mad in its twilight years. Such provocations are Reagan's answer to Kremlin pipe dreams of "peaceful coexistence." Today Gorbachev seeks peace through "arms control" agreements with the imperialists. Stalin trusted in his pact with Hitler, only to be brutally awakened by the Nazi invasion on 22 June 1941. The madmen in their bunkers on the Potomac must be stopped by world socialist revolution before they plunge the entire planet into a thermonuclear holocaust. ■



WV Map

Soviet Far East target of repeated U.S. war provocations. Arkansas penetrated major Soviet naval complex at Petropavlovsk. KAL 007 spy plane crossed Kamchatka and Sakhalin in 1983.

SL National Conference Bulletin Discussion:

On Proletarian Political Revolution

We print below a contribution to the discussion of the Spartacist League's national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," adopted as a draft for discussion by the SL/U.S. Political Bureau on June 16. This contribution refers to a section of the document, "The Russian Question and Gorbachev," which was published in WV *No. 432 (10 July). To obtain a postpaid copy of the SL draft document, send $5 to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.*

It seems to me the section of the document on the Russian question could do with three relatively minor refinements centered on the question of political revolution. The first deals with the phrase, "The Soviet army has been reliable in suppressing working-class unrest...." Though true, I think this should be more qualified. I think we can more emphatically assert that sections of the army would go over to the side of an anti-bureaucratic proletarian insurgency in the Soviet Union in the light of the Hungarian experience where, even on a foreign national terrain, there was significant fraternization by Soviet troops once they had determined that this was not the fascist counterrevolution which the Stalinist regime had told them it was. Thus Bill Lomax in *Hungary 1956* describes how:

> "Despite the bitter fighting there were also numerous scenes where Russian tanks were to be found surrounded by unarmed crowds, with young students passionately arguing with the soldiers in Russian. More than one Russian was to declare to such a crowd that he had been told that counterrevolutionaries and fascist bandits were on the rampage in Budapest, but that he could now see this was false, and he would not shoot upon the Hungarian people." (p. 120)

Indeed what brought the developing fraternization to an end was a provocation of indiscriminate shooting, likely by the Hungarian Stalinist secret police. This point is amplified by the earlier experience in the Vorkuta labor camps, where troops guarding the prisoners had to be pulled out and replaced because of fraternization.

Secondly (and related to the above), I think we should amplify the reference to civil war, noting that a civil war stemming from political revolution would ultimately be one between the forces of revolution and counterrevolution, given that the bureaucracy represents no social class and has no independent program. The latest article on *Pamyat* develops this point about the character of the Soviet bureaucracy, but it deserves a place in the document. As Trotsky notes in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (1 October 1933):

> "A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade."

To be sure, this did not come to pass in any meaningful sense in Hungary—though the bureaucratic apparatus certainly shattered, and very dramatically, with large elements going over to the insurgent workers—but most likely because the whole process was aborted by the intervention of the Soviet forces.

AP

Budapest, Hungary: Insurgent workers topple Stalin's statue in 1956 political revolution against bureaucracy.

Lastly (and, again, to give the document a more rounded character), we should reassert the integral connection between the Soviet political revolution and international socialist revolution, broadening out from the point that "The future of the Gorbachev regime is organically linked to developments in the imperialist West...." Both from the observations of visiting comrades and general historical inference, it is clear that the masses of the Soviet peoples are deeply pessimistic about socialist revolution in the imperialist West, particularly the U.S., imbued in them by the bureaucracy's historical insistence on "socialism in one country" (and seemingly validated by empirical historical evidence). While Britain is hardly a military-strategic threat to the Soviet bloc, it is certainly to the point that the British miners strike seemed to have a profound impact on the Soviet working class. Again in "Class Nature," Trotsky writes:

> "The Soviet workers would have settled accounts with the despotism of the apparatus had other perspectives opened before them, had the Western horizon flamed not with the brown color of fascism but with the red of revolution. So long as this does not happen, the proletariat with clenched teeth bears ('tolerates') the bureaucracy and, in this sense, recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship."

In line with this, it would seem to me that the present policy of *glasnost* provides opportunities primarily for the establishment of Trotskyist propaganda nuclei among the intelligentsia and advanced workers, but for the prospect of political revolution to become real among significant masses of the Soviet proletariat requires some confidence on their part that the Western horizon can "flame...with the red of revolution." This does not mean, of course, that a successful socialist revolution in the West must be an accomplished fact before the Soviet workers can reassert their revolutionary traditions.

—Len Meyers
20 August 1987

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Free Mordechai Vanunu— He Exposed Israeli Nuke Arsenal

AUGUST 30—Today in Jerusalem, Mordechai Vanunu is going on trial for his life. This courageous Israeli nuclear technician faces the death penalty for his spectacular exposure of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. Vanunu is formally charged with giving information to "unauthorized persons" and "passing secrets to the enemy"—i.e., the world press. (Yet Israel's possession of nuclear weapons is so well known that it features in novels like Gerald Seymour's *Glory Boys*.) Under Israel's draconian security regulations, all proceedings against him are conducted behind closed doors, as will be his trial.

Last year Mordechai Vanunu, who worked for nearly a decade at Israel's top secret Dimona nuclear weapons plant, revealed Israel's massive nuclear arsenal of *100 to 200* bombs. We pointed out then that a dozen A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital, but 200 nukes meant that the Zionist warmongers had a bigger target in mind: *Soviet Russia*. Now Israel has a delivery system as well.

Washington's fellow Contragaters in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem are preparing their own holocaust. Israel recently successfully tested a new ballistic missile, the Jericho 2, designed to carry nuclear warheads over a range of 500 miles, and is expected to have another version with a range of 900 miles. According to the Geneva-based *International Defense Review*, this "means Israeli missiles, armed with nuclear warheads, are now or will soon be able to reach all potential hostile capitals."

These missiles put strategic Soviet targets including Black Sea naval ports and Baku oil fields within reach of the Zionist nuclear madmen. Though Gorbachev is busy pursuing the pipe dream of "détente" with U.S. imperialism and its Israeli triggermen, this new threat could not be ignored. The USSR sent three stern warnings to Israel including a July 27 Radio Moscow commentary in Hebrew stating that continued development of the missile could cause the Zionist state "to encounter consequences that it could not possibly handle" (*New York Times*, 29 July).

The Jericho is Israel's principal nuclear warhead delivery system. In the first days of the 1973 October War when Israel thought it might be defeated by Arab armies, it armed an earlier version of the Jericho with nukes and put them on combat readiness. Reportedly, in response the Kremlin was prepared to ship nuclear warheads to Egypt. The U.S., reeling from the Nixon Watergate crisis, put its nuclear forces on red alert, preparing to set off a worldwide thermonuclear holocaust.

Oe Tjd

Meir Vanunu, Mordechai's brother, faces arrest by Zionist state.

All humanity owes Vanunu a debt of gratitude for his courageous act, for which he was kidnapped by the Mossad (Israeli CIA) last September, and held incommunicado until protests from family and friends saved him from being "disappeared." In recent accounts, the Australian and British press have exposed the sinister role of the Australian and British secret police in the abduction. The [London] *Sunday Times* (9 August) reported that when Vanunu was persuaded to come to Britain to publicize his story:

> "The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation notified Britain's MI6 and when the plane landed at Heathrow on September 12, two special branch officers were watching."

For the past eleven months, Vanunu has been held in complete isolation 30 miles south of Tel Aviv in the notorious Ashkelon dungeon run by the Shin Beth (an Israeli cross between the Gestapo and the FBI). Despite a 33-day hunger strike he waged earlier this year, Vanunu is deprived of even the minimal rights normally accorded prisoners. Last December he ingeniously revealed that the Mossad had kidnapped him in Rome by flashing this message written on the palm of his hand as he was being transported in a police van.

Since then the conditions of Vanunu's imprisonment were made even more brutal. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (14 August) began its report, "The Secret Prisoner of Ashkelon": "Neither the light of day nor the sounds of the outside world enter his cell. His every move is monitored day and night by a video lens. Even a special soundproof corridor has been constructed in the room where his trial begins August 30, to prevent any outsider from asking him a single question."

In fighting for his freedom, Vanunu's determination is shared by his family. Vanunu is permitted only one half-hour visit by a family member every two weeks. And his Israeli jailers threaten his family and attorneys with 15-year jail terms for revealing the facts relating to Vanunu's abduction, his work at Dimona or even his motivation for exposing Israel's doomsday machine. Nevertheless, Vanunu's brother Meir went to Italy to give evidence to a special government inquiry into the Mossad kidnapping, and to Britain to meet with the press and with those supporting his brother. As a consequence, Israel has issued a warrant for Meir Vanunu's arrest on charges of *espionage*. Clearly, for the Israeli Reich, the peoples of the world are the enemy.

But Mordechai Vanunu remains unbroken. At a New York Spartacist forum, "For International Class-Struggle Defense," in June, Vanunu's close American friend Judy Zimmet read a letter from "Motti" stating: "I did what I believe is good to do for peace and safety on this earth." Thanks to the tireless efforts of Vanunu's family, Judy Zimmet, Australian Rev. John McKnight (who converted Vanunu, a Moroccan-born Sephardic Jew, to Anglicanism) and other supporters, there have been some calls to honor Vanunu's heroic deed and demand his release.

The British Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation together with 40 British Members of Parliament and nine MPs and senators in Australia have petitioned for Vanunu to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. (Usually the Nobel prize is given to war criminals like Henry Kissinger and Irgun terrorist Menachem Begin.) Four British authors including Graham Greene signed a joint letter to the London *Times* (14 July) protesting Vanunu's incarceration as "intolerable as it offends against justice and international human rights.", and demanding his immediate release.

Vanunu's heroic exposure of Israel's anti-Soviet doomsday machine underlines the urgency for the international working class to disarm the capitalist rulers. Now working people and all enemies of imperialist militarism must rally to the cause of his freedom and demand that all charges against his brother Meir be dropped. The Partisan Defense Committee has begun sending Mordechai Vanunu a monthly stipend. Contributions for his defense and messages of support can be sent to the Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145. ■

Landau Jerusalem Post

Economist

Mordechai Vanunu (center) faces death for his courageous act on behalf of humanity. Zionist warmongers prepare holocaust: with new Jericho 2 missiles, Israeli nukes target Soviet Union.

Vanunu On Trial for His Life

The trial of Mordechai Vanunu opened on Sunday, August 30 in Jerusalem. Vanunu was brought in a police van with the windows sealed and painted over. The doors of the courtroom are closed and the windows boarded. The 32-year-old Israeli nuclear technician was secreted into court through a burlap-covered entranceway.

Vanunu's lawyer, Avigdor Feldman, remarked: "You'd think it was not Vanunu being brought into court but the H-bomb itself." Although he was brought in handcuffed on Monday, Vanunu struggled out of a helmet the guards compelled him to wear. He attempted to speak to reporters, but the police were ready. They drowned him out with sirens.

Also on Monday, a Nobel Peace Prize committee official declared that Vanunu's nomination had come "too late" to be considered for the 1987 awards! The official said Vanunu would be considered for the 1988 prize along with former Nazi SS intelligence officer Kurt Waldheim, the president of Austria.

The whole purpose is to silence him. Israel's supreme court has gagged Vanunu's defense in significant ways: the three-judge panel hearing the case excluded any testimony about how the Mossad secret police kidnapped him back to Israel. Reporters, human rights groups and even Vanunu's immediate family are excluded from these star chamber proceedings.

In a nearby courtroom for six months sadistic Nazi death camp guard John Demjanjuk, "Ivan the Terrible," has been accorded every legal right in a public trial. But Mordechai Vanunu, who bravely seeks to spare humanity a nuclear holocaust, is treated like a prisoner in Demjanjuk's Treblinka.

South Korea: Strikes Shake Dictatorship

In the past month, the South Korean proletariat has dramatically taken center stage in the social upheaval threatening that country's bloody dictatorship. Since June 29—when the regime of strong man Chun Doo Hwan gave in to a wave of mass protests demanding direct elections—more than 1,900 companies have been struck, including the handful of government-sponsored monopolies which dominate the country's economy. Tens of thousands of workers have battled the regime's riot cops and troops, seized and occupied mines, factories and shipyards, and erected barricades. On August 18, some 100,000 strikers and their supporters rallied in Ulsan, headquarters of the mammoth Hyundai conglomerate. Fearing that workers' struggles combined with middle-class protests for "democratization" could escalate into a revolutionary challenge to the regime, South Korea's nervous military rulers made concessions. But with the loosening of police-state chains, and students threatening a renewed "fall offensive," the country could well explode.

On August 22, 21-year-old Lee Suk Kyu was struck down by exploding shrapnel from tear gas grenades fired at Lee and his fellow workers at the giant Daewoo shipyards on Koje Island as they demonstrated for a wage increase and independent trade unions. Lee's death triggered angry protests throughout South Korea, striking fear into not only the ruling party but the bourgeois opposition as well. Demonstrators shouted, "Let's avenge the death of Lee Suk Kyu!" Lee's coworkers stormed a hotel in an attempt to track down Daewoo's president. For days after, hundreds of them battled cops who sought to seize Lee's body in order to cover up the evidence of their crime. Strikers wanted to make their fallen comrade a "national labor hero." As Lee's body was being transported to Kwangju to be buried alongside other martyrs of the struggle against the dictatorship, the cops vindictively swooped down to steal the coffin and arrest 45 of the workers' leaders.

While many of the strikes and sit-ins have been settled within a few days with the employers granting relatively modest wage increases of 12-15 percent ($25/month), the current workers' upsurge has been marked by the pervasive demand for recognition of independent trade unions. Thus the strikes are pitted directly against the regime and the corporatist Federation of Korean Trade Unions, spawned and lavishly supported by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its CIA "labor" front. Workers at Hyundai scored a key victory in forcing government recognition of their new union after several days of strikes, protests and street battles, at one point overwhelming police barricades to occupy the factories after a lockout. Hours after 40,000 strikers marched behind commandeered fire engines, fork lifts and dump trucks through the company town of Ulsan, the Chun regime intervened to strong-arm Hyundai's tyrannical anti-union boss, Ching Ju Yung, into acquiescence. This victory is unprecedented in the history of labor struggles under the South Korean dictatorship.

AP

One hundred thousand Hyundai strikers and supporters rally in company town of Ulsan, August 18. Workers won recognition of independent trade union.

Cole/Picture Group

South Korean riot cops in Darth Vadar helmets deploy against student revolt in June.

Cold War Police State

At the height of the student revolt two months ago, we insisted that the South Korean working class is "the only power which can carry out a revolutionary overthrow of dictator Chun Doo Hwan and the generals." The existence of a deformed workers state on the northern half of the peninsula, the rapid growth of an industrial proletariat, the presence of an occupation army of more than 40,000 American troops, all rule out any liberal-democratic "solution." South Korea has been a highly militarized, corporatist police state since its creation as a bastion for U.S. imperialism's Cold War designs—and it will remain so until it is smashed by socialist revolution. International class solidarity with the embattled South Korean workers is an urgent necessity, especially by American workers whose bloodsucking bosses own huge chunks of South Korean industry. Half of Daewoo's auto operation is owned by General Motors, and significant pieces of other of the *chaebol* (the giant conglomerates like Hyundai, Daewoo and Samsung) by Ford and Chrysler-Mitsubishi.

Chun and his cronies have warned repeatedly that they will move against "impure elements" and radical "outside forces" supposedly animating the strike wave. The so-called democratic opposition of the "two Kims," even as they seek to capitalize on the wave of revolt to boost themselves into government, have been no less reticent in denouncing any independent proletarian threat to the established order. Kim Dae Jung insists that "There have been no political demands or radical remarks" (*Washington Post*, 12 August), while Kim Young Sam more emphatically warns that "violent action by workers may give an 'excuse to those who do not want democratic development'" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 August). The "two Kims" may be preening themselves to be South Korea's Cory Aquino, but there will be no real "democratic development" as long as South Korea remains capitalist. Even in the Philippines, with its far less substantial working class, "people power" is being buffeted by popular protests and coup attempts.

South Korea is a prime example of combined and uneven development, with mammoth modern industrial concentrations heavily penetrated by foreign (primarily Japanese and American) capital coexisting with a backward (albeit shrinking) peasant economy. It has the world's largest textile mill, and recently surpassed Japan in shipbuilding. It also has the highest accident rate of any industrialized country (more than 23,000 killed or crippled last year). Schoolgirls of 16 or 17 slave 12 hours a day, six days a week for $160/month in textiles and electronics sweatshops. The *chaebol* run their factories and cities like a cross between feudal fiefdoms and concentration camps. Workers live in barracks-like dormitories called *takchan* (chicken coops), many forced to wear their hair close-cropped.

Moreover, South Korea since its creation has been a front-line state in the anti-Soviet war drive. The Korean people, as well as the Vietnamese, were the first to pay in blood for the postwar drive to crush the deformed/degenerated workers states, as upwards of five million were slaughtered in the 1950-53 "police action" against North Korea and China following U.S. imperialism's

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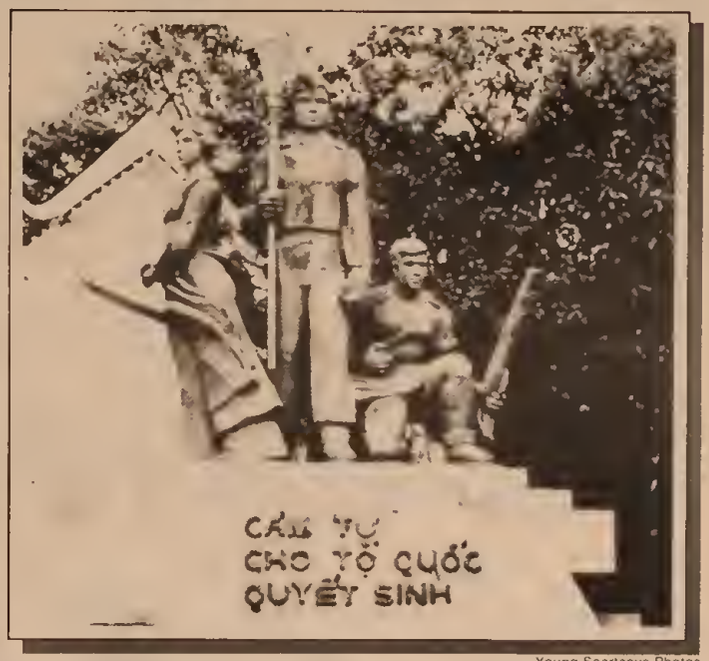
Young Spartacus

2, 3, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!

Vietnam Was a Victory!



Young Spartacus Photos

Hanoi war sacrifice memorial (right). Two million Vietnamese fell in struggle against imperialism so that their children would have a future.

Vietnam Today: An Eyewitness Report

The following is an account of a Spartacist comrade's recent trip to Vietnam, based on his travel journal.

My first sight of Vietnam: strange, round, water-filled holes in the ground around the Hanoi airport. These are the bomb craters left by the American B-52s. You see them as soon as you come down through the clouds toward the landing strip. Visiting Vietnam as a Trotskyist partisan of the Vietnamese Revolution, I was deeply impressed by the heroism and sacrifice that went into both the great victory over French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the liberation of Saigon in 1975 which brought the social revolution to the south of the country. All around you see signs of what these victories for the world's working people cost the Vietnamese. The country has been at war for half a century; every year a new crop of 18-year-olds are called up for military service. Many young Vietnamese soldiers went down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to fight U.S. imperialism in the south. *Two million* Vietnamese, soldiers and civilians, were killed by America's dirty war. And today, they must defend Vietnam against Washington's Chinese ally to the north as well as defend Cambodia from the U.S./China-backed contras to the west. *Defend Vietnam against U.S. imperialism!*

In Hanoi you pass Bach Mai hospital, a prime target of Nixon/Kissinger's 1972 "Christmas bombing," and bridges repeatedly bombed out by the Americans, now rebuilt with Soviet aid. Every town and village has at least one "war sacrifice memorial." In the south you see children born deformed because their mothers were bombed with Agent Orange. One boy walked on all fours in a spider-like position, unable to straighten his spine; his eyes were a strange brown-orange color, set in a beautiful face. Half-American children are a common sight.

I also saw hypodermic syringes openly on sale among street peddlers' wares in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon). These are more legacies from the imperialist rape and occupation of Vietnam when drug-running military officers joined pimps and torturers to make South Vietnam a bastion of the "free world." The Vietnamese fighters showed that imperialism can be defeated, but the imperialists are still trying to get their vengeance. Desperately needed medicines, spare parts, trade and credits are being choked off by the Washington-orchestrated blockade.

In Vietnam we heard news of recent shakeups in the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party, *glasnost*-style self-denunciations of bureaucratism and inefficiency, and criticisms of the waste of Soviet aid. But one can't help thinking the Soviets should provide Vietnam with a lot *more* aid. By defeating U.S. imperialism on the battlefield, the heroic Vietnamese did more to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state than a thousand "summits" where Stalinists preach the illusory policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Plundered and devastated by the French, Japanese and Americans, bombed and "defoliated," Vietnam is a terribly *poor* country. It is a peasant country. In the north I saw teams of women scooping water out of irrigation

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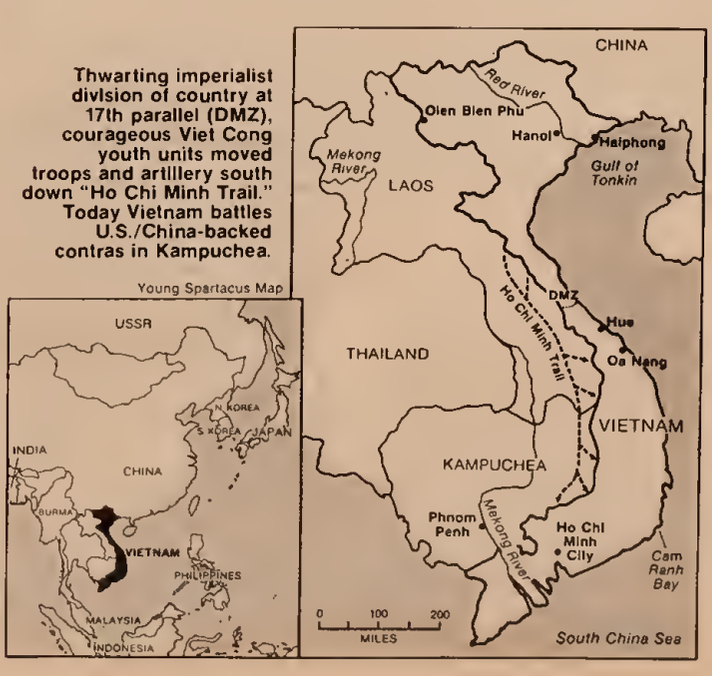
Thwarting imperialist division of country at 17th parallel (DMZ), courageous Viet Cong youth units moved troops and artillery south down "Ho Chi Minh Trail." Today Vietnam battles U.S./China-backed contras in Kampuchea.



Young Spartacus Map

Vietnam...

(continued from page 7)

ditches with huge wicker baskets hung on bamboo poles. This is considered *light* work. And while I saw lots of new brick houses in peasant villages and a number of brick factories, the tremendous weight of scarcity is ever present. There is little industry: a petrochemical industry, run out of the old American embassy (poetic justice) and aided by Soviet technicians; some textile mills; plants to recycle steel from old U.S. tanks; bicycle factories; handicraft enterprises.

In contrast, the role of small commodity production and exchange is enormous. The streets are packed with individuals selling everything from fruits, vegetables and dried squid to dust mops and books. Hundreds of restaurants and cafés, owned by individuals or groups of people, sell *pho* (beef noodle soup), water snake soup (very tasty), coffee, pastry and beer. These places are packed with customers.

Vietnam's per capita income is even lower than Haiti's. But the *social revolution* that abolished capitalism socialized the basic infrastructure of the economy, nationalized the land, and built a collectivist framework that makes the hideous oppression of a place like Haiti or any other capitalist country of the "Third World" unthinkable in Vietnam today. Education and free or very inexpensive medical care are available for all. Walk down the streets of any Latin American capital, and you will see mothers and children begging all over the place. In Hanoi, of the literally thousands of children I saw in the week I was there, only four were begging. The overwhelming majority were obviously well fed and healthy, wore good, colorful clothes, and were remarkably relaxed, cheerful and outgoing. In the city, children wore shoes and almost all carried book bags. They looked a lot better off than many inner-city kids in America.

Tiziano Terzani

Demulder/Gamma-Liaison

Right: Victorious NLF troops roll through gates of presidential palace in Saigon, 30 April 1975. Woman soldier celebrates defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

Another thing that struck me immediately is the very high literacy rate. All over, you see people reading—on park benches, in stores, walking down the street. In addition to the government bookstores, there are a large number of privately owned book stalls on the street. Among the many books I saw on sale were Vietnamese translations of Alex Haley's *Roots* (but unfortunately not *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which Haley co-authored), *Carmen*, *Oliver Twist*, *Learn to Play Soccer with Pélé*, books by Victor Hugo, Agatha Christie and the works of Marx, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, etc. Quite a contrast to the China of Mao's "Cultural Revolution" with its banning of Plato, Kant, Beethoven and other "foreign devils."

American rock blared from fancy Japanese tape decks in coffee shops, and I saw some of the kind of "close" dancing that I hear is banned in Peking. I also visited an art gallery and saw a variety of works that were by no means "socialist realist." Women wear jewelry, make-up and fancy scarves, and Western fashion magazines were displayed in the window of a men's tailor shop. The picture presented by a recent *Smithsonian* article on Hanoi as a "drab, gritty" place is far from what I saw.

I walked past a big beer hall in downtown Hanoi with perhaps 200 people inside. I sat down at a table with four young guys who eyed me in a wary but not unfriendly way. After a while I started trying to talk to them, and we gradually got friendlier—a process that was assisted by the large glasses of beer that kept appearing in front of us. All four were soldiers from the country-side, on leave in Hanoi. They were in the middle of a seven-year hitch, and indicated they were worried about finding work when they got out. There is still considerable unemployment and underemployment. I was glad I had the opportunity to drink with members of the fighting force that whipped the American imperialists.

Young Spartacus

Peasants carrying produce to markets in Hanoi. Auto and truck transport is still scarce in the north.

You don't see many signs of the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia or the sporadic clashes with the army of the slaveowning Thai warlords. There are a few posters about Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea friendship, and a Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea sports arena in downtown Hanoi.

North and South

One of the striking though not surprising things about Vietnam is the enormous difference between north and south. In Hanoi everyone goes around on bicycles. The few municipal buses are old and cars are rare and mainly for official use. Municipal road crews work out of carts pulled by water buffalo plus a truck here and there. In Ho Chi Minh City there are lots of cars and buses, well-paved streets and not a water buffalo to be seen. Buildings in Hanoi are mainly small, many of them shabby, and the electricity goes off almost every day for a few hours. Hotels in the south are air-conditioned affairs with telex machines, elevators, uniformed doormen and aging maîtres d'—a world away it seemed. Even the *official* exchange rates are different: about 80 dong to the dollar in Hanoi, 120 in Ho Chi Minh City.

One way to summarize the north/south contrast is this: Hanoi is very poor, but has been liberated for 33 years, and the people look healthy and the kids look great. Ho Chi Minh City has been liberated for only 12 years. It is much richer but there is glaring inequality—beggars, filthy teenagers sleeping in doorways (something you just don't see in Hanoi), kids with infected sores. The imperialists and their puppets left the Vietnamese with a god-awful *mess* in the south, including people who had known no other life than that of a parasite or prostitute. Much of the enormous work of reintegrating north and south still lies ahead.

In an effort to stimulate production, the government has encouraged private enterprise in recent years. No doubt this is in some part necessary as a stopgap measure, but I was also struck by the dangers. Government employees, including skilled technicians, are encouraged to moonlight to make ends meet. A government architect told me he makes 4,000 dong a month, not including the money he makes moonlighting on private jobs. Factory workers make 300 dong a month, plus a "premium" of 700 which they can multiply by working overtime. But the bigger money seems to be in the private sector. A private guitar seller told me he sells a couple of his best guitars a week for 4,000 dong each—the architect's monthly salary. In addition to this promotion of the private sector, the black market is prevalent and alarming. On the street in Ho Chi Minh City I was offered 600 dong to the dollar by an ex-ARVN (South Vietnam's former puppet army) type black marketeer.

As a point of reference, a pack of cheap cigarettes is 30 dong; medicines are inexpensive at a couple of dong; a bottle of Vietnamese lemon vodka is 140 dong. Most people get a meat ration ticket for one kilo of meat per family member per month at the government set price of a few dong. Workers get a larger ration, determined by the kind and intensity of work they do. After your ration you can buy more meat at "free market" prices, and I saw lots of meat, mainly beef, on sale.

The quality and supply of goods in state stores varies widely. Cooking utensils and bicycle parts were plentiful, cheap, and of good quality, while clothes and children's toys were much better in private shops than in government department stores. In one department store I saw a long line of people waiting to buy sugar at the subsidized price, using ration coupons. Nearby stood a policeman (unarmed), one of the few policemen I saw in Vietnam other than those directing traffic. It made me think of a passage from Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed:*

> "The basis of bureaucratic rule is the poverty of society in objects of consumption, with the resulting struggle of each against all. When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait."

The Vietnamese workers state was born bureaucratically deformed; in Russia, the workers state established by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution degenerated when political power was usurped by the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy. But despite the difference in historical origin, the scene in the Hanoi department store could have come straight out of Trotsky's book. The revolution has made tremendous gains for the working people. But there is no way to abolish scarcity and reach socialism within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country." Only the international extension of the revolution to the advanced countries can show a way out. This was the perspective of Lenin and Trotsky. Today, it means also the fight for workers political revolution in the deformed workers states—above all the USSR, upon whose industrial and military power countries like Vietnam and Cuba are dependent as they confront the unremitting pressure of vengeful U.S. imperialism.

Our Debt to Vietnam

There are portraits of Ho Chi Minh in many offices and shops. I saw no pictures of the current leaders on display. A government bookstore had a big picture of Gorbachev, advertising a Vietnamese translation of his speech to the recent Soviet party congress. Gorbachev seems to enjoy substantial popularity among some young people. However, there does not seem to be much political discussion going on—organized or otherwise—and all political conversations I got into were at my initiative. I was told that for a period of time, "under Chinese influence," people had to sit through boring harangues at work, until a stop was put to this caricature of political discussion. I got the impression that in addition to being burned by this experience, many young people are deeply frustrated by the absence of soviet democracy and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy which monopolizes political power, compounding the severe problems of underdevelopment and the imperialist blockade.

At the Revolution Museum in Ho Chi Minh City I ran into a class of 12-to-15-year-old schoolchildren. The boys goofed off, but many of the girls intently studied the displays on the Tet Offensive and the growth of the resistance in South Vietnam: old underground printing presses and mimeo machines, Viet Minh posters, proclamations of the Japanese occupation army during World War II, red battle flags with a star or hammer and sickle. On the museum's grounds are trophy U.S. planes, a helicopter and artillery pieces. There were no photos or other signs of the massive international protests against the French or U.S. aggression. Yet the people of Vietnam should draw pride and hope from the worldwide radicalization of a generation of youth who witnessed the impotence of the U.S. against the resistance of a determined people fighting for national liberation and social revolution. The political damage done to the U.S. war machine at home is still a fetter on imperialism's bloody plans for more dirty wars.

In a display of "revolutionary pamphlets from 1936-1939" there was *Trotsky va Phan Cach-Mang* ("Trotsky and Counterrevolution"). This was not just a standard addition to the Stalinist library. The Vietnamese Trotskyists had a mass base in Saigon, the country's proletarian center, and they led an insurrection against the return of the French imperialists following World War II. For this they were murdered by the Stalinists, who helped to defeat the insurrection and welcome back the "democratic" French army.

The Ho Chi Minh Museum is housed in an elegant building once used by the French colonial administration. In contrast to the solely Vietnamese focus of the Revolution Museum, this museum features Ho Chi Minh's membership cards and delegate credentials from French Socialist Party and Communist Party conferences and from congresses of the Communist International. One exhibit begins with materials explaining the Russian Revolution and proceeds through the Vietnamese revolutionary movement in exile to the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930.

The area outside the museum is a popular spot for outings; a young soldier was playing volleyball with a bunch of civilians. Young couples and families, including a father and his son, a young man with artificial legs, were promenading or watching the boats in the bustling harbor area around the museum.

As we taxied down the runway in Ho Chi Minh City I got my last sight of Vietnam: row upon row of old U.S. DC-3 warplanes which used to rain death on this country. Sitting disused and rusting by the side of the airstrip, they symbolize both the U.S. war and the U.S. defeat. They remind me again of the great revolutionary debt that the world's workers owe to *heroic Vietnam*. This must be repaid by spreading the revolution—the only solution to the many problems I've witnessed. The perspective of the Russian Bolsheviks was to link their poor country to the prospect of world revolution in industrial Germany. Vietnamese revolutionists today must look to extending the revolution to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. And the duty of revolutionaries in the "belly of the beast," the USA, is to put some of the same kind of courage and determination shown by the Vietnamese into the fight for socialist revolution here in America. ■

Young Spartacus

Despite American imperialist embargo, designed to choke Vietnam of vital technological/economic assistance, today the port in Ho Chi Minh City bustles with commerce, including Soviet vessels.

Spartacist Events

Nicaragua Eyewitness Reports and Slide Shows

Defend Nicaragua! Complete, Extend the Revolution!

NEW YORK
Thursday, Sept. 3, 12 Noon
North Academic Center, Room 1/201
City College of New York
Guest Speaker:
Mary Jo Marino
member, TWU Local 100
CCNY student
recently returned from Nicaragua
Speaker:
Cheri James
member, Spartacus Youth Club

Friday, Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Columbia University
Speakers:
Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua
Alison Murray
member, Spartacist League
For more information (212) 267-1025

OBERLIN
Tuesday, Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m.
Mudd, Room 456
Oberlin College
Speaker:
Judith Preston
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua
For more information (216) 881-3700

BOSTON
Thursday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.
Science Center, Hall A
Harvard University
Speakers:
Liisa Martin, Pam Elliott
members, Spartacist League
recently returned from Nicaragua
For more information (617) 492-3928

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

CHICAGO
Wednesday, Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

MADISON
Tuesday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.
See "Today in the Union"
for room location, UW-Madison
For more information (608) 251-6431

Speaker: Judith Preston, member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

Nicaragua: Smash the Contras— Complete the Revolution!

ITHACA
Thursday, Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Cornell University
For more information (212) 267-1025

Speakers:
Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*
Spartacist League Central Committee
Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

SAN FRANCISCO
Thursday, Sept. 24, 5:00 p.m.
Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University
For more information (415) 863-6963

OAKLAND
Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Location to be announced
For more information (415) 839-0851

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!
Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Thursday, Sept. 10, 7:00 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537

Speaker:
Marjorie Stamberg,
Spartacist League
Central Committee,
Spartacist candidate for
NYC mayor, 1985

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Chicago Cops Kill Larry Hawkins, Invade Black Homes
Labor, Blacks Must Mobilize to Smash Racist Terror!

CHICAGO
Saturday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Michigan Room, Hyde Park Hilton
(4900 South Lakeshore Drive)
For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker: Ed Clarkson
Spartacist League Central Committee

Guest Speakers:
Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241
Mark Kelly
Partisan Defense Committee
representative
Roosevelt Hawkins,
brother of Larry Hawkins

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Principles of Communism

MADISON
Alternate Saturdays, 1:30 p.m.
Sept. 5, 19, Oct. 3, 17, 31, Nov. 14

See "Today in the Union"
for room location, UW-Madison
For more information (608) 251-6431

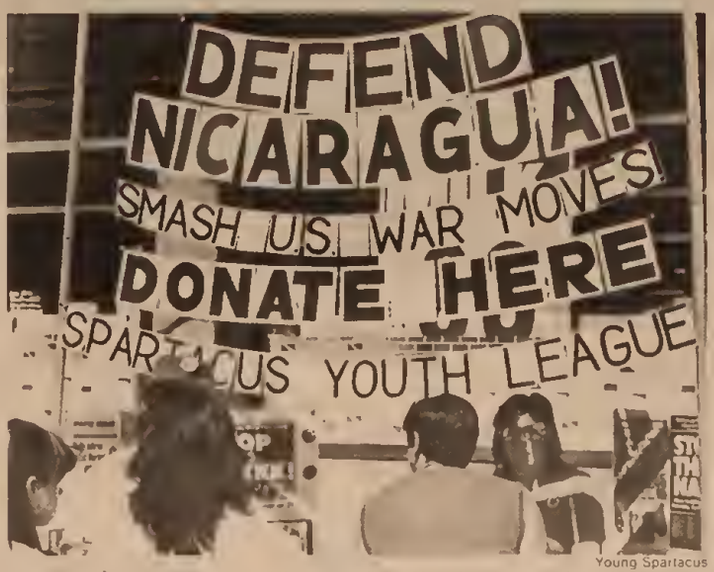
Young Spartacus

Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Donate Dollars to Crush the Contras!

When Reagan's sadistic contras murdered Benjamin Linder in cold blood last April, they hoped to intimidate the thousands of international volunteers who have traveled to Nicaragua to solidarize with the revolution. But when Ben Linder fell, *hundreds stepped forward*, doubling the number of American students and young workers volunteering for Nicaraguan work brigades. Many youth were grossed out by "Olliemania," this summer's Congressional horror show. Now, as Reagan prepares to ask Congress for millions more for his "freedom fighting" contra scum, there's something you can do to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants: give to the Spartacus Youth Clubs' "Nicabucks" campaign!

We launched Nicabucks as a campaign of material aid in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution after Reagan imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua in 1985. Our appeal to "Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras!" showed that thousands of Americans are ready and eager to support the courageous fighters the Pentagon calls "the enemy." In six short weeks $25,800 was raised on campuses, street corners and at factory gates across the country. Subsequent donations have pushed the total up over $30,000. With Reagan trying to bleed Nicaragua white, hard currency is desperately needed *now* for everything from medicines to spare parts to arms. Take a side! *Donate to Nicabucks!* Every penny you donate goes directly to Nicaragua—the Spartacus Youth Clubs assume all administrative costs for this campaign.



Young Spartacus

Spartacist comrades raise "Nicabucks" at Cleveland street fair, 1985.

$2.00
Nicabutton

DIG DEEP!

Make your Nicabucks contribution and button orders payable to/send to:

Student Committee to
Defend Nicaragua
c/o SYL
Box 3118 Church Street Station
New York, NY 10008

As one Spartacus Youth Club supporter who recently volunteered a month's labor as an electrician in Nicaragua wrote upon her return:

> "Strategically the contras are washed up and that's understood on all sides. Still their cowardly hit-and-run tactics continue to take a toll in human lives and drain the economy. The working class is literally unable to make ends meet. Fifty percent of the national budget and 25 percent of the country's material production goes to defense. Inflation is skyrocketing at a rate of 30 percent *per month*. Despite the poverty and hardship, Nicaragua has become a beacon of hope for the struggling masses throughout Central America ... What this revolution promises more than anything is the possibility of a future and they're willing to fight to the finish, house to house if necessary, to defend that."

Another comrade who lent a hand rolling bandages at the Esteli hospital when the town came under mortar attack by contras last year wrote:

> "Standard procedure is that when the contras come upon wounded soldiers lying on the ground, they douse them with gasoline and torch them. For a mother to have her son come home as ashes in a shoebox is especially awful, considering the importance of funerals there. At this funeral, several hundred people marched slowly to the edge of town with the coffins, shouting defiant slogans and yelling out the names of the soldiers followed by '*¡presente!*' One old lady pulled me aside and said, 'when you have seen two of these, you will understand our struggle a little better'."

Recently it was revealed that the Reagan administration courted apartheid South Africa for "contra-hutions." The response of the reformist "left" to the Contragate cabal is yet another round of letter-writing and petitioning of Democrats. But the sniveling Democrats have capitulated before "contra in chief" Reagan every time. When the Democrats ran Walter Mondale for president three years ago, he promised to *quarantine* Nicaragua unless it would "bend" to the imperialists' will. Now the Democrats propose to "test the Sandinistas," threatening to vote millions more in contra aid unless the Nicaraguan government gives these contra murderers free rein to organize bloody counterrevolution.

Reagan vowed to topple the Sandinistas before leaving office, as part of his global "war against Communism" whose main target is the Soviet Union. With the mass of the American people deeply suspicious that the administration is pushing toward a new Vietnam-style military adventure, Reagan & Co. got themselves enmeshed in conspiracy and cover-up: the "Iran/Contragate" scandal. Yet now that the Reagan gang is vulnerable, the Soviet bloc is reportedly limiting vital oil shipments to Nicaragua and there is a danger that the revolution will be tossed as a bargaining chip in the vain hope of negotiating "peaceful coexistence" with the American warmongers. But this only emboldens U.S. imperialism in its anti-Soviet war drive. As we have repeatedly insisted, *defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America!*

The desperate economic situation in Nicaragua cries out for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the contras' "fifth column" in Nicaragua. But the Sandinista nationalists forswear support to liberation movements in the region—the so-called Guatemalan "peace plan" which the Sandinistas have agreed to would have the Salvadoran guerrillas lay down their arms! We say: *Smash the contras—defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!* The workers' struggle is international: the home front of the imperialist war drive is busting unions, slashing wages and imprisoning millions of black people in hellish ghettos. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!* ■

Stop Cornell's Union-Busting!

Defend Campus Workers!

For the past six months, 930 Cornell University service and maintenance workers, organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW), have been negotiating with the university administration for a new wage agreement. Presently, 234 of these employees earn less than the federal poverty level, while Cornell shows off its newly built multimillion-dollar Alumni Club in New York City.

On Sunday, August 23 returning students and their parents were met by hundreds of Cornell workers who set up "informational" picket lines around the campus. Supporters of the newly formed Spartacus Youth Club in Ithaca have earned recognition and respect from campus workers for joining the picket line with signs reading: "Victory to UAW Local 2300!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!" At union meetings and on the picket lines, over 100 copies of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" were eagerly grabbed up by UAW members.

The arrogant Cornell administration is out to bust this union in its "company town." Two days after the job action, two prominent members of the union's strike committee—one of whom has slaved for Cornell for over 20 years—were fired by the university and face criminal prosecution for supposedly stealing envelopes! This is obviously a set-up by Cornell to intimidate the rank and file by screwing over their stewards. For labor action to restore Tom Parkin and John Cleveland to their jobs—Drop the charges!

Gottschalk/Ithaca Journal

Spartacus Youth Club supports Cornell workers' picket, August 23.

Students can play an important support role in this struggle. The same administration that razed a symbolic shantytown and arrested hundreds of anti-apartheid demonstrators now has its sights set on smashing the campus workers. We call for *one campus-wide union* of all Cornell workers! In the event of a strike students must *take a side*, help build militant picket lines and shut Cornell down tight by boycotting classes. *Victory to UAW Local 2300!* ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 16)

refusing to pay a 23 percent pay increase that has been ordered by the government and generally implemented by Mexican employers. But unlike Volkswagen where the independent union has mobilized the ranks, the union at Ford belongs to the CTM labor federation which is part of the ruling bourgeois-nationalist "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI) and is keeping the strike under rigid government control.

As U.S. and Canadian auto workers face upcoming contract deadlines, they should learn from the hard-fought struggles of their Mexican class brothers. Instead of buying the protectionist poison spewed out by the Big Three auto bosses like Lee Iacocca and the chauvinist UAW leaders, they should fight for real solidarity with the Ford strikers in Mexico. In addition to producing cars for the Mexican market, this plant exports engine blocks and dies to the U.S. Detroit bosses have set up a whole string of high-tech, low-wage assembly and parts plants in northern Mexico. While GM closes eleven factories in the U.S. it is opening a dozen south of the border. Labor's response to "runaway shops" should be joint Canadian-U.S.-Mexican auto strike action, fighting in particular to raise the wages of the lowest-paid workers.

The Mexican auto workers' battles are in direct response to the ravages of the capitalist austerity program implemented by PRI president Miguel de la Madrid at the behest of the New York bankers. Workers' wages were drastically slashed, and because middle-class salaries plummeted as well, auto sales fell by almost two-thirds since 1982. Ford and VW had prepared for a long strike to draw down inventories of unsold cars. In addition, they wanted to bring down wages to the level of the *maquiladoras* (free trade zone plants) in the north, which are considerably lower even than in Korea. While U.S. auto workers get $12-$14 an hour, the highest paid workers at Volkswagen in Puebla made that much a day. The average auto worker in Mexico makes about $6 a day, and that's double the minimum wage.

WV Photo

VW strikers play volleyball on front steps of occupied plant.

The Battle of Puebla

The Independent Union of Volkswagen Workers (SITAVW) wasn't buying the pleas of poverty on the part of the VW bosses. The SITAVW broke with the dictatorial control of CTM boss and PRI kingpin Fidel Velásquez in the early 1970s, and has struck nine times in the last 15 years. Without a strike fund and shunned by the official labor movement, they were prepared to fight to win. A strike committee was formed that mobilized several hundred of the most active militants. Strike votes were taken by mass union meetings attended by thousands of VW workers. An insulting company offer was rejected at an assembly held in Puebla's main plaza, where the strikers were encircled by three battalions of riot cops. When judicial police pulled out their pistols, the workers pelted them with rocks.

In addition to seizing the plant and sealing it off completely, from Day One they maintained mass picketing of 800 workers per shift, 2,400 a day. The VW plant became a giant fortress of workers power, which the police were leary of attacking. It was high-spirited: they played volleyball on the front steps, ice cream vendors and snack bars appeared. The union had been abandoned by the CTM, but they appealed for popular support in the city of Puebla with its 1.2 million people. Despite a smear campaign in the local press trying to "satanize" the strikers, every available wall on the west side of the city was plastered with signs, "Viva la huelga." They had sitdowns in the Zócalo (plaza), brigades raised money in the markets and support committees were set up in the workers' barrios.

On August 6 after a union meeting, thousands of auto workers spilled onto the Mexico City-Puebla turnpike, shutting it down for nine hours. This was accomplished by seizing two dozen city buses and placing them across the highway, setting dozens of tires on fire and surrounding them with a sea of strikers and their supporters. When a week later the company still only offered a 7 percent increase, in addition to the government-ordered 23 percent, the union cut off eight entrances into Puebla for several hours, causing a mammoth tie-up as they sealed off truck and car traffic. The strikers carefully kept the city buses under lock and key to prevent their being damaged by riot police. Occasionally they were taken out to drive strikers into town, and filled up at local Pemex gas stations where donations of gasoline were accepted.

The left-wing daily *La Jornada* (19 August) reported that the government-owned CONASUPO stores offered to supply the strikers with food, "but they asked as well that they return approximately 50 buses held hostage in the plant, and that they pay for the gasoline they had arbitrarily taken."

At a meeting on Saturday, August 22, more than 6,000 strikers gathered in the VW plant parking lot as the PA system played Motown hits, "Do the Locomotion" and "Dream Lover." SITAVW union leader Facundo Antelmo Ochoa declared that "everything we have won we got with our bare fists" and that they had set a "great example" for organizing the rest of the country. The union leadership refused to put before the ranks the company's latest offer of less than the 52 percent won by other auto workers. And Ochoa warned that if there were no settlement the next week, "the president is going to have problems" during his September 2 "state of the nation" speech: "We're going to take the [West German] embassy; we're going to go to Los Pinos [Mexican presidential residence]; we're not going to let them screw us."

For a Mexican Trotskyist Party!

Speaking to *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting, Ochoa said that international solidarity had played a significant role in the strike. The Puebla plant not only produces the VW "beetle" for the Mexican market, but 60 percent of the parts for the VW Passat and Audi models 80 and 90 which are assembled in West Germany. When Volkswagen attempted to put on a third shift at its Kassel plant to make up for parts made unavailable because of the Mexican strike, West German auto workers, who recently won a 37-hour week, refused to work the shift (*Excelsior*, 20 August). (Earlier, in an act of internationalism, the Mexican Volkswagen union contributed some $4,000 to the Salvadoran FENASTRAS union federation.)

The union leadership appealed to the Federal Conciliation Board to pressure VW management, and talked of asking for arbitration. Yet as a sign painted on the turnpike in front of the plant says, "Government and bosses [are] enemies of the working class." The PRI regime has consistently acted as enforcer for the International Monetary Fund. In 1983 when the militant Uramex atomic workers struck, President de la Madrid pulled a PATCO, shutting down the entire plant and dissolving the leftist-led SUTIN union. Carrying out Wall Street's orders to sell off state-owned industry, last year the government closed the Fundidora de Monterrey steel plant, throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs, and it is trying to sell off the Ecatepec steel plant north of the capital.

The semi-corporatist CTM unions predictably didn't lift a finger to defend the VW workers. Meanwhile, they're running the Ford strike into the ground. (Ford union chief Lorenzo Vega is also the PRI mayor of Cuautitlán, a huge workers suburb of Mexico City.) In typical CTM bureaucratic manner there have been no votes, no union information to the strikers, no marches, no coordination with the VW workers. The reformist left, totally absorbed in electoralism, largely ignored this sharp class battle. The only evident "solidarity" with the VW strike from the recently formed PMS (Mexican Socialist Party) was a couple of newspaper ads. The pseudo-Trotskyist PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) was completely silent: nothing in its paper, and not a single contribution on working-class struggles in hundreds of pages of internal bulletins for its congress.

This almost total divorce of the Mexican left from the organized labor movement combined with the PRI/CTM's stranglehold over the bulk of the workers movement has produced a situation rife with possibilities for the growth of syndicalism, with class-conscious workers rejecting all "parties" and looking instead to militant "independent" unions. The "Trade Union Coordinating Roundtable," to which the SITAVW belongs, held a solidarity march with the Volkswagen workers in Mexico City July 24. But aside from this single gesture, the rest of their "support" has been "moral"—i.e., empty. The other main "independent" union federation, the "Proletarian Independence Movement," held a 25,000-strong march on August 18 but ignored the VW strike. On May Day these two federations, with no evident principled differences, held separate marches.

As Trotsky wrote in his notes on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940): "In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions and have, in the nature of things, assumed a semitotalitarian character." He went on: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution." And that means that "without the political leadership of the Fourth International the independence of the trade unions is impossible." Today, as militant strike struggles multiply from South Africa and South Korea to Central America, Mexico and Canada, as the Reagan regime totters in the imperialist colossus to the north, the leadership of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International, and the construction of a Mexican section, is all the more urgent. ■

Chicago Protest Against Killer Cops

WV Photo

Remember Larry Hawkins, Stop Racist Terror!

CHICAGO, August 29—Thirty spirited protesters rallied at Chicago police headquarters today to protest the racist cop murder of Larry Hawkins. Hawkins, a 29-year-old black man and disabled auto worker, was gunned down on July 27 when four white cops barged into his home. The demonstration, organized by the Hawkins family, was joined by supporters of the Spartacist League, the Partisan Defense Committee and militant transit workers. The crowd defiantly chanted, "Remember Larry Hawkins—Stop racist terror!"

The cops in "Segregation City" have been terrorizing the black community. Just six days before Larry Hawkins was killed, five cops kicked down the door and seriously injured a black CTA bus driver, Cassandra Seay, in her own home. A PDC placard called for "Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Attacks!" To fight racist terror, whether its perpetrators wear white sheets or blue uniforms, the mass power of Chicago unions and minorities must be mobilized.

The Hawkins family has filed a $25 million lawsuit against the Chicago police department.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

rejected before the strike began including a 15-to-23 percent wage increase (the union had demanded 30 percent). While there is no guarantee that the 44,000 union militants fired during the course of the strike would be reinstated, the overwhelming majority probably will be. Most importantly the miners union was not broken, its forces remain intact.

Although the immediate demands of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) did not go beyond wages, benefits and conditions, this great labor struggle has had an enormous political impact. As the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 August) observed:

> "The strike is more than a wage dispute. It is a direct challenge to a government that has snuffed out all other forms of black protest.
>
> "By disrupting a system in which black laborers help produce enormous wealth for South Africa at minuscule wages, the miners are at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle."

UPI

Apartheid mine owners open talks with Mineworkers union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (far right).

Gold in South Africa is mined and processed from very low-grade ore. The billions in profits extracted by the mine magnates every year represent the brutal *superexploitation* of black labor subjected to a vicious form of indentured servitude. But the recent strike, in its massive size, duration and discipline demonstrated the growing power and sophistication of the miners union. The last black miners strike in South Africa on this scale—in 1946—was crushed after four days and the union was destroyed. Before the rise of organized black labor in the 1970s, whites in the mining industry earned eleven times the wages of black workers. Now that ratio has been reduced to five-to-one, and most whites are foremen or supervisors. Moreover, on the second day of the strike the NUM won the elimination of the "reserve" clause which previously barred blacks from getting blasting certificates, the ticket to higher-paying jobs in the industry.

The black miners are recruited from the deeply impoverished bantustans and black client states bordering South Africa. They are forced to live hundreds of miles from their families eleven months a year in prison-like male-only compounds. But even the mine magnates have made noises about abolishing the "migrant" labor system, a demand raised by the NUM. The mine barons tried to buy off the growing militancy of the black miners with significant pay raises on a base wage of around $170 per month. Even this lousy wage is far above what most American multinationals pay in South Africa and Asia, and represents a standard of living incompatible with the kind of police-state regimentation black miners and their families back on the bantustans are subjected to. Black miners produce the wealth of South Africa and they are becoming increasingly conscious of the disparity between the vicious exploitation they endure and their real social power.

So the miners waged a hard strike for the wealth that is theirs. The economic power and combativity of the miners will surely inspire the oppressed black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers of South Africa. But the mine struggle underscores the urgent need for a communist political leadership to lead the anti-apartheid struggle toward workers power.

Showdown on the Witwatersrand

The racist apartheid regime has tried through naked terror to crush the three-year-old nationwide revolt against apartheid rule. Anti-apartheid organizations have been banned and their activists in the thousands have been jailed under "Emergency Regulations" or murdered by right-wing death squads. But in defiance of this savage police state, black unions have only grown stronger and more militant, as demonstrated by the phenomenal growth of the NUM. And the three-week-long strike showed the power of proletarian class solidarity to transcend in struggle historic tribal antagonisms and the social backwardness of the less urbanized "migrant" workers. These divisions have been exploited for decades by the mine magnates to keep these toilers enslaved.

The six-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa, with black miners at its core, can smash apartheid and be the powerhouse for the liberation of all southern Africa. The mine strike posed the question of *power*: which *class* will rule South Africa? When Anglo American began mass firing of the mine strikers, the giant COSATU federation intimated that plans for a general strike were under way. But the NUM leadership drew back, unprepared to lead the revolutionary struggle which was posed. The insurgent black labor movement in South Africa desperately needs a multiracial Bolshevik party, which must be, as Lenin said, the tribune of the people—uniting the townships, the migrant workers, the women, the Indian and coloured masses, the anti-apartheid whites in a struggle for workers revolution to topple the racist slavemasters.

Reuters

Victim of apartheid terror: striker shows wounds from rubber bullets.

The union leadership urged miners to go home for the duration, signaling the determination to wage a long strike if necessary. At the same time, having union militants leave the mine fields tended to weaken the strike in the face of the bosses' massive scabherding by security guards and police. Nine strikers were killed and hundreds wounded, and according to union sources over 400 have been arrested. But black miners have not been passive victims of apartheid terror. They fought back with stones, knives and gasoline bombs.

The mine bosses' main weapon in trying to break the strike was the wholesale firings of union members—over 44,000 dismissed. When the union rejected the Randlords' take-it-or-leave-it offer last week, Anglo American spokesman Neville Huxham warned, "we will now concentrate all our efforts to returning our mines to full production" (*New York Times*, 27 August). But the black miners were not cowed. They answered Huxham by *sitting in* more than a mile underground at Anglo American's Western Deep Levels, the deepest pit in the world.

Anglo American has been the main target of the strike and the most ruthless of the mining houses trying to break it. The company's chief negotiator, Bobby Godsell, threatened:

> "There is a continuing romanticism in the minds of people inside and outside South Africa which thinks that the trade union movement is the short cut to revolution. They are wrong.
>
> "If the trade union movement devotes its resources to a head-on confrontation with the South African state through a national strike, the government will smash the trade union movement."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 August

Most of the strikers killed were killed by Anglo American security guards and most of those fired were fired by Anglo American. Even the moderate Ramaphosa leadership of the NUM accused Anglo American of seeking "to break the strike with the aid of the South African police."

This giant mining and manufacturing conglomerate constitutes the core of English-speaking capitalists in South Africa and is the key link to Wall Street and the City of London. The corporation is well named since half its owners are Americans and Englishmen. No less important than Anglo American's economic dominance has been its crucial *political* role in contemporary South Africa. Harry Oppenheimer, the corporation's founder, and its current head Gavin Relly have been viewed as the mainstays of the so-called "liberal" or "progressive" wing of the white ruling class. Thus the petty-bourgeois nationalist African National Congress (ANC) has long looked to Oppenheimer, Relly & Co. as its hoped-for partner in dismantling apartheid and constructing a "democratic, nonracial" South Africa.

Relly and his political underlings meet with ANC spokesmen in various black African capitals and declare their desire for a "peaceful, negotiated solution" to South Africa's crisis. But Anglo American security guards terrorize black workers daily, and faced with any serious level of class struggle, Relly & Co. turn to the police and army—the core of the apartheid state. For the fundamental basis of the apartheid system is capitalist superexploitation of the black majority. There can be no liberation from apartheid slavery without the revolutionary expropriation of capitalist wealth.

Gold, Anglo American and Ramaphosa

The main source of capitalist wealth in South Africa lies in the mines. Gold exports alone account for 60 percent of the country's foreign-exchange earnings. Coal, which was also struck, is also crucial for the South African economy

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South Korea...

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dismemherment of the country. "Peaceful reunification" is the hobbyhorse of all, from Kim Il Sung's Stalinist regime in the North to the vaguely nationalist radical student movement to the Southern capitalists. But there can be no peaceful reunification between these two states—one proletarian and the other capitalist—whose class divide is embodied in a "DMZ" hristling with barbed wire and armaments.

For Workers Revolution!

Economist business unionism can't get off the ground when even the right to have a union poses a direct struggle with the state. Of 276 labor actions in 1986, not one was considered legal, and half of all political prisoners are labor demonstrators, often convicted in one-minute "trials." "Politicizing" union struggles with a handful of liberal demands aimed at turning the working class into cannon fodder for the bourgeois opposition is a dead end for the workers. Any serious struggle to put an end to the series of brutal dictatorships which have ravaged this country since the postwar American occupation must point to a workers revolution and, in turn, to a struggle to smash the Cold War partition of Korea along the 38th parallel. First and foremost that means unconditional military defense of North Korea and the Soviet Union as well as the other bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialism.

For all the regime's talk of "impure elements," at least from a distance it appears that the recent struggles have been largely spontaneous. However, in recent years both student activists and church groups have oriented toward industrial workers. And, according to the *New York Times* (4 August), despite the draconian repression, "A small number are clearly Communists, committed enough that they learn Japanese so that they can read Marx and Lenin...." Leaders of the *Sodaehyop* student federation denounce both Kims as "products of the existing structure" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 August).

UPI

Kwangju, historic center of militant struggle: insurgents patrol the streets during 1980 uprising.

There is fertile soil in the militant history of Korean workers' struggles for genuine communism—not the vulgar Stalinism and nepotism of Kim Il Sung's caricature of "socialism" in half a country to the North. The early Korean Communist Party was one of the first to be established in the Far East in response to the Russian Revolution: a Korean delegate, Pak Chin-Sun, addressed the Communist International in 1919. The American occupation in 1945 involved the suppression of popular anti-Japanese resistance committees which had disarmed the Japanese and proclaimed a Korean People's Republic in Seoul. The installation of American puppet Syngman Rhee (Lee Sing Man) in 1946 was met by popular resistance which a *Chicago Sun* report described as a "full scale revolution." Four years later, in anticipation of the advancing North Korean troops, Kwangju erupted in a general strike.

Today South Korea teeters between a generalized workers' upsurge pointing toward proletarian revolution to topple the American-backed dictatorship of strong man Chun, and bloody military suppression of the rising workers movement. Key to resolving this crisis in favor of the long-suffering South Korean masses is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party under the banner of permanent revolution. This means not only a struggle for revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North, but internationalist appeals to the workers of Japan and the U.S. as well. In an address to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in late 1919, when Korea was still a Japanese colony, Korean Communist Pak Chin-Sun said:

> "Taking into account the fact that the interests of the toiling masses of Japan and Korea are interrelated and that the yoke of Japanese imperialism and capital is equally distressing for them, it is essential to have close ties between the revolutionary organizations of both countries."
>
> —Dae-Sook Suh, ed.,
> *Documents of Korean Communism, 1918-48* (1970)

The American proletariat, whose union dues go to finance counterrevolutionary anti-labor activities in South Korea (among other places), have a particular obligation to the embattled workers there. Get U.S. troops out of South Korea! Japanese workers, themselves saddled with company unions, would do well to follow the lead of their Korean class brothers and sisters. Concrete solidarity action by the American and Japanese workers movements would go a long way to undercut virulent anti-Korean chauvinism, which has expressed itself in racist protectionism here and brutal colonialism and violent racism against the Korean minority in Japan. For international solidarity with the Korean workers' struggles! For a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Korea, part of a reforged Fourth International! ■

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as its main domestically produced energy source.

The more far-sighted Randlords, like Oppenheimer and Relly, realized that their total subjugation of the black miners could not last. In the late '70s Anglo American and the other mining houses were hit by a series of bloody wildcat strikes. Recognizing that black unionization of some sort was inevitable, Oppenheimer and Relly wanted to ensure that the leadership of such unions was moderate and reformist.

Into this explosive situation stepped the young black African lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. In the mid '70s, as a student activist in Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, he was held for 18 months in police detention. This was typical for young black intellectuals of his generation. However, in the late '70s Ramaphosa served on the board of directors of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class.

When, the Anglo American bosses decided to allow the growth of "responsible" unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982. Doubtless Oppenheimer and Relly hoped and expected that the NUM under Ramaphosa would restrain the seething anger of the black miners. But the nostrum of class-collaborationist unionism could not be sold in the infernal pits and prison-like barracks. Black miners have never bought Anglo American's much-touted "liberal" image. And this strike has exposed Gavin Relly as just as vicious an enemy of the black oppressed as P.W. Botha.

Smash Apartheid!
For Workers Revolution!

Communism is a positive word among South Africa's black masses, symbolizing opposition to the hated system of apartheid capitalism. At funerals for the victims of police-state terror, defiant protesters carry red flags with the hammer and sickle. Sympathy for Communism is further reinforced by the war in Angola, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops are defending a black African state against the South African army.

Nonetheless South Africa's black proletariat can be politically tied to the Randlords through the medium of petty-bourgeois nationalism, principally the African National Congress. The ANC and its long-imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, possess great moral authority among the black African masses, including unionized workers.

For decades the ANC's strategy has been to pressure "progressive" white capitalists like Oppenheimer and Relly against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. In the fall of 1985 Gavin Relly himself led a delegation of white businessmen which met with Tambo in Lusaka, Zambia. Significantly, only a month before this meeting the NUM reached a last-minute settlement with Anglo American which averted an expected nationwide gold strike. Doubtless Ramaphosa did not want to embarrass Relly on the eve of his "historic" meeting with the ANC. As a result, the NUM struck only one of the six major mining houses. Isolated, the 1985 gold strike was quickly crushed.

The miners strike and especially Anglo American's role in it expose not only the ANC's dangerous illusions in class collaboration but also its narrow nationalism. Over 40 percent of the miners on the Witwatersrand come from outside the borders of South Africa, from glorified bantustans like Lesotho or neocolonies like Mozambique. Yet neither the ANC nor the remnants of the Black Consciousness Movement raise the elementary democratic demand of full citizenship rights for *all* workers in South Africa.

More fundamentally, the ANC in no way opposes neocolonial rule in black Africa. On the contrary, it looks toward the black regimes from Senegal to Zambia—savagely oppressive of their people and subservient to Wall Street and Washington—as its main source of diplomatic support. But neocolonialism need not be South Africa's future. South Africa is the one place in sub-Saharan Africa where there is the possibility for a workers state, because here the black population has been partially absorbed, at the bottom, into a modern industrialized society which can, based on the revolutionary reorganization of society, provide a decent life for all its citizens.

Reininger/Contact

Black miners at Vaal Reef gold mine. Those who labor must rule!

For socialist revolution to become a reality in South Africa a racially integrated Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged in irreconcilable struggle against all forms of nationalism and class collaboration, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great miners strike has demonstrated anew the enormous economic power and heroic combativity of the black proletariat. But for that proletariat to conquer *political power* there must be a Bolshevik party at its head. There is no other way. ■

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Nicaragua...

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in Guatemala City August 7, the murderers and rapists Reagan calls "freedom fighters" would be amnestied along with the imprisoned torturers left over from dictator Somoza's National Guard. The CIA mouthpiece *La Prensa* would be allowed to reopen. Catholic bishops Bismark Caballo and Pablo Vega, notorious for supporting Reagan's contra "aid," would return to join contra cardinal Obando y Bravo. "Free" elections would be supervised by the Organization of American States, which Che Guevara rightly termed the "Yankee ministry of colonies." The Sandinistas would be banned from providing any kind of support—even office space—to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas. In return, the Central American presidents beseech Washington to cut off the contras' supply lines. Fat chance.

A week later in his "apology" speech on the Iran/Contragate conspiracy, Reagan declared he remains "totally committed" to the contras. He ostentatiously met with his contra capos, who called on Congress to vote more dollars of death, to be held in "escrow" if the Sandinistas behave. If the Democrats balk, the White House will just continue shelling out the CIA bucks with Oliver North-style "creative accounting." The Reaganauts have made no bones about their distaste for a "negotiated solution" that would leave the Sandinistas in place. But their contra creatures, good for nothing except raping health workers and murdering unarmed peasants, are still getting whipped by Sandinista troops and militias defending the revolution. And the American public, despite the brief midsummer "Olliemania," still opposes contra aid not to mention a U.S. invasion.

The Guatemala accords are the Democrats' answer to the failure of Reagan's attempts to crush the Nicaraguan Revolution by the force of contra arms. Despite tactical disagreements, the partner parties of U.S. imperialism share the strategic goals of reversing the spread of revolution in "America's backyard" and waging a war drive against the Soviet Union. The Congressional hearings served as a podium for North & Co. and covered up everything from Reagan's criminal culpability to the drugs-and-murder conspiracy and plans for imposing military rule in the U.S. Then, putting Contragate behind them, House Speaker Jim Wright authored a "peace" plan for Reagan. And when Central American leaders agreed on the essential points of the plan put forward by Costa Rican president Oscar Arias, the Democrats embraced it. The Nicaraguan Jesuit review *Envío* (July 1987) explained that the Arias plan was worked out in cooperation with Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd who:

> "...explained to the Central American leaders what a Democratic Party policy would be with regard to Nicaragua, based on an end to contra aid and on containment of the Sandinista revolution through political, economic and diplomatic means, rather than military means."

The "Nicaragua debate" in the U.S. hourgeoisie is a replay of post-World War II differences between Democratic policies of "containment" and Republican "rollback" of Communism. Beyond the common ground of anti-Sovietism, both sides represent the interests of an American empire in retreat. Iran/Contragate was the product of a government desperately trying to get around massive opposition (including in the ruling class) to intervention in Central America, product of the humiliating U.S. *defeat* at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers a decade before. But while Reagan is down, Yankee imperialism is far from out. And attempts at appeasement only embolden the wounded beast. The only "peace" that will be achieved in Central America by sacrificing the revolution is a "peace of the cemeteries."

This blood-drenched isthmus has long endured the abject poverty of capitalist/landlord rule under the military boot. *Two hundred thousand* people have been killed by the death squads and mercenary armies in the last decade, and more than three million have become refugees. Genuine peace for the Central American masses can only come through revolutionary victory over their oppressors. And that requires common struggle against imperialism with the working class and minorities in the United States. The fight against union-busting and racist terror at home must be part and parcel of a struggle against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive which threatens to take all humanity into the abyss of nuclear war. Not concessions to Reagan's Central American puppets but sharp class struggle for socialist revolution led by internationalist workers parties: this is the only road to a just peace for the working people, poor and oppressed of the Americas.

Barricada Photos

January 1982: Angry demonstrators in Managua demand closing of La Prensa, voice of counterrevolution. Under new "peace" plan, CIA mouthpiece would be reopened.

Silence the Voice of Counterrevolution!

Managua has hailed the Guatemala plan as a "historic first step" and pledged to loyally carry out the provisions worked out with the presidents of countries where "democracy" is synonymous with death squads and military coups on orders from Washington. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has proclaimed as its banner a "mixed economy, pluralism and nonalignment," even writing this holy trinity into a new constitution promulgated last January. In a recent speech, FSLN comandante Bayardo Arce, one of the reputed "hards" in the Sandinista directorate, declared:

> "Should the agreements be met—and we will fight to see that they are—many of the social and political positions (of Nicaragua)...are going to change substantially."
>
> —London *Independent*, 24 August

And Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez stated that if the U.S. stops funding the contras, the Sandinistas would issue decrees eliminating the state of emergency and reopening the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* even before the November 7 deadline stipulated in the accords.

Comrades report from Nicaragua that the "peace agreement" was front-page news in the FSLN's *Barricada* for days, and there is understandably a yearning for an end to the killing. But the Sandinistas have not publicized that the accords call for an amnesty to the contras. If implemented, it would mean that sadistic killers like "Attila," "Mercenario" and "Exterminator" and the CIA's paid front men like Adolfo Calero and Alfonso Robelo would be walking the streets of Managua. Nor have they spelled out that several thousand National Guardsmen still in jail for their crimes against the Nicaraguan people under the Somoza tyranny would be released. It was from escaped and released Guardsmen that the CIA first put together its bloody contra army. Instead of allowing these criminals to go free so they can kill again, they should be subject to the revolutionary justice of genuine people's tribunals!

One of the most controversial measures is the plan to reopen *La Prensa* and allow Radio Católica to broadcast again. For imperialist liberals this is *the* test of freedom of the press, a key plank of bourgeois democracy. Costa Rican president Arias has sent a message to Ortega that this matter is "not open to interpretation." But the Nicaraguan masses have a very different view of these mouthpieces for counterrevolution. *La Prensa* was closed in June 1985 after Reagan imposed a trade boycott on Nicaragua and the U.S. Congress voted military aid to the contras. These measures were a virtual U.S. declaration of war, and in wartime enemy propaganda is just as much a weapon as guns. Last spring it was revealed that *La Prensa* had received $100,000 from Reagan's "National Endowment for Democracy," a CIA conduit. But the Nicaraguan masses didn't need Contragate hearings to find this out. In January 1982 Managua's workers and poor demonstrated against the contra propaganda being spewed out by the rag they called "La PrenCIA." The protesters, held back by the Sandinista police, were fired on from inside the newspaper.

Commenting on the closure of the right-wing press by the Petrograd Soviet following the February 1917 revolution in Russia, Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "The press does not stand above society; the conditions of its existence during a revolution reflect the progress of the revolution itself. When the latter assumes, or may assume, the character of a civil war, not one of the warring camps will permit the existence of a hostile press within the sphere of its influence—no more than it will let escape from its control the arsenals, the railroads, the printing establishments. In a revolutionary struggle the press is only one kind of weapon. The right to speech is certainly not higher than the right to life. A revolution takes the latter too into its hands. We may lay this down as a law: Revolutionary governments are the more liberal, the more tolerant, the more 'magnanimous' to the reaction, the shallower their program, the more they are bound up with the past, the more conservative their role. And the converse: the more gigantic their tasks and the greater the number of vested rights and interests they are to destroy, the more concentrated will be the revolutionary power, the more naked its dictatorship. Whether this is a good thing or bad, it is by these roads that humanity has thus far moved forward."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932)

If today the Sandinistas allow the voice of the CIA and the contras to reopen, it will be because they are seeking to turn back the revolution, to enforce a counterrevolutionary "peace" of the exploiters.

Mexico or Cuba?

Foreseeing what Nicaragua would look like if the Sandinistas agreed to enforce the Arias plan, "even reluctantly," the London *Economist* (15 August) wrote: "it will become a one-party state with many pluralist trappings (a fair description of Mexico too) and little ability to interfere with its neighbours. That may not be ideal, but it is acceptable." The Mexican comparison has also been raised by Daniel Ortega himself, responding to charges that Sandinista Nicaragua was following the "Cuban road." In an interview with *Time* magazine last year, Ortega said: "The revolution is most like the Mexican Revolution when it started" (see "Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 428, 15 May).

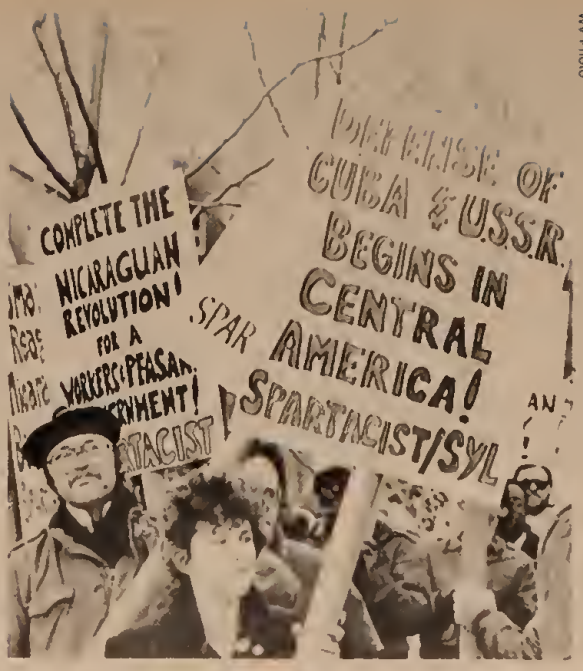
What would it mean for Nicaragua to go the "Mexican road"? It would require the *reconsolidation of a capitalist state* following the end of the contra war. When the FSLN rode into Managua on 19 July 1979 after a Sandinista-led mass insurrection, they had smashed the governing apparatus of the previous one-family capitalist state. The National Guard, the backbone of the Somoza dictatorship, ran for the borders in fear of popular vengeance for their heinous crimes. But despite the Reaganauts' talk of "Sandino-Communism," the victorious FSLN did not establish a new proletarian state based on collective property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. These petty-bourgeois nationalists were not wedded to either socialist or capitalist property forms. Like the victorious Cuban guerrillas led by Fidel Castro who conquered Havana 20 years before, they could go either way. In the Cuban case, the intransigent opposition of U.S. imperialism combined with the weakness of the local bourgeoisie and the absence of a working class fighting for power in its own name led swiftly to the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The Sandinistas are still trying to follow a "middle road," to stop the revolution halfway. The all-sided onslaught orchestrated by the Reagan regime in Washington was pushing Nicaragua

toward economic collapse, presumably as a prelude to a U.S. invasion to wipe out a "Communist beachhead on the American mainland." But in the aftermath of Iran/Contragate, the Reaganauts' ability to carry out their threats is doubted by everyone. Will the counterpart to the demise of Reagan's contras be Sandinista subservience to the Central American bourgeois rulers and the re-establishment of capitalist rule in Managua?

If so, it will be a bloody business and could well split the Sandinista leadership. Many Sandinista directors of nationalized factories taken over from the Somoza family show appetites to become part of a new bourgeois regime. But they face a militant working class, however weakened by the ravages of inflation and massive shortages. And the workers are armed. One of the main obstacles to a U.S. invasion has been the fact that more than 300,000 arms are in the hands of Nicaraguan civilians, predominantly workers and peasants. These heroic fighters brought down Somoza and have beaten the contra scum every time they have crossed the border from their lairs in Honduras and Costa Rica.

To see what Nicaragua going down the Mexican road would mean, one need only look at what it meant in Mexico. The "Institutional Revolutionary Party" which has held power for more than half a century grew out of the suppression of the peasant revolution which swept Mexico from 1910 to 1917. Like Nicaragua today, they boasted of having the "most advanced constitution in the Americas," which decreed land reform, labor rights and various other social rights. But this constitution was a fig leaf for the assassination of Emiliano Zapata in 1918 and Pancho Villa five years later, and the destruction of their peasant armies. The workers' "Red Battalions," which had been used by the demagogic northern landowners against the peasants, were dissolved. In late 1916, the death penalty was decreed for strikes and nine months later a militant oil workers strike in Tampico was broken by force of arms. These were the origins of the semi-bonapartist regime which has been the chief enforcer of IMF-ordered austerity on the Mexican workers and poor.



WV Photo

Central America: Front line of bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

The consolidation of a bourgeois state in Nicaragua today would likewise be over the corpses of the most conscious proletarian militants. Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires that it be completed by expropriating the bourgeoisie—the contras' internal "fifth column"—and extended throughout Central America and beyond. Providing aid to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents and militant workers is vital to preserve the gains won by the Nicaraguan masses. To carry out this internationalist program of class struggle rather than nationalist class collaboration requires the leadership of Trotskyist parties forged on the program of permanent revolution.

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

Part of the pressure on the Sandinistas pushing them toward acceptance of the Guatemala "peace" accords has come from the Soviet Union. For the past two years, the Soviet bloc has been the main source of oil supplies for Nicaragua—after its Latin American "allies" Mexico and Venezuela cut them off for non-payment. The USSR has also provided hundreds of millions of rubles worth of military equipment to Managua. This Soviet aid is a matter of life and death for Nicaragua. While Democrats and Republicans alike denounced Ortega for going to Moscow in May 1985 to obtain these vital supplies, the Spartacist League proclaimed: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" And we initiated our modest "Nicabucks" campaign to raise dollars from American students and workers to defend the embattled revolution.

On August 1, Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega announced that the Sandinista regime was proceeding with preparations to receive Soviet-made MIGs. Simultaneously Nicaraguan spokesmen reported that they will have a 40 percent shortfall in their oil supplies despite deliveries from the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Last week Managua doubled the price of gasoline. At the same time, according to the London *Guardian* (26 August), a Soviet spokesman denied it is cutting back on oil deliveries and said "it is willing to negotiate an increase in supplies."

In any case, aid to Nicaragua is not charity but a matter of self-defense against predatory imperialism which yearns to overturn the historic gains of the Russian October Revolution. Unfortunately, the Soviet and Cuban leaderships, reflecting the nationalist outlook of bureaucracies sitting atop proletarian property forms, have consistently opposed the deepening and extension of the Nicaraguan Revolution. To give in to American demands that Russia abandon Sandinista Nicaragua, as Reagan suggested last week in Los Angeles as a condition for a bogus "arms control" agreement, would be a betrayal of the defense of the Soviet Union. And the Arias "peace" plan, should it be implemented, will only embolden imperialism in its appetites to "roll back Communism" around the globe. The defense of revolutionary gains anywhere on the planet can be achieved not through illusions of "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism but only through world socialist revolution. ■

UAW...

(continued from page 16)

company in the world! But the pattern set by Solidarity House over the last decade is to slice the UAW into two-tier unions and two-tier locals.

Auto workers can, smash the givebacks and defend their jobs through militant joint labor action. For plant occupations—sit-down strikes—to stop plant closings! For an industrywide strike to take back the givebacks! One out, all out—Reopen the Chrysler contract—Strike the Big 3!

UAW Tops—Company Cops

The capitalist press expressed pleasure at the "restrained" response of the UAW International tops to GM's demands. No wonder. UAW president Owen Bieber is a loyal member of the Chrysler board of directors, occupying the seat that former UAW chief Doug Fraser paid for with the jobs of tens of thousands of Chrysler workers. (His predecessor, Leonard Woodcock, was rewarded for shafting auto workers with an ambassadorship to Peking.) Since 1979, 30 percent of the union has been wiped out. These company cops have spent years in an *open* alliance with the auto bosses against the UAW membership and Japanese, Korean and Mexican auto workers. Their only answer to the "rust bowl" decay of American capitalism is racist protectionism aimed at foreign workers.

Even as Bieber sits in negotiations, GM is slashing 30,000 more jobs across the country. The second shifts at the Fleetwood and Clark Street Cadillac assembly plants in Detroit were axed in June; the plants are slated to close in December. At the Norwood, Ohio assembly and stamping plants 6,000 workers were thrown on the street August 26. And while the UAW tops push protectionism, fueling anti-Asian frenzy, a Cincinnati court *acquitted* the killer of Vincent Chin on May 1. Chin, a Chinese American, was beaten to death with a baseball bat in Detroit five years ago by Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his nephew.

Scheinwald/AP

UAW top Bieber (left) glad-hands GM boss Warren, screws workers.

In a falling out among thieves, Canadian UAW director Robert White split the union and formed the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) in 1984. A protégé of Doug Fraser, White offers nothing but the same pro-capitalist betrayals as Bieber, with a heavy dose of Canadian nationalism thrown in. CAW contracts covering 65,000 workers at the Big 3 in Canada also expire September 14, but one of the UAW tops' contract demands is to define work sent to Canada as "outsourcing" and "protect" UAW jobs by laying off Canadian auto workers! UAW GM department head Donald Ephlin justified the anti-working-class demand: "The labor cost differential ($8 an hour) is probably greater between us and Canada than between us and Hiroshima"! (*Detroit News*, 30 July). This racist company stooge expresses his solidarity with the atom bombing of Hiroshima, just a week before the anniversary of that hideous slaughter!

Build a Workers Party!

Auto workers are paying a terrible price for the shackling of the UAW to the Democratic Party and the program of trade war. The auto bosses continue to increase exploitation on the shop floor, and now they're talking of slashing another quarter million jobs in the next three years! The GM-Toyota plant in Fremont, California is Bieber's model for what jobs are left: job classifications eradicated, massive speedup and a gutted grievance system. And the much-touted Mazda plant is opening in the old Ford Flatrock foundry *without a union*, as UAW tops cave in to legal threats by the union-busting Right to Work Committee.

Meanwhile, fake-leftists such as the Communist Party (CP) and the Workers World Party (WWP), cravenly loyal to the pro-company labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party, push the illusion that capitalist politicians will legislate the defense of jobs. The WWP-supported Stop Plant Closings Committee is touring Democratic Congressman John Conyers and supporting his phony-baloney bill for "notification" of runaway plants. And the CP explicitly says "Legislation to stop plants from moving to Mexico is what is needed" (*People's Daily World*, 12 March).

Instead of this racist protectionism, a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement would fight the plant closings at GM with mass plant occupations—hold the bosses' property hostage! A militant, national auto strike should be the impulse for the massive fight needed for jobs for all—a sliding scale of hours and wages—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Such a leadership would forge common action with workers from Japan to South Africa, opposing chauvinist import quotas and "Buy American" schemes. It would fight to break the labor movement from the Democratic Party, sweeping out the labor traitors and building an internationalist, revolutionary workers party. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

VW Workers Win! Solidarity with Ford Strikers!

Mexican Auto Workers Play Hardball

VW strikers win "with bare fists": 10,000 marched through Mexico City in July 24 strike rally. WV Photo

PUEBLA, Mexico—For almost two months, the 10,500 workers at Volkswagen de México's giant plant here waged hard class struggle against the country's largest auto manufacturer. Management wanted to import Reagan-style union-busting: in the face of triple-digit inflation, VW demanded a 15 percent *pay cut* (the first company in Mexico to do so) and the firing of 730 workers. But Volkswagen workers, who have seen their real wages slashed by almost half in the last five years, were not about to take it. The union demanded a 100 percent wage hike and no layoffs. They occupied the factory and ran up the the red and black flag, traditional symbol of labor struggle in Mexico. Repeatedly, thousands massed in the Puebla city center, marched on the capital and blocked the highways.

And they won! After 57 days Volkswagen workers achieved a victory as the company abandoned demands for firing and cutbacks, granting a 78 percent pay hike, backdated to July 1, and half pay for days on strike. As we go to press, a second Mexican auto strike by 3,800 workers at Ford's Cuautitlán plant north of Mexico City was continuing. The Detroit-based multinational was

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Take Back the Givebacks—Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!

UAW Tops Play by the Bosses' Rules

United Auto Workers union members have been ravaged by eight years of givebacks and layoffs. As the UAW approaches its September 14 contract deadline with Ford and General Motors, workers in South Africa, Korea and Mexico are engaged in pitched battles with mining, steel and auto bosses. With the Big 3 wallowing in profits, and union-buster Reagan mired in one imperialist misadventure after another, *now* is the time for militant labor and black struggle to break the disastrous cycle of concessions and job slashing which have decimated Detroit and stripped tens of thousands of auto workers of their jobs.

Even as Ford and GM rake in record profits, they are planning to put the finishing touches to their rape of the UAW: GM's August 28 contract "proposal" calls for massive cuts in health care benefits, a two-tier wage structure, pay cuts for workers in parts plants, and more wage cuts at "unprofitable" plants during the contract! The industrywide contract was smashed at Chrysler in 1979. Now GM intends to reduce the UAW to a collection of warring locals, each undercutting the other in a desperate bid for jobs.

On August 31, the UAW selected Ford as the "target" company for "pattern" bargaining. After throwing 43 percent of its workforce on the street in the last eight years, Ford now proposes to freeze wages and benefits. Ford, which is sitting on a cash hoard of *$9.14 billion*, is the most profitable auto

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Detroit, July 27: UAW protesters outside GM headquarters. Detroit News

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 436 | 18 September 1987

Arms Train Mutilates Protester

Andy Perri

John Skerce

Pacifist protester Brian Willson run over by munitions train at Concord Naval Weapons Station, September 1. "It was attempted murder," said his wife.

Contra War Comes Home

CONCORD, California—It was a train of death. Ollie North was on lookout, Reagan was in the driver's seat. They saw the enemy—antiwar protester Brian Willson—and ran him down. Leaving Concord's Naval Weapons Station, the arms train *accelerated*. Willson, a 45-year-old Vietnam vet who was kneeling on the tracks, tried to get out of the way, but the train hit him and dragged him 25 feet. One of Willson's feet flew off, his other leg was dangling by a thread. His skull was fractured, and his brains could be seen through the hole in his head. "They've killed my dad!" screamed his teenage stepson.

As Willson was lying bloody and mutilated on the tracks Navy paramedics rushed over from the base and then stood around doing nothing. His wife had to stop the bleeding in his severed leg with her skirt. A Navy ambulance *refused* to take him to the base medical clinic. He had to wait *40 minutes* for a county ambulance to take him to a hospital in Walnut Creek, several miles from the Concord Naval Station. It was miraculous that he survived at all. "It was attempted murder," accused Willson's wife, Holley Rauen. "They weren't going to stop."

Reagan's contra war in Central America is coming home. Last May Ben Linder, a young American engineer, was killed by the CIA-organized contra terrorists while helping bring electricity to a Nicaraguan village. In July Salvadoran death squads kidnapped and tortured antiwar activists in Los Angeles. Now a pacifist protester is run over by a military train in broad daylight and all America can watch it in horror on the nightly TV news.

In their frustrated rage the contras' godfathers in Washington are lashing out at what they see as the enemy within. Six years of counterrevolutionary war have not toppled the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Despite all of Reagan's high-pressure salesmanship, a majority of the American

continued on page 10

Philippines on Knife Edge

Report from Manila

SYDNEY, Australia, September 10—We print below an eyewitness report from two trade-unionist supporters of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand who spent several weeks in the Philippines just before the August 28 attempted coup. Though the made-in-the-USA Aquino regime narrowly survived this latest and bloodiest coup, it has been plunged deeper into a mess as class polarisation sharpens in the country. The coup is the latest demonstration that stable bourgeois democracy is an impossibility in the Philippines. Over 3,000 troops, mainly from elite units, led by Colonel "Gringo" Honasan came within an ace of success, briefly seizing key points in Manila and the provinces, including the second-largest city, Cebu.

Apparently intending to purge army chief Ramos and "leftists" in the cabinet while keeping Cory herself as figurehead, they planned a bloody crackdown on leftist, working-class and peasant organisations. While Ramos this time obeyed Aquino's "shoot to kill" order and put down the revolt, "Gringo" and an estimated 2,000 "rebel" troops remain at large and sympathy for the mutineers is widespread even among "loyal" officers. Most of the thousand or so captured were released after spending a few leisurely days aboard navy ships in Manila Bay, and the government immediately genuflected to the military by authorising a 60 per cent wage rise.

The coup was triggered by an August 26 mass strike which paralysed Metro Manila in protest at the government's 20 per cent petroleum price rise. Honasan and his "Reform the Armed Forces Movement" (RAM) of "Rambo" officers had played key roles in the coup which installed Aquino in February

continued on page 8

Sygma

Cops and marines attack peasants demonstrating in Manila, January 1987. Sixteen were killed, 100 wounded.

"Hang In There, Spartacists"

19 July 1987
Palo Alto, CA

Dear Comrades,

I just read the Spartacist bashing editorial on pg. 2 of the 7/20 "FRONTLINE". This publication clearly represents an extreme of reformism, typified by their enthusiasm for Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, and ordinarily would not be worth reading, much less getting excited enough to write a letter about. This time, however, I was drawn in by a local activist with whom I have an ongoing dialogue, who was relishing the alleged breakup of the SL....

I guess it's safe to assume there is some extraordinary internal strife within the SL. The quoted title "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture" seems quite on target to me. I can certainly believe that some members are losing heart in this extended period of reaction, and further, that the complex problem of gaining the support of the working masses will produce irresolvable differences of opinion, but count me amongst those who see the membership as the greatest heroes of our time. As an (reluctant) outsider, perhaps I can offer an encouraging perspective. Because of the party's program and resultant discipline, you have managed to consistently publish the best publications on the left for over 20 years. Considering your small size, and the level of personal sacrifice required to carry forth with this task in the face of unrelenting isolation, this is a Herculean accomplishment. The work of the PDC has earned the reluctant respect of even your enemies. During a period of profound reaction, you stand tall with the banner of revolutionary Marxism, upholding a rich tradition of the highest achievements of human culture. Dropping that flag would be a grave loss to humanity.

My only criticisms of the party are tactical, and pale compared to my support for the elements of your program. I write this letter in the hope that it will influence some dissident elements to consider what a precious organization they belong to, and cause them to double up their efforts to build and strengthen it.

Towards Revolutionary Conjuncture!
Walter

The following letter was sent in reply by an SL spokesman.

4 September 1987

Dear Walter,

I read with some concern your letter to us of 19 July, because you are self-evidently a long-time friend of the Spartacist League.

To get to the point immediately, "Frontline" is full of Stalinist shit. Because we are shortly to have a National Conference, and because we thought we had a particularly good conference document, and because there was no particular question in dispute, we thought we could treat our conference document publicly. Which we did. I've asked that a copy be sent you.

Certainly the Reagan years have been wearing on us as a revolutionary Marxist organization. Our two biggest overt problems have been that we were going broke and weren't getting any new members. It took us about a year after making a too-big cut in our sustaining pledge (in compensation for earlier inflation) to get our finances back in control. But that's been okay for three or four months now. And lately, around the time of the Contra murder of Ben Linder, or Contragate if you prefer, young people have been coming around and joining up at a rate faster than older comrades wear out.

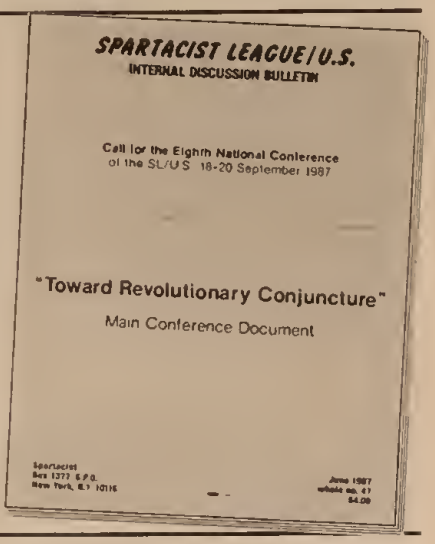
The real point behind the "Frontline" article is that virtually as an article of faith Stalinists *never* tell the truth about their problems. The great exception is Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU which lifted a corner of the veil, and now maybe Gorbachev is going to lift another.

Our political program has been strikingly verified over and over. We are a very small organization in a very powerful capitalist country. If we didn't have a lot of problems, we'd be liars.

Sincerely,
Jim Robertson

To get your own copy of "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," send $5 (includes postage) to:

**Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116**



TROTSKY

Revolutionary Road to Peace

LENIN

The fight against imperialist militarism and wars such as the U.S. is waging against Nicaragua must be organically linked to the class struggle and the revolutionary mobilization of the working class for state power. As Lenin and Zinoviev wrote during World War I:

The temper of the masses in favour of peace often expresses the beginning of protest, anger and a realisation of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to utilise that temper. They will take a most ardent part in any movement and in any demonstration motivated by that sentiment, but they will not deceive the people with admitting the idea that a peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without plunder, and without the embryo of new wars among the present governments and ruling classes, is possible in the absence of a revolutionary movement. Such deception of the people would merely mean playing into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent governments and facilitating their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wants a lasting and democratic peace must stand for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie....

Imperialism is the epoch of the constantly increasing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of "Great" Powers; it is therefore impossible to fight for the socialist international revolution against imperialism unless the right of nations to self-determination is recognised. "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Marx and Engels). A proletariat that tolerates the slightest coercion of other nations by its "own" nation cannot be a socialist proletariat.

—V.I. Lenin and G.Y. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)

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No. 436 **18 September 1987**

On the Vanunu Trial: A Correction

12 September 1987

In our ongoing campaign to defend the Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* unfortunately had a grossly exaggerated comparison of the Zionist state persecution with Nazi Germany, saying that Vanunu is "treated like a prisoner in Demjanjuk's Trehlinka" (*WV* No. 435, 4 September). Trehlinka was a Nazi extermination camp in which people were literally sent to their deaths in the gas chambers moments after their arrival. Although the massacres organized at Shatila and Sabra Palestinian refugee camps during Israel's rape of Lebanon demonstrated that the Zionist state is capable of committing Nazi-like war crimes, Vanunu at least has a lawyer and a trial, even if most norms of juridical protocol are violated.

Independent
Mordechai Vanunu

Even *New York Times* columnist Flora Lewis felt compelled to protest the "kidnapping and star-chamber trial" of Vanunu. The hermetically sealed courtroom in which Vanunu stands trial for his life is so stifling as to make even his three-judge panel complain. Now one of the judges, who sits in *both* the case of Vanunu as well as that of Nazi death camp guard John Demjanjuk (the infamous "Ivan the Terrible" of Trehlinka), has suffered a heart attack. Therefore, the trials have been delayed for at least a month.

Israel has bent over backward to give to the sadistic Nazi butcher charged with crimes against humanity a completely open and public trial. Yet Vanunu, who courageously carried out a service for humanity by warning the world of Israel's doomsday machine, is gagged and tried under draconian secrecy where even to report about the proceedings is considered espionage. But the few legal rights accorded this heroic individual means that we have time, though not much, to mobilize international working-class protest to save his life and begin to repay the debt we all owe Mordechai Vanunu.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

UPI

Liotta/NY Post

Callan/Brooklyn Paper

From left: Michael Griffith lynched in Howard Beach; Michael Washington and Ewan Lawrence beaten in Canarsie; Bernadette Crowley set afire in Prospect Park.

Racist Terror Stalks New York Streets

Since the hideous lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach last year, New York City has been a tinderbox. Racist mayor Koch and his black police commissioner Ward threatened a "long hot summer" against blacks and Hispanics, preparing for massive deployment of cops in the ghetto, tracking black militants and monitoring black radio shows for "subversive" talk. Since the end of August there's been a new wave of racist attacks with mobs of bat-wielding white punks descending on isolated groups of blacks, beating up the homeless and torching people sleeping in Prospect Park. Fascists are feeding off this racist rampage and are now openly organizing in Queens. *The workers movement must take the lead in mobilizing mass labor/black defense against this racist terror stalking the streets of New York!*

It was almost Howard Beach all over again in Canarsie, Brooklyn on September 2. Three black teenagers on their way to the bus stop from their jobs as supermarket stock clerks were set upon by more than two dozen armed, screaming whites. The black youths, who had been waiting outside a bagel shop for two female coworkers, one white and one black, told the women to go on ahead, then tried to make their own escape. They were chased for six blocks and finally surrounded by the lynch mob who moved in on them with bats, a lead pipe, sticks and a broken fluorescent light.

The mob was out for blood. "We want to kill these niggers," the racists shouted just before the attack. "I thought it was all over for us," David Smiley told the black weekly *City Sun* (9 September). "I said to myself, 'if this is going to be it, I might as well go down fighting'." By the time the cops showed up the cowardly attackers had fled, but not before one got a sharp crack in the face from a bat seized by the victims. A week later, on September 9, five black and Hispanic teenagers were attacked with sticks and bottles by a gang of white youths in the predominantly white Carroll Gardens section of Brooklyn. And the next day in Ozone Park, Queens, adjacent to Howard Beach, a black youth delivering Sears & Roebuck flyers had his skull fractured by a pack of racists wielding baseball bats.

In the midst of this frenzy, jury selection began in the murder/manslaughter trial of four of the Howard Beach killers. Michael Griffith and two black companions were savagely beaten by the racist mob which then chased Griffith onto Shore Parkway and into the path of an oncoming car. Now it's the *victims* who are on trial. Even though ringleader Jon Lester admitted crying out "let's go kill" the "niggers," the defense is claiming the three black men who walked into a Howard Beach pizzeria were "dangerous people coming into a peaceful community." When the "prosecution" announced last month that one of the victims had pulled out a knife in self-defense, a lawyer for the killers snarled that this showed "the fangs of the true villains."

From the very beginning they've gone after the black survivors. Timothy Grimes and Cedric Sandiford. When they refused to cooperate with a whitewash by the racist cops and the Queens D.A., their black lawyers were vilified. No wonder they were reluctant—the cops made them out to be criminals, put a tail on Grimes and Sandiford, hoping to tag them on morals or drug charges, in a self-evident attempt to cover for the murderers. Now hoping that after nine months the vivid memory of the lynching has faded, a full-scale campaign of character assassination against the black victims has been launched.

WV Photo

NYC Labor Black League and Spartacist supporters protest whitewash "trial" last January of killer cop Sullivan, who gunned down black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment.

A Necktie from Koch

Koch moved fast after the black youth were attacked in Canarsie. He had the kids brought to City Hall for lunch and a photo op the very next day. The media trumpeted how Michael Washington told the mayor he'd settle for a "sincere apology" from the racists, not a peep about Ewan Lawrence wanting to press charges. Hizzoner gave each of the victims an official city necktie and told them the next time they should "show the tie to the attackers and tell them they are under the protection of the Mayor—and then beat the shit out of them." Tell it to the NYPD. Koch's killer cops are leading the racist onslaught against the ghettos and barrios. Armies of police seal off whole blocks—dry runs for martial law under the guise of "drug raids." In 1986 alone, Koch's cops killed 24 people—21 were black or Hispanic. The climate of racist terror is orchestrated straight from the top. And nobody's safe.

Then there's Koch's vicious campaign for involuntary "hospitalization" of the homeless. This, too, is fueling the racists. On the night of August 26, four white punks came upon two huddled figures in Prospect Park, doused them with gasoline and set them afire while they were asleep. The victims awoke screaming, but managed to douse the flames—Bernadette Crowley was rushed to the hospital with extensive burns. This time the white kids attacked white victims, *but the would-be killers had a chemically pure racist mindset*. The papers ran a profile: "Good kids," the neighbors said. They "just wanted to create some mayhem," alibied the chief of Brooklyn detectives, explaining the supposed "lack of motive." If you're poor, homeless, vulnerable—for these sadists *you're black!* Such "good kids"—maybe they'll grow up to be cops.

And now the fascists are trying to cash in on the racist terror. After the Howard Beach lynching, "mod" KKKer David Duke showed up at the pizzeria to proclaim (borrowing a line from Democrat Jimmy Carter) that communities have the right to maintain "ethnic purity." Recently, the liberal *Newsday* (5 August) gave a full-page spread complete with a robed-and-hooded pinup of fascist KKK "eyclops" Hank Schmidt to publicize his new "White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" headquarters in Astoria, Queens. These Kluxers should get the treatment that KKK "imperial wizard" Wilkinson got in Boston in October 1982 when he tried to capitalize on the racist backlash against school integration. The hooded fascists were pelted with eggs by an angry jeering crowd who rode them out of town.

Now a coalition of civil rights, religious and community organizations headed by the New York Civil Liberties Union has announced a candlelight vigil and march through Canarsie on September 20 to "speak out against a continued atmosphere of racial tension in New York City." (The ACLU has defended the "right" of Nazis to stage racist provocations under the pretext of "free speech" for fascist terrorists.) This liberal "witness" will put defenseless protesters at the mercy of the racists in a mean lily-white enclave, relying on the "protection" of the NYPD. When a similar "prayerful observance" was held in Howard Beach a week after the lynching, hundreds of racists itching for blood lined the streets screaming epithets; only the 106th Precinct stun gun cops stood between them.

The urgent need is for a massive show of power by organized labor at the head of the black and Hispanic population of this city determined to make the streets of New York City safe! Last December, following the Howard Beach lynchings, the Spartacist League issued a statement demanding: "Mobilize Labor and Minorities to Stop Racist Attacks!" Such action requires a political fight against both parties of racist capitalism. Militant transit workers called for integrated union defense squads to patrol the streets, and fought for their union to "take the lead in mobilizing NYC labor in staging a powerful demonstration of opposition to and hatred of the racist killers throughout this city." Today this is ever more urgent! For labor/black/Hispanic defense against racist terror! ■

Victory to Salinas/Modesto Cannery Strike!

SALINAS, California—Four hundred cannery workers here are on strike against the Tennessee-based United Foods Inc. In the words of a leaflet by the Strikers Committee of Teamsters Local 890, the company "seems bent on bringing the Southern plantation, non-union, slavery conditions to the frozen food industry here in California." The strikers are overwhelmingly women, mainly Hispanic as well as Asian, black and white. A flying picket squad started the strike: 250 United Foods workers in Modesto, on strike since July 1 against massive wage and benefit cuts, sent pickets to the Salinas plant and the workers here walked out on July 30.

At an August 22 strike march and rally, unionists denounced the company for slashing wages at its Modesto plant from $7.06 to $5.05 an hour. After two years of working under an "extended" contract, Salinas workers saw that if United Foods succeeded in doing in their Modesto brothers and sisters, they would be next. Now the profit-bloated company ($27 million in the first quarter of 1987) has "proposed" to cut Salinas workers' wages as well, plus slashing benefits almost 50 percent. The strikers' courageous solidarity points to the need for *united strike action now* by all cannery and farm workers throughout the area, to *smash* the employers' offensive.

WV Photo

Cannery workers march through Salinas, August 22.

United Foods is following the anti-union, wage-cutting recipe pushed by cannery owners in nearby Watsonville, who whipsawed plant against plant (with the connivance of local and International Teamster bureaucrats). The Watsonville bosses' union-busting plans were foiled by a hard 18-month strike, which ended in March, but the industry-wide wage-slashing drive continues. Workers at Watsonville's Richard Shaw cannery are already bracing for a fight when their contract—shoved down their throats early in the Watsonville strike—expires in February.

WV Photo

Watsonville strikers and supporters, November 1985. Their 18-month strike foiled bosses' union-busting plans.

Right now the solid Salinas strike has virtually shut down the plant. Local 890 Secretary-Treasurer Jacinto Roy Mendoza told *WV* that the company's skeleton crew consists of less than a dozen scabs and production has stopped. But the cannery bosses are among the most bitter enemies of labor in California. Key to victory will be mobilization of Local 890's own *25,000*-strong membership—which includes 11,000 Teamster farm workers—as well as other area unionists. *Mass picket lines* are the answer to scab violence. Any attempt by the company to start up production should be answered by *hot-cargoing* (refusing to handle) scab produce by farm workers, railway workers, truckers, warehousemen and retail clerks.

Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers (UFW) also faces the threat of wage slashing, and warns that a strike may result. With growers screaming about a "labor shortage" due to the new Simpson-Rodino immigration law, UFW *and* Teamster farm workers are in a strong position for powerful, united strike action. Class-struggle militants must fight to overcome the divisions fostered by past Teamster raids on the UFW and the betrayals of both unions' bureaucracies. In his latest act of prostration, Chavez postponed a September 6 UFW rally in Salinas in order to greet the pope's visit to California. And UFW tops scandalously ally with the racist *migra*—union vice president Dolores Huerta took part in an Immigration Service seminar with growers in July. Chavez-style on-your-knees pacifism and class collaboration won't win strikes; militant class struggle will.

Scab Violence and Police Strikebreaking

A contingent of veterans of the Watsonville cannery strike attended the August 22 union rally in Salinas. Gloria Betancourt, who was president of the Watsonville Strikers Committee, told the crowd: "In this strike you will learn what we learned: that there is no justice for the worker; that the law is for the bosses, that the police exist to protect the scabs, not us." There were over 600 arrests during the Watsonville strike, and union activists Pedro Alvarez, Miguel González, Carlos Hernández and José Antonio Maciel still face serious frame-up charges. Cannery workers also face racist company harassment in the form of "ID checks" for the new "immigration control" law. Labor militants must demand: *Drop the charges against Watsonville strikers! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!*

Salinas striker Lupe Alvarado told *WV* that the police arrested her and a friend on the picket line on August 19 on a scab's say-so; they are accused of "vandalism" for supposedly scratching the scab's car. Yet, Alvarado said, shortly thereafter the cops merely cited and did not arrest a scab who attacked three strikers, including a pregnant woman; the victims required medical attention. Salinas strikers are grieving over the loss of a union sister. On August 5, 65-year-old striker Aleja Razo died of a heart attack on the picket line. Razo came to Salinas from Durango, Mexico 35 years ago. She worked on the line at United Foods packing vegetables for 15 years. This courageous union sister died defending her union and her class. *Workers Vanguard* extends working-class solidarity and sympathy to Aleja Razo's family and fellow unionists who honor her memory and continue her fight.

At the August 22 rally, Western Conference of Teamsters representative John Blake hailed workers fighting for union rights from South Africa to South Korea, where "yesterday one of the strikers died, killed on the picket line" by the police. Referring to the Reagan/Meese "Justice" Department's attempt to seize control of the Teamsters, he noted:

> "Here in America, we face the government trying to take over our union movement. If we allow the government to come in and take over our labor unions, you're going to find that you'll never be allowed to strike. We've seen what this administration has done, from the destruction of the air traffic controllers to the destruction of the unions in the mines of Arizona."

The all-sided assault has been carried out by Reagan *and* the Democrats, and the bosses couldn't have done it without the collaboration of their labor lieutenants in the union bureaucracy—from the Teamster tops who hacked Reagan to the hilt, to the "liberal" labor traitors who have hled the working class with give-backs. We say: Feds hands off the Teamsters! Labor must break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a class-struggle workers party!

The barons of California agribusiness have long considered Ronald Reagan their man in the state house and now the White House. Now Reagan's on the ropes. The time is ripe for an upsurge of class struggle, through independent mobilization of workers and all the oppressed against the companies backed by their courts, cops and capitalist politicians. Victory to the Salinas/Modesto cannery strike! ■

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SL National Conference Bulletin Discussion:

On Gorbachev's Russia and Political Revolution

We print below further contributions to the discussion of the Spartacist League's draft national conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture." The section of the document on "The Russian Question and Gorbachev" was published in WV *No 432 (10 July). To obtain a postpaid copy of the document, send $5 to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.*

I disagree with the third and concluding point in comrade Meyers' "On Proletarian Political Revolution" (reprinted in *WV* No. 435) and believe it contradicts the analysis contained in the document. Despite the qualifying final sentence, the substance of the argument, as I read it, makes mass proletarian radicalization in the West a *necessary precondition* for political revolution in the Soviet Union. The perceived remoteness of socialist revolution in West Europe and especially the U.S. is certainly an *important factor* inhibiting political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy. But it is *not* an all-powerful and decisive factor impervious to internal developments.

Comrade Meyers appears to disregard the *objective contradictions* in Soviet society manifested in and aggravated by Gorbachev's policies. Thus it is not simply a question of Soviet workers "reasserting their revolutionary traditions," as he puts it. This is too idealistic a way of viewing class struggle in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's economic policies, dubbed *perestroika* (restructuring), go against the material interests of most Soviet workers (speedup, layoffs, inflation) and will markedly increase social and economic inequality. The effect of *perestroika* is bound to produce resistance from Soviet workers, not only advanced workers but also the more backward. The prevailing conditions of political liberalization (*glasnost*) make resistance all the more likely. Working-class unrest (e.g., strikes, protests) can disrupt and polarize the bureaucracy, creating the potential for organs of dual power. This essentially is what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 before developments were cut short by Soviet-bloc military intervention.

TASS from Sovfoto

Gorbachev's perestroika (restructuring) will mean speedup, layoffs, inflation, increased inequality for Soviet workers.

Similarly, there can develop in Russia an incipient proletarian political revolution *before* the mass of workers *consciously* challenge the ideology of "socialism in one country." Such an incipient political revolution in Russia would have a profound impact not only in East Europe but also within the West European workers movements. Thus the prospect of socialist revolution in the West would be directly, if not immediately, posed.

There exists a *mutual interdependence* between proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc and socialist revolution in West Europe and North America. Likewise, there is a mutual interdependence between national liberation and social revolution in the so-called Third World and proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers. But it is wrong to extend this recognition of mutual interdependence into some kind of geopolitical revolutionary schema.

Joseph Seymour
4 September 1987

* * *

I think comrade Seymour has misread my point, perhaps because it was insufficiently precise in its formulation. Certainly an incipient proletarian political revolution can develop in the Soviet Union as a result of the objective contradictions in Soviet society. But for that revolution to be victorious—i.e., to shatter the bureaucracy *and* consolidate soviet rule—requires a Trotskyist party that has won the mass of workers from their illusions in "socialism in one country" and their corollary defeatism regarding the prospect of international socialist revolution. Likewise in Hungary 1956 a Trotskyist party vying for leadership of the insurgent workers would have had to engage in sharp political combat against widespread nationalist influences within the proletariat.

In the case of the Soviet Union, military/economic powerhouse of the deformed/degenerated workers states, the question of how to defend the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialist designs has always been posed from 1917, not just from the outset of any new significant social and political upheaval. It will be the task of the Fourth International, both through mobilizing proletarians in other countries around defense of the Soviet Union and through political combat against competing tendencies in the Soviet Union, to win the Soviet workers to a revolutionary-internationalist program. This is not a question of setting out schematic preconditions but of recognizing our political tasks.

Len Meyers
12 September 1987

Australia: Shipyard Workers Defy Government

Strike at Cockatoo Island

SYDNEY, Australia, September 13—Members of the Federated Ironworkers Association (FIA) have struck one of the key yards for naval repair here. Last week over 100 ironworkers at Cockatoo Island dockyard walked out in defence of militant rigger/ironworker and Spartacist League (SL) supporter Neil Florrimell. His sacking was an act of blatant anti-communist and anti-union victimisation. It is the cutting edge of what every worker at Cockatoo expects as Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister Robert Hawke "revitalises" the war industry by attempting to break the unions at Cockatoo and Newcastle dockyards.

The 1,600-strong workforce at Cockatoo Island has been an historic bastion of militant unionism, despite numerous craft and trade divisions. Brandishing his union-busting election mandate, Hawke and his ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) lieutenants are moving to implement all-sided givebacks and job losses across the country, as laid out in their union/government no-strike Accord for "labour peace."

In an interview with *Australasian Spartacist* Florrimell said:

> "The bosses and their government have thrown down the gauntlet to the unions in this country. This is the Accord Mark III, brought to us by the ACTU. Hawke's cops in the union movement. Last year the BLF [Builders Labourers Federation] was smashed. Now the coal miners are facing the biggest attacks on their jobs and organisations in 50 years. Hawke is Reagan's man and the bosses' man. He is embarking on a massive naval build-up as part of his drive to war against the Soviet Union."

Florrimell is a symbol of everything the bosses and government want to destroy. Ever since 1985 when he led a struggle to successfully defy the scab-ridden craft divisions rampant at Cockatoo Island and throughout the labour movement, the bosses have been out to reverse that victory.

The Australian capitalists fear like the plague any expression of industrial solidarity which cuts across the deeply ingrained craft union lines. It was Hawke's mate Murdoch's viciously anti-union *Australian* (19 April 1985) which led the bourgeois press in expressing their fear that the "Cuckoo Island" disease could spread. Striking ironworkers must link up with Painters & Dockers who are out on strike in defence of their delegate, John Panuccio, who is also facing victimisation.

There is plenty of will to fight. What is necessary is a strategy to win. There should be an immediate mass meeting of all unions on the island to vote for an island-wide strike. This meeting must elect a strike committee to run the strike through to victory. The island must be shut down tight with militant mass picket lines! Occupy Cockatoo Island! No job losses—For a shorter work week with no loss in pay! All crafts and trades out together—For industrial unionism!

Australasian Spartacist

Ironworkers walked out in defense of militant Neil Florrimell.

For Class Struggle! Down with Arbitration!

Florrimell was sacked on September 1 and the island's ironworkers immediately went out on a two-day strike. On September 3 FIA organiser Collison orchestrated a four-day return to work, with overtime bans, sending the case to the bosses' Arbitration court, where it passed by two votes. The Combined Unions Shop Committee is sitting on its hands, trying to divert the struggle against the destruction of jobs into campaigning for some paltry severance pay. And in the midst of ironworkers' overtime bans to reinstate Florrimell the shop committee chairman, Bill Haggerty, allowed boilermakers to work "back to back" without ironworkers. Top management stated that they don't want to lose this one, and the foremen have threatened to strike if the unions win Florrimell's reinstatement.

At the following ironworkers' meeting on September 9 one-third voted for a motion calling for an island-wide strike. In the preceding days FIA militants and other unionists distributed over 500 copies of a leaflet by Florrimell. Half a dozen FIA militants who escorted Florrimell to the September 9 Arbitration court hearing left disgusted at this "kangaroo court," after it predictably let the bosses' sacking stand. The next morning the ironworkers by a two-thirds majority overturned the bureaucrats' defeatist policy and resumed their strike, determined to win. Class struggle is the only way to victory. This struggle has already forced together the two sections of the FIA on the island, historically divided by a Cold War split. Now they have been holding common meetings.

Florrimell's leaflet entitled "To Cockatoo Workers: An Injury to One Is an

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Smash the Contras—Complete the Revolution!

Nicaraguan Left and the "Peace" Fraud

It is barely a month since the five Central American presidents signed a "peace" pact in Guatemala City. The "Procedure for a Lasting Peace" seeks through negotiations to "roll back" revolution in the isthmus, something Ronald Reagan's contras, death squads and puppet armies have utterly failed to accomplish. This accord is a direct consequence of the spectacular implosion of the Reagan regime over the Iran/Contragate scandal: the agreement was worked out with the Democratic Party. And regional leaders are moving quickly to implement the pact before Reagan can undercut it with his latest plea for $270 million for his terrorist army. But ultimately the fate of the Central American revolution will be decided not by a piece of paper but on the battlefield of the class struggle.

The radical-nationalist Sandinista government of embattled Nicaragua, in particular, is multiplying its "gestures of good will" to the bourgeois opposition. Archbishop Obando y Bravo was named head of the National Reconciliation Commission supervising implementation of the accords. The contra cardinal promptly flew off to Miami to meet with the Polish Pope of counterrevolution and attend a conclave of Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles. Bishops Bismark Carballo and Pablo Vega, expelled from the country for lobbying Washington for "contra aid," have been allowed to return. Some right-wing politicians have been released from jail. And Sandinista president Daniel Ortega revoked a law confiscating the property of those who have fled the country or participated in contra activity.

While it would leave the Sandinista regime in place, the Guatemala accord requires government guarantees to the bourgeois opposition, amnesty for political prisoners, and elections to be supervised by that Yankee ministry of colonies, the OAS. And it would give the U.S. free rein to subvert the Nicaraguan Revolution from within. They are planning to reopen the voice of the internal contras, *La Prensa* (at least $100,000 from the CIA conduit NED), and allowing counterrevolutionary "religious" celebrations by Obando y Bravo (more than $125,000 from Oliver North). CIA contra leaders Arturo Cruz ($75,000 via Saudi Arabia) and Adolfo Calero ($100,000 from Contragate slush fund tBC) will be on the loose. And the cardinal is demanding release of more than 2,000 National Guardsmen jailed for their crimes against the Nicaraguan people under the tyrant Somoza.

This phony "peace" plan targets the gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Calero could demand return of his confiscated Coca-Cola factory, now run by a workers commission. Contra landowners will want their estates back. Releasing the Somozaist Guardsmen may spark sharp opposition among the Nicaraguan masses who lost more than 50,000 of their loved ones to these butchers. When Daniel Ortega spoke at a Sandinista public meeting in León last week, several mothers of soldiers killed in action against the contras were seated in the front row. One of them rose to say:

> "We do not agree that there should be a general amnesty. We don't want the people who killed our sons walking freely beside us on the street. It would make a mockery of the blood spilled by so many martyrs."

While the accords require cutting off aid to insurgents in El Salvador, one Salvadoran guerrilla leader vowed: "We will not put down our arms, now or ever."

From the moment they marched into Managua eight years ago, following the mass insurrection which drove out Somoza, the Sandinista National Liberation Front has proclaimed the holy trinity of a "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." The FSLN has subsidized Nicaraguan capitalists with dollars while the working masses are starving and allowed CIA-funded politicians and propaganda to circulate freely—all in hopes of achieving "détente" with Uncle Sam. On the anniversary of the revolution last July 19, Ortega recalled that when they met with Democrat Carter he "expressed concern for the future of the Revolution and we told him that actually it was up to his country." Carter came up with $75 million for Nicaragua, but when Reagan took office he launched a war on Managua. Ortega was telling the Democrats: Reagan wants to bump us off, Carter wanted to buy us off—why don't you make an offer?

WV Photo

Managua protest against Reagan's embargo in 1985. Banner reads: "I won't sell out. I won't give up. Let your mother cry uncle."

Morenoites Join Popular Front for "Peace"

Despite all the talk from Washington about "Sandino-Communism," the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN regime has tried to freeze the revolution in midstream, in a never-never land between capitalism and socialism. We have warned that this "peace" fraud could signal the start of reconsolidating a bourgeois state in Nicaragua (see "Smash the Contras—Complete the Revolution!" *WV* No. 435, 4 September). Not surprisingly, the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) and Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN) both hailed the sellout Guatemala accords. Following the Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," the PSN and PCN have been even more anxious than the Sandinistas for a deal with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Then there are two small parties that have stood to the left of the Sandinistas. These are the pro-Albanian Partido Marxista-Leninista (PML) and the ostensibly Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In the 1984 Nicaraguan elections and last year's debate over a new constitution, the PML and PRT claimed to stand for proletarian revolution, opposing the capitalist "mixed economy" and denouncing the Contadora "peace" proposals by the regional bourgeois powers. It was noteworthy, therefore, when the Mexican leftist daily *La Jornada* (26 August) reported that the PML and PRT had supported a left Christian Democrat, Mauricio Díaz, for membership on the "National Reconciliation Commission," responsible for implementing the treacherous Guatemala accords.

The Albanianite PML and Morenoite PRT were part of the "Group of Five," a popular front with the PSN and two small dissident liberal bourgeois parties who had participated in the '84 elections. (This was counterposed to the "Group of Six," a malodorous "unpopular front" joining the PCN and the CIA's rightist puppets who had boycotted the '84 elections.) The PRT reportedly issued a statement denouncing the Guatemala accords as "counterrevolutionary" and called for a panel of candidates who opposed the pact. But when they couldn't find any takers, a PRT spokesman said, "we had to critically support the candidacy of Luis Sánchez" of the pro-Moscow PSN, which *supports* the treaty and has repeatedly attacked the FSLN *from the right*. Sánchez was one of three candidates put forward by the Group of Five, from which Ortega selected the Social Christian Díaz, who says he will follow the lead of Cardinal Obando y Bravo!

So at this crucial moment when the survival of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the struggle to extend it throughout the isthmus requires intransigent opposition to the treacherous pact with the bourgeois Central American rulers and the Yankee imperialist Democratic Party, these self-styled Trotskyists give "critical" support to a class-collaborationist front to implement a counterrevolutionary "peace" fraud.

So much for the PRT's formal opposition to the Guatemala pact! And it's hardly fortuitous. We noted before that while incorrectly characterizing the FSLN regime as a "bourgeois government," the PRT has increasingly acted as a pressure group trying to push the Sandinistas to the left (see "Cuba, Nicaragua and the Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 428, 15 May). Internationally, the Morenoites have frequently adopted "left" postures. (They belatedly copied the Spartacist tendency's call for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador and our denunciation of the "*Contra*dora" plan for a "negotiated solution" to the Central American conflict.) But when the crunch comes, these are only empty phrases; the real policy is to be a "left" tail of the popular front.

For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Argentine adventurer Moreno was a quick-change artist with a penchant for passing himself off as the left wing of whatever was popular at the moment (variously disguised as a Peronist, Guevarist, Maoist, social democrat, black nationalist, Sandinista and even a Khomeinite), and his U.S. acolytes under *líder mínimo* León Pérez are cynical gangsterist con men. The Nicaraguan PRT has acted as centrists in the pressure cooker of a besieged country mired halfway in a revolution. Yet its policies of "crystallized confusion" (Trotsky's capsule definition of centrism) are all the more dangerous, as the

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Independent

UPI

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (far left) and Washington's Salvadoran puppet president Duarte agree to counterrevolutionary "peace" plan. Accords would give free rein to internal contras like Archbishop Obando y Bravo.

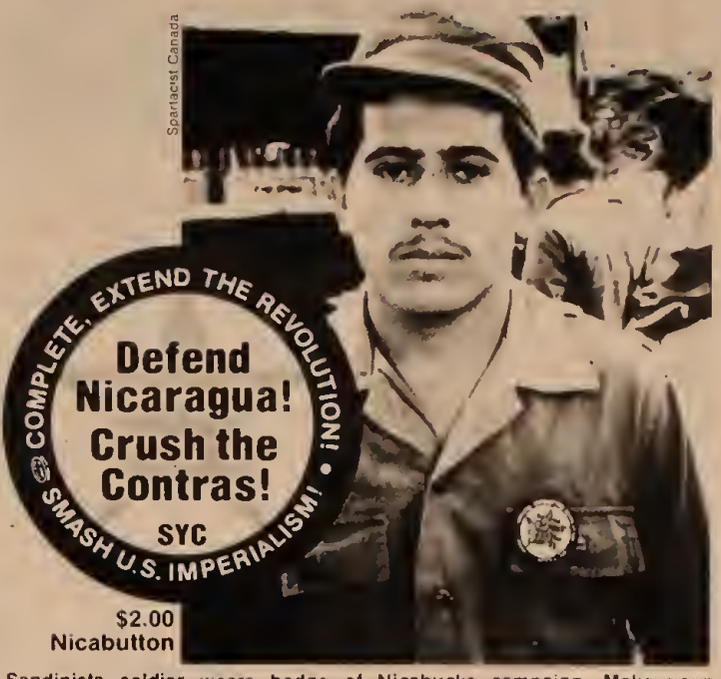
Young Spartacus

Defend Nicaragua—Donate Dollars!

SWP Scabs on the Revolution

As Reagan prepares to ask Congress to fork over another *$270 million* in blood money for the contra butchers, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have kicked off a campaign of material aid in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. "Nicahucks" is an elementary act of anti-imperialist solidarity with the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. At SYC forums across the country, volunteer *brigadistas* recently returned from Nicaragua have given eyewitness accounts of the courage of the Nicaraguan people and the severe toll the U.S.-sponsored contra war has taken on the country. Some 50 percent of the Nicaraguan economy goes for the necessary military defense of the gains of the revolution. In the cross hairs of the American imperialists' "war on Communism," Nicaragua desperately needs hard currency to buy everything from arms to medicines to spare parts. *Take a side! Defend the revolution—donate to Nicabucks!*

Over $50 was collected by "Nicabucketeers" at a protest demonstration at Concord Naval Base, site of the brutal maiming of Brian Willson, a Vietnam veteran protesting U.S. policy in Central America, who lost both his legs when a munitions train deliberately ran over him. At a Boston demonstration protesting this hideous crime of U.S. imperialism against protesters on the home front, a *Workers Vanguard* subscriber broke away from a line of demonstrators singing peace hymns, dropped $5 into the bucket and renewed his subscription on the spot. Literature tables and an eyewitness "Defend Nicaragua" forum at Columbia brought in $75 in one day. Nicabucks collectors in all areas report they've had to sell their own campaign buttons saying "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" off their shirts to people who can't wait for the new run to come off the presses (funds raised by sales of the button—$2 each—also go to defend Nicaragua). An MIT student signed up to help us collect funds, saying, "This will drive the liberals wild!"



Sandinista soldier wears badge of Nicabucks campaign. Make your contribution and button orders payable to/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008.

Indeed, our Nicabucks campaign exposes the liberal fake-left as nothing but a tail on the Democratic Party's ass. While we hit the campuses and factory gates with a call to "Crush the contras—Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" the Communist Party (CP), Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and faint-hearted "solidarity" milieu has thrown its support behind the Guatemalan "peace" plan which is the Democratic Party's program to roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution for Uncle Sam. The plan would amnesty the contra killers and let these beasts run amok to organize counter-revolution inside Nicaragua. The only "peace" to come of this plan, aimed at achieving what the contras have been unable to win on the battlefield, will be the peace of the graveyard!

A welter of popular-front "leftist" lash-ups with names like "Days of Decision" and "Countdown '87" have launched a frenzied effort to pressure the Democrats to pressure Ronald ("I'm a contra too") Reagan to cut off the contra creatures they created. These are the Democrats who just groveled before Oliver North, saluting his "patriotism" while they wagged their fingers at his methods. Now, the charlatans of the U.S. "left" are crawling after the Dems and helping them pretend to be partisans of "peace"! Contrast this spurt of "activity" with the reformists' *total collapse* after Sandinista president Daniel Ortega went to Moscow in 1985, seeking aid in the wake of the imperialist embargo which was an unmistakable U.S. *act of war*.

Front and center among those lending aid and comfort to the enemy of Nicaragua's working people by uncritically hailing the murderers' "peace" is the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its deadly dull Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP goes so far as to call this negotiated sellout for the reconsolidation of capitalist rule a "big blow" to Washington, and Nicaragua's "biggest diplomatic victory in years against the drive of the U.S. government to militarily overthrow the Sandinista revolution" (*Militant*, 28 August). Despite decades of cheerleading for Castro, the *last* thing the self-styled Fidelistas of the SWP want is for Nicaragua to follow the "Cuban road." As far as the SWP is concerned, consolidating the Nicaraguan Revolution and expropriating the inherently counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie would be ultraleftist folly.

The Soviet and Cuban leaderships also have endorsed the "peace" plan, consistent with their mistaken faith that U.S. imperialism will leave them alone if they sell out revolutions around the globe. This only emboldens the imperialists, who fully intend to reconquer, through outright war or diplomatic strangulation, the markets for exploitation they lost in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Today Nicaragua is the bull's eye of the anti-Soviet war drive. We Trotskyists say, *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America!*

We call for the defense, completion and extension of the Nicaraguan Revolution as the way forward for the workers and peasants of Central America to rid themselves from U.S.-backed mercenaries and death squad regimes. This is a *class war*, which only one side can win. *Our* side is that of the workers and peasants of the world, and the Nicabucks campaign is one basic expression of internationalism, part of the responsibility of revolutionaries in the "belly of the beast" to do everything possible to stay the hand of bloody U.S. imperialism. Every dollar you donate goes to Nicaragua—the Spartacus Youth Clubs assume all administrative costs. Oppose the U.S. war makers! Send your "anti-*contra* button" today! Make checks payable/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10008. ■

Spartacist Events

Nicaragua Eyewitness Reports and Slide Shows

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

CHICAGO
Wednesday, Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

MADISON
Tuesday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.
See "Today in the Union" for room location, UW-Madison
For more information (608) 251-6431

Speaker Judith Preston, member, Spartacus Youth Club recently returned from Nicaragua

Nicaragua: Smash the Contras—Complete the Revolution!

ITHACA
Thursday, Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m.
Noyes Center, 3rd floor lounge
Cornell University
For more information (607) 277-1834

Speakers
Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*
Spartacist League Central Committee
Dan Carew
member, Spartacus Youth Club
recently returned from Nicaragua

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

SAN FRANCISCO
Thursday, Sept. 24, 5:00 p.m.
Student Union, Room B-112
San Francisco State University
For more information (415) 863-6963

OAKLAND
Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
College Ave. Presbyterian Church
5951 College Ave
For more information (415) 839-0851

Speaker Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Chicago Cops Kill Larry Hawkins, Invade Black Homes

Labor, Blacks Must Mobilize to Smash Racist Terror!

CHICAGO
Saturday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Michigan Room, Hyde Park Hilton
(4900 South Lakeshore Drive)
For more information (312) 663-0715

Speaker Ed Clarkson
Spartacist League Central Committee

Guest Speakers
Kevin Quirk
member, ATU Local 241
Mark Kelly
Partisan Defense Committee representative
Roosevelt Hawkins,
brother of Larry Hawkins

Philippines...

(continued from page 1)

1986. They were hoisted not only by Manila society but also by Aquino-smitten Australian left groups like the Socialist Workers Party. Honasan himself is a sadistic macho/psychopath known for carving the ears off his victims in the war against the Muslim rebels. RAM ousted Marcos to turn the factionalised, demoralised and corrupt army into a more effective fighting force against the growing New People's Army (NPA) leftist insurgency. Demanding a free hand to kill Communists, these butchers chafe at what they see as the "weakness" of the Aquino government in dealing with the NPA and allowing leftists to agitate openly in the cities. Aquino's backdown, in reducing the petroleum price rises as a concession to the masses, was for them the last straw.

The personnel of Cory Aquino's regime resembles the restored Bourbon monarchy in France in 1815, with the old landowning oligarchy recapturing their power and wealth from the nouveau riche bourgeois cronies of Marcos. Aquino's "democracy" means the landowners keep their land, IMF austerity is enforced to pay Marcos' debt, and the U.S. imperialists keep

Grandpoint AFP

Armed Forces headquarters near Manila after assault by government troops suppressing right-wing coup attempt last month.

their strategic bases which are aimed at the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Coup plots by reactionary officers are "punished" with 30 pushups, or being posted to the provinces, as Honasan was after being implicated in his then-chief Enrile's plot last November. Since the end of the truce with the Communist Party (CPP)-led NPA guerrillas in February, Aquino has "unsheathed the sword of war" against them, in particular blessing the CIA-backed anti-Communist "vigilantes"—death squads—like the Alsa Masa in Davao, or crazed cultists like the Tadtads, who chop off their victims' heads and drink their blood. But the government army is still losing.

Both Washington and its junior partners in Canberra [Australia] hastily condemned the coup. But they are increasingly worried that Aquino cannot stem the growth of the NPA and hence the threat to their strategic war bases. Exploiting the disarray of the military, the NPA killed 21 soldiers on September 3—its biggest single success of the insurgency. Amid reports that sinister "retired" U.S. general John Singlaub of Contragate infamy met with Honasan earlier last year, the government says it is investigating whether the CIA was behind Gringo's coup. As the CIA has taken a greater role in the war against the NPA, the Philippines has become another battlefield of the "Reagan doctrine" of global counterrevolution. They call it "low intensity conflict" now, but it's all been tried in Vietnam and El Salvador—the sinister death squads, strategic hamlets, "disinformation," special forces and spy planes—everything short of U.S. ground troops to bolster the local client army.

Submerged in the middle-class "people power" of the February 1986 overthrow of Marcos, the working class has emerged in the recent wave of strikes and protests. The August 26 general strike was the most significant labour action since Aquino came to power. With widespread peasant unrest, national/ethnic revolts and a weak and divided government, the proletariat is in an effective position to lead all the oppressed layers of society behind the banner of permanent revolution. The CPP/NPA, the main benefactor of the increasing plebeian discontent, is locked into a reformist strategy of a "popular front" with a nonexistent "national bourgeoisie." Yet the only alternative to a rightist bloodbath is a proletarian struggle for power.

Report from Manila

The situation in the Philippines is explosive. The bombing of villages continues unabated since the collapse of the cease-fire in January, but still fails to stem the growth of the NPA which is now reported to be over 25,000 strong. Recently they have made a number of daring strikes close to Metro Manila and their urban guerrilla "sparrow units" now operate in the city. While we were there the Communist Party pulled off a brazen demonstration at the funeral of a "sparrow" killed by cops, where the *Internationale* was sung and the hammer and sickle flew in the streets of Manila. At the same time Cebu City has been hit by major strikes, and in one day the NPA struck right in the heart of the city four times. The truce with the Muslim secessionist guerrillas is about to collapse. Even the truce with Catholic priest Conrado Balweg's Cordillera People's Liberation Army guerrillas, a regional split from the NPA, looks shaky.

In the name of "people power" Aquino has sanctioned the unleashing of "vigilante" death squads whose terror has claimed scores of lives, especially in the southern island of Mindanao. While we were in Manila Aquino's Local Government Secretary, Jaime Ferrer, a key figure behind the death squads, was blown away in a daring attack. While even much of the bourgeois press speculated this was quite possibly the work of some disgruntled local *caudillo*, the armed forces predictably pointed the finger at the NPA. In any case this was the pretext to set up ongoing road checks and widespread searches throughout Metro Manila. Following this Defence Secretary Ileto revealed plans to implement "limited" martial law "to restore order."

Time

Corazon Aquino, head of made-in-Washington regime.

The military continues to be a cauldron of intrigue. An infamous "poison letter" attacking the government had been widely circulating in the military recently, and elements in the armed forces are openly disgruntled with what they perceive as Aquino's softness in cracking down on the left. While Camp Crame was put on alert for yet another reported coup attempt, one bourgeois paper, referring to the increasing repression, observed that Aquino has already carried out a "coup in slow motion."

The economy is visibly crumbling under the combined weight of political instability, corruption and the foreign debt. The working class and poor bearing the brunt of this are being driven to the wall. Manila is becoming one gigantic slum as tens of thousands migrate into the city looking for non-existent work. Even most of those "lucky" enough to have a job are forced to subsist on less than the minimum wage of some 57 pesos—about $3—a day (32 pesos for agricultural workers). "Smoking Mountain" in Manila epitomises the fate of the poor, thousands living in shanties on top of a rotting, putrid garbage dump.

Added to all this Aquino had just decreed a massive 17 per cent rise in the price of petroleum fuel. This will trigger a whole series of price hikes and push thousands already living on the margin into the abyss of unbearable poverty. The union movement signalled its intention to fight this. One jeepney [minibus] drivers union threatened to paralyse all traffic in Manila, and even the CIA-funded Trade Union Congress of the Philippines felt compelled to threaten a national strike. This is shaping up to be a big showdown between Aquino and the unions.

Everywhere we went in Manila there were picket lines, and every second day some plant was walking out. At a picket of Shoe World department store in downtown Manila, there was a huge banner across the building proclaiming "Workers of World Unite," signed Young Christian Association. At Santo Thomas University 1,100 academics walked out for the first time in its 373-year history, stopping all classes and defying a return-to-work order. Workers at one of the bourgeoisie's leading papers, the *Bulletin*, walked out over the bosses' attempt to bust their union. Even one of the two casinos and a golf club were struck while we were there. Clearly the bourgeoisie will not long tolerate this situation. Aquino has already used troops several times to break strikes, and while we were there hundreds of riot police were mobilised at the *Bulletin* picket for an attack.

A one-month old strike at Purefoods Corporation was attacked by 300 heavily armed troops on August 5 who shot three strikers and took some casualties themselves when the strikers courageously fought back. (Significantly this plant is owned by the Philippines' pre-eminent capitalist, Ayala, and Defence Secretary Ileto is a director.) Subsequently five of their members were arrested on charges ranging from direct assault to attempted homicide, with bail set at P3,600 each, something like a year's wages. Nevertheless the money was raised from union supporters.

Amid this working-class restlessness and growing bourgeois reaction sits Aquino's new Congress, supposedly the new hope for stability. Even the bourgeois press here have trouble treating it seriously. It is made up in large part of millionaires and landowners, reflecting the elique lines on which Filipino bourgeois politics has always been based. Laurel, ostensibly vice president, has been relegated to the back seat (the press refer to him as the "spare tyre"), while the leadership of Congress looks like an Aquino family reunion. Cory's brother Peping, brother-in-law Butz and uncle Francisco Sumulong all occupy leading positions (Sumulong looks set to get the lucrative Manila ports contract). The bourgeoisie have such a hard job trying to sell this new facade of democracy that the *Inquirer* (2 August) commented, "the solons [Congressmen] better put a stop to the fire-eating sideshows lest social forces (among others) would again reduce Congress to a museum piece." The government is patently incapable of resolving any of the funda-

Australasian Spartacist Photos

Manila, August 13—Workers protest murder of Purefoods striker, while Stalinist labor leader Beltran (inset) shakes hands with officer commanding troops at demonstration.

mental social questions confronting the Philippine masses, nor even of cohering stable bourgeois rule.

Nowhere is this more graphic than in the debate around Aquino's land reform program (CARP). Under CARP landless farmers would have to buy the land they till and landowners would be compensated. Those farmers, led by the CPP-aligned peasant union KMP, who have seized idle land will be evicted. While Congress was debating it, a group of landowners (mainly "solons" themselves) vowed to oppose CARP in a proclamation signed in blood. The sugar barons of Negros and the Panay landowners have threatened armed rebellion against Aquino if she tries to touch their land. Aquino even had to threaten her own cabinet members with the sack if they voted against CARP!

The other big question is the foreign debt, whose interest payments alone represent some 50 per cent of export earnings. In the face of widespread and growing resentment at having to pay this imperialist ransom, much of which was run up by Marcos' plunder of the economy, a section of the bourgeoisie (tailed by the CPP-aligned trade union KMU) are talking about "selective repudiation." The World Bank sternly cautioned their Filipino lackeys not to lightly bandy about such terms. After a lot of bluster about seeing "the true face of foreign finance" Aquino could only whine that the Philippines has been the World Bank's best lackey. While the country is visibly crumbling under the weight of this debt, the bourgeoisie are unable to even contemplate breaking this chain that is strangling the Filipino masses.

The massive U.S. bases at Subic Bay and Clark best exemplify the "special place" the Philippines occupies in the eyes of U.S. and Australian imperialism. Tour guides told us Australia has a permanent military presence at Clark, and while we were there five Australian warships were in town for war manoeuvres with the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the South China Sea (i.e., somewhere off Vietnam, the main target of imperialism's designs to roll back social revolution in Southeast Asia). Del Pilar Street in Manila Bay bristles with "sexy go-go dancer" bars sporting handwritten signs welcoming the Australian navy.

The working class is increasingly vocal, the CPP continues to grow in authority, but it's clearly squandering the immense social power of the proletariat. Nowhere was this clearer to us than at a demonstration called by the KMU over the death of one of the strikers at Purefoods. The politics of the KMU leadership were laid bare at the end when KMU chairman Crispin Beltran went over to the commanding officer of the troops barring the demonstrators' access to Malacañang, joked with him and shook his hand—the hand of the armed forces that was still fresh from the blood of striking workers. The program of class collaboration this gesture represents sits in flat opposition to the interests and sentiments of the class-conscious proletariat. While the CPP looks to Aquino to hold the more rabid anti-Communist lunacies at bay, workers at Purefoods told us that under Aquino "things are worse now" than under Marcos. "We strongly believed in Aquino" because we wanted changes, said one, "but today's changes are for the worse." They said Marcos used water cannons on strikers but Aquino uses bullets.

The situation is fragile. The bourgeoisie is still divided and threatening to tear itself apart but they are agreed on the need to repress the workers and peasants. The CP's popular-frontist politics are a millstone around the neck of the proletariat. With the danger of a reactionary bloodbath mounting, the working class desperately needs a revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist party which fights for a workers and peasants government that alone offers the Filipino masses a future. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 6)

future of the Nicaraguan Revolution requires above all Bolshevik clarity. As Trotsky wrote of Andrés Nin's POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) during the Spanish Civil War:

> "Left centrism, especially under revolutionary conditions, is always ready to adopt in words the program of the socialist revolution and is not niggardly with sonorous phrases. But the fatal malady of centrism is not being capable of drawing courageous tactical and organizational conclusions from its general conceptions."
>
> —"Centrism and the Fourth International" (March 1939)

Nin repeatedly proclaimed the permanent revolution. In February 1936, he wrote that "the Popular Front doesn't meet the vital interests of the proletariat" and only allows "the bourgeoisie to consolidate its class rule in the republican form." Yet the POUM had just run in the 1936 elections on the Popular Front platform, and a few months later Nin became minister of justice in Catalonia. As the Civil War dragged on and the bourgeois Republican government blocked revolutionary action by the Spanish proletariat, in April 1937 Nin called for the workers to "create new organs of power" to establish a workers and peasants government. Yet barely a week later, when the Barcelona workers rose up in the heroic May Days against the Stalinist/Republican onslaught, the POUM refused to fight for power.

The Spanish experience should be before the eyes of would-be revolutionaries in Nicaragua today. Already in 1983, we posed the question: will the FSLN act as Cuban Fidelistas and proceed to expropriate the bourgeoisie, or as Spanish Republicans, who in respecting the limits of capitalism sealed the fate of the Spanish Revolution? In Spain, the Barcelona workers' defeat in May 1937 led to the assassination of Nin and ultimately the collapse of the Republic before Franco. In Nicaragua, too, if the contras take back their land and factories, it will be over the corpses of the best revolutionary fighters. And those who failed to translate militant resolutions into "courageous tactical and organizational conclusions" will share the responsibility.

But this need not be the outcome. The history of the Russian Revolution of 1917 shows that even a small party armed with a Marxist program can lead the way to victory. Following the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks were distinctly in the minority against a host of petty-bourgeois parties. Yet seven months later they emerged triumphant, because of their refusal to capitulate to the bourgeoisie. Today in Nicaragua, the contras have suffered a strategic defeat at the hands of the Sandinista Army. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants are armed and ready to defend their revolution. In El Salvador, Duarte is shaking under the blows of guerrilla attacks and workers' struggles, despite more than $2.5 billion in U.S. aid to the "death squad democracy."

To the north, Mexican workers are fighting tenacious union battles against IMF-style capitalist austerity imposed by their "institutional revolutionary" bourgeois rulers. In the U.S., Reagan is on the rocks: there is massive and continuing opposition to contra aid and widespread suspicion that the next step is a U.S. invasion of Central America. But the working class has yet to mobilize, as the unions and the "solidarity" movement are tied to the Democrats, Reagan's partners in the global anti-Soviet war drive, whose sights are aimed today at Central America. The key to victory, from Managua to Detroit, is the construction of authentically Trotskyist parties in a fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

Australia...

(continued from page 5)

Injury to All!" stated clearly why he had been targetted by the bosses:

> "The bosses' excuse of 'bad timekeeping' was exposed as the bald-faced lie it is when they told the FIA organiser the next day that they didn't want me back because of my 'bad attitude.' What they are talking about is my union attitude. In March 1985 during an electricians' strike I refused to work with apprentices being used by the boss to break the strike. I was sacked and reinstated only after the threat of an island-wide stoppage and the electricians' refusal to return to work without me. This victory for union solidarity was an important blow to the bosses' attempts to play off the unions here against each other while using apprentices to break our strikes."

Since then, Florrimell has been in the forefront of the fight for strike action to defend jobs against Hawke's plans to close the Cockatoo dockyard. He participated in the successful struggle that defeated attempts by the ASIO secret police to weed out militants. Florimell was also prominent in the fight to oppose the despatch of the *Jervis Bay* naval training ship to Fiji following the recent coup. This must have particularly gored the Cold War Hawke government's ox!

Down with Union-Busting Hawke Government!

The CIA-loving FIA leadership is out to kill any action at Cockatoo with the defeatist line that this struggle can't be won. While they spend thousands of dollars of union dues on campaigns for reactionary Polish Solidarność, they sabotage union action to defend jobs and conditions.

Ironworkers and Painters & Dockers are prime targets of Hawke's plans to axe unions at Cockatoo, which mainly does naval work, in the service of the U.S.-led anti-Soviet war drive. But there's a problem here: how does Hawke get his two-ocean navy if he axes this skilled work force? In this "defence" industry, the workers confront the imperialist war drive pointblank. Every victory over the bosses strikes a blow for proletarian internationalism against Reagan/Hawke's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust.

The fight to defend Florrimell in this traditionally militant workplace is everybody's fight. Already support is coming in from unions at other workplaces, such as Fairfax metal workers who have agitated for union defence of Florrimell, and the Metropolitan Mail Centres Committee of the Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union passed a motion condemning the sacking as an attack on unionism. From the coal fields to the shipyards hard class struggle is needed. The working class desperately needs a revolutionary workers party, forged through splitting the ALP's working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops; a class-struggle party which fights to smash the capitalist system and establish in its place a planned socialist economy. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

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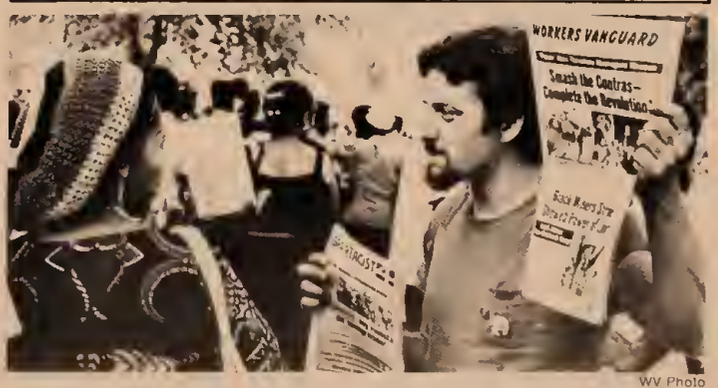

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Arms Train...

(continued from page 1)

people have consistently opposed aid to the contras. And now the Reagan presidency has been crippled by the Iran/contra scandal. The Ollie North types in the U.S. military want somebody's blood. So they tried to kill Brian Willson by running him over with a train.

Concord Death Train

Willson's Nuremberg Actions Committee had been holding vigils since June, protesting the shipment of up to 120,000 pounds of munitions from the weapons station, including—according to documents the group obtained through the Freedom of Information Act—bombs, ammunition and white phosphorus rockets sent to the death squad regime in El Salvador. The Concord installation is infamous as the site of a munitions explosion in July 1944 that killed 327 sailors, most of them black; today it reportedly houses nuclear weapons.

The September 1 protest had been widely publicized, and its organizers had informed Navy authorities of their plans to kneel on the train tracks. Navy personnel were out in force, communicating through walkie-talkies. The munitions train, with two "observers" standing on a platform on the front of the engine, came out of the weapons station and sat on the tracks 200 yards away from the protesters for *10 to 15 minutes*. Then it started up, gathering speed as it rammed through the demonstrators and ran over Willson. The Navy later came out with the absurd lie that its personnel "didn't see" the protesters, and claimed the train was going five miles per hour. The local NBC-TV affiliate, using video footage, calculated the train's speed at 17 miles per hour. Witnesses state one of the Navy's "observers" shook his head "no" at demonstrators who pleaded for the train to stop.

Willson is a lawyer from suburban San Rafael, a former intelligence captain in Vietnam who once owned a dairy farm before becoming a full-time pacifist activist. Last fall he organized a month-long fast at the U.S. Capitol building with four other veterans. This spring he and his fellow veterans led a "march for life" through the contra war zone in northern Nicaragua. "I risked my life for war," he told *Barricada Internacional* (23 April), "Now we risk them for peace." After being run over by the arms train, he said, "I've joined the legion of kids in Nicaragua without legs."

Brian Willson is heroic in his dedication. Rosario Murillo, wife of Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, visited Willson's hospital bed and praised his courage. Soviet spokesmen have hailed Willson as a "hero of peace" and offered him free medical care in the USSR. His courage and commitment are an indication of the depth and breadth of opposition at home to Reagan's mass murder in Central America, and of the explosive opposition a direct U.S. invasion would ignite. The atrocity committed against Willson is intended to *intimidate* opposition on the home front to counterrevolutionary war in Central America.

Up until now, the government has tended to arrest pacifist protesters. These arrests often have the character of a ritual dance: the protesters go limp, the police "cite them out" (release them with a citation). But now the government has coldbloodedly cut off a man's limbs for this "crime"—as in feudal Saudi Arabia, where Koranic "justice" prescribes the severing of hands and heads.

The sight, on prime-time television, of a man being deliberately run over by a train produced widespread shock and outrage. Protesters trashed a ROTC building in Berkeley and later ripped up a section of the tracks near the Concord Naval Station. Major newspapers around the country have publicized the Concord death train. Democratic Party politicians have called for Congressional investigations.

The government is now treating white, middle-class Vietnam vets the way the bosses treated striking oil worker Gregory Goobic, run down and killed by a scab in Rodeo, California, a short distance from Concord, in 1984. The following year in Concord a black youth was lynched. If the labor movement had mobilized against these acts of murderous strikebreaking and racist terror, the government would not now think it could run down antiwar protesters with impunity.

For Class War Against Imperialist War!

Despite the evident commitment of many of their adherents, the pacifist tactics of "moral witness" practiced in Concord are ineffective. A single solid transport strike or labor boycott (hot-cargoing) of military goods to Central America would do more than any number of pacifist vigils and Gandhian "pledges of resistance." (The president of the American Federation of Government Employees, the union representing civilian workers at the weapons center, has condemned "the war of terror against the people of Nicaragua"—but what's needed is labor *action*, not paper resolutions.) It is the working class which has the social power and class interest to make a socialist revolution, smashing the bloody rule of capital: this is the only way to end imperialist war. And this requires building a revolutionary workers party, defeating the labor bureaucrats who chain the working class to the bosses' Democratic Party of racism and war.

But the rad-libs and fake-lefts turned a September 5 Concord protest against the maiming of Brian Willson into a pep rally for the Democratic Party. Instead of outrage against the government's bloody crime, there was a fete for Democratic hustler Jesse Jackson. The crowd screamed "run Jesse run" as the man who embraced arch-segregationist George Wallace called on "true patriots" to follow the path of Martin Luther King and Gandhi—and, above all, to "set 'em straight in '88" (by voting for the Democratic Party, whose well-known contributions to "peace" include Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs, the war against Vietnam). It should be recalled that during the Vietnam War, Dixiecrat George Wallace declared he would run over any protesters who got in the way of the military machine. And the main aim of Jackson's campaign today is to woo the Dixiecrat racists, who are also rabid supporters of the contra war.

The American ruling class, Democrats as well as Reaganites, are determined to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution in the name of "free world" anti-Communism. The main obstacle to a direct U.S. invasion is fear of another Vietnam, a long, dirty colonial war which would rip apart American society. So Washington has tried to export counterrevolution on the cheap—but the contra terrorists are *losers*. The war has brought terrible suffering to the Nicaraguan people but has come nowhere near to toppling the Sandinistas. Former State Department assistant secretary Viron Vaky describes the contra war as "in effect asking Nicaraguans to bleed and die for U.S. strategic interests that Americans would rather not die for themselves" ("Positive Containment in Nicaragua," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1987).

U.S. imperialism cannot wage war against the Nicaraguan people while the American people remain happily unaffected. When Eugene Hasenfus was shot down by Sandinista militiamen over Nicaragua last year while ferrying arms to the contras, the American public was upset not out of sympathy for this CIA mercenary but because they saw American casualties as foreboding "another Vietnam." In a different way, the brutal murder of Ben Linder heightened fears that American blood, too, will be spilled in Nicaragua. The Iran/contra scandal showed that the Reagan gang is more than willing to subvert and overthrow American bourgeois democracy in order to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution. Now the same forces that have killed and maimed tens of thousands of Nicaraguans and Salvadorans have maimed an antiwar protester in Northern California.

At bottom, "moral witness" pacifism appeals to the humanity of the American ruling class. This state, whether administered by Reagan Republicans or Mondale/Jackson Democrats, is necessarily an instrument of capitalist oppression and exploitation. U.S. imperialism represents only inhumanity, war and mass terror. The atrocity against Brian Willson was intended to terrorize the American people. This is Reagan's policy on dealing with protesters: his bloodhound Edwin Meese has stated that a man killed by police at a radical student protest in Berkeley's People's Park in the late '60s "deserved to die." At Concord the ruling class has shown a glimpse of its plans for mass detention of Hispanics and radicals to crush protest against an invasion of Central America, a taste of its Oliver North-style blueprints for a military coup. Only the power of the revolutionary working class can defeat the state terrorists in the White House and Pentagon. ■

NICAT

Garcia AP

Ben Linder (left), American internacionalista killed last April by Reagan's contra terrorists; Linder's funeral in Matagalpa.

Rick Reinhard

Brian Willson (far right) with fellow veterans during month-long fast in Washington to protest contra aid.

Carlos Duran

CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, shot down over Nicaragua last year while ferrying arms to contras, led away by Sandinista militiaman.

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

"malign neglect" of public education, welcomed Harold Washington's election in 1983. But within months the school board cut workers' vital health insurance coverage. Their backs to the wall, the teachers and maintenance workers walked out in a bitter three-week strike. Washington tried to appear to be above the fray, but members and supporters of his administration waged an all-out campaign to break the strike with lawsuits and scabherding. The black *Chicago Defender* newspaper and other pro-Washington forces slandered the CTU as "racist." The striking unions held the line against the Board of Education cuts, but the attacks on the teachers didn't subside.

As in 1983, Washington's "reform" Democratic machine is trying to pit the black and Hispanic families against the striking unions. A "Chicago Parents Union" has sprung up, organized by the Midwest Community Council based on the West Side, mobilizing hundreds of parents to jeer union pickets and demanding a role in negotiations. Black attorney Thomas Todd, a Washington supporter and former president of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, told the *Chicago Defender* in early September that he planned to sue the CTU on behalf of the 434,000 students in the event of a strike. According to the *Defender* (3 September), Todd emphasized "that Chicago now has a Black president on the Board of Education, six Black board members, a Black superintendent of schools, a Black mayor, a Black as head of the CTU, 'and yet we have the same kinds of problems'."

The ghetto masses in Chicago had enormous hopes and illusions when Harold Washington was elected. But in racist, capitalist America black faces in high places are the overseers on Reagan's plantation. Despite the deep racist backlash against Washington's election in 1983, the national Democratic Party was solidly in Washington's corner. Like Jesse Jackson, who was just endorsed by Washington, the black mayors of the rotting cities of the East and Midwest serve to cement the black masses to the capitalist Democratic Party and to prevent labor/black struggle. And in Chicago, Jackson and Operation PUSH have been the enemy of the integrated city unions repeatedly since 1973, suing the unions and organizing scab schools in attempts to break strikes. The most hideous racist atrocity of the Reagan years, the 1985 massacre of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia, was carried out by black Democrat Wilson Goode in league with Meese and the FBI.

The strikebreaking of these black Democrats fuels racist cop and fascist terror. The integrated labor movement is where the power lies to crush the Klan/Nazi nightriders who enforce the "color line" in Segregation City. Thousands of black, white and Hispanic workers should fill the Loop in a massive demonstration in solidarity with the school unions. The same power must be mobilized to come to the aid of the victims of racist police terror like Cassandra Seay, and to clean out the fascist scum who terrorize black families in areas like Marquette Park. To lead and organize this kind of struggle we need a multiracial class-struggle workers party, an anti-capitalist party that will fight for a workers government. Victory to the school strike! ■

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

whom he told, "The key to a Democratic victory is expanding white support" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 6 June). He means winning back flag-waving racists who bolted for the Reaganites. As he said in July, "the party has a progressive wing and a conservative wing, but it takes two wings to fly."

Part of Jackson's Dixiecrat strategy is to divert black hatred for the race-terror of the Klan into a drug witchhunt. "We've lost far more by dope than we have by the rope" is practically a campaign slogan. A drug witchhunt can only serve as another pretext for police to terrorize and victimize black people, as repeatedly occurred in Washington, D.C.

The scourge of drug addiction in the ghettos is produced by the terrible poverty and utter hopelessness of blacks in capitalist America. And the Democrats are just as committed to maintaining this racist, capitalist system as the Reaganites. They're just slicker, more hypocritical. As Malcolm X put it, the liberal Democrats' line is: "Let's keep the *knee*-grows in their place—but tell them we'll treat them a little better; let's fool them more, with more promises."

It's a sign of the deep racism of this country that Jackson's sudden front-runner status in a field of Yuppie clones, following the media-induced Gary Hart blowout, has tied bourgeois commentators in knots. The *New York Times* noted at one point, "Jackson Tops Poll (Not Counting Cuomo)," who is an official non-candidate. As columnist Alexander Cockburn caustically noted, "If Jackson's fortunes continue to wax, he must expect more of that sort of thing, with headlines such as, 'Jackson Ahead (Not Counting F.D.R. and Christ)'" (*Nation*, 30 May).

A black man or woman has the absolute right to be president of the United States—that's the classic "American Dream," right? Just work hard, "assimilate," get ahead and someday your child might even grow up to be president. It's the ultimate sign of assimilation into the "mainstream"—thus Kennedy's election as the first Catholic was significant in reflecting the assimilation of Catholics (Irish, at least) into the top layers of the American ruling elite (being a millionaire didn't hurt of course).

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped Klan terrorists from marching through Washington, D.C., November 1982.

But Jesse Jackson's candidacy surely does *not* reflect for blacks "how well we're doing." It's just the opposite, in fact. In every single aspect of life—from jobs to housing to education to health care—conditions for blacks are the worst in living memory. Union-busting, slashes in welfare, factory closures, Ku Klux Klan terror—that's what this ruling class is pushing. And the other side of that reality is that there's a lot of anger and a lot of oppressed people looking for ways to fight *to win*.

Jackson Runs Against Black Struggle

During the 1960s, black establishment leaders sought to channel mass black struggle into "war on poverty" reformism and tokenism. Even then Jesse Jackson stood out as a slimy *anti*-militant. As the Black Panthers wrote: "Whenever Jessie 'jacknape' Jackson sees people moving in a progressive manner, he tries to put an obstacle in their way to get them hung up."

Today Jackson has become the white power structure's chief fireman in dampening the flames of black anger. When a Klan-led mob attacked King Day protesters in Forsyth County, Georgia, when racist thugs killed a black youth in New York's Howard Beach, Jackson *opposed* any black protest at all! "Let's not confront each other at Howard Beach or Forsyth County," he implored (*Washington Post*, 20 March). Last spring Jackson turned up at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor to defuse mass protests by black and white students against a wave of racist violence. Instead Jackson wants blacks to fight for racist protectionism against foreign workers: he rails against "foreign goods that put our workers out of jobs."

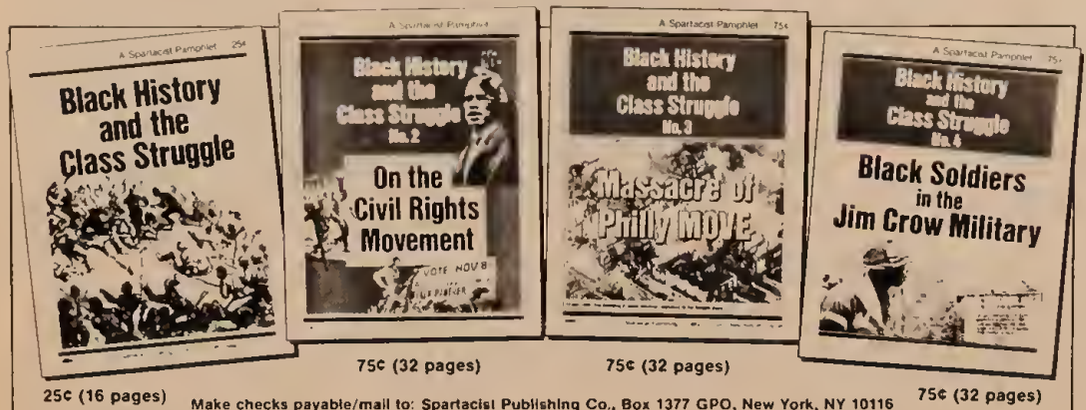
Following a Klan provocation last winter at The Citadel, a South Carolina military academy, where a black cadet was tormented by white cadets in Klan robes, Jackson steered anger away from the fight against racist violence, going to West Point to preach the need for a "strong, vibrant and effective military." Jackson wants that strong U.S. military as a weapon against the Soviet Union. He shares both capitalist parties' commitment to the anti-Soviet war drive. "It's important... not to be so radical that the truck jack-knifes," he said recently, explaining his refusal to oppose Reagan's mammoth nuke first-strike "Star Wars" schemes. He's no friend of the Nicaraguan Revolution either, as he attacks the Sandinistas for daring to defend themselves against the counterrevolutionary contras when they shut down the contra mouthpiece *La Prensa*.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Jackson's moribund "Rainbow Coalition" now serves only as a sandbox in which various reformist outfits can play. Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (27 April) argues that since there's no independent working-class party, "progressive forces must prepare to function... on the terrain of the Democratic Party." Predictably the Communist Party is cautiously cheerleading Jackson, though as usual they'll end up supporting *any* Democrat against the Republicans. Most ridiculous is the position of the American Morenoites (*Working Class Opposition*, July 1987) who appealed to Jackson to "break from the Democratic Party" and run on "a socialist program." This is just shamefaced support for Mr. Coca-Cola capitalism.

Jackson would like to see the Rainbow extend from Dixiecrat racists like George Wallace to black nationalist demagogues like Louis "Hitler was a great man" Farrakhan. These are not such strange bedfellows perhaps, since they're both against "race mixing." But since Jackson now seeks to be at one with the white establishment (including its Zionist component), he has distanced himself somewhat from Farrakhan. For his part, this repulsive and sinister anti-Semite is keeping a low profile so as not to embarrass Jackson. But the "black power" soap salesman Farrakhan and the PUSHer of ghetto capitalism Jackson have much in common. They share a deep hostility to militant, integrated class struggle, the key to real *black and workers power*.

Jackson's campaign is intended to keep blacks *powerless* by tying them to the capitalist Democratic Party while strengthening that party by winning back the white racist vote. Real power and freedom for the black masses, for all the oppressed and exploited, can be won only through a sharp struggle against the capitalist hustlers like Jesse Jackson, and for the perspective of independent, integrated working-class power. The question of black liberation is the question of revolution in this deeply racist country—and the future black leaders of this country will be socialist revolutionaries, forged in the political fight against the Jesse Jacksons and their reformist "left" cheerleaders. Break with the Democrats! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■



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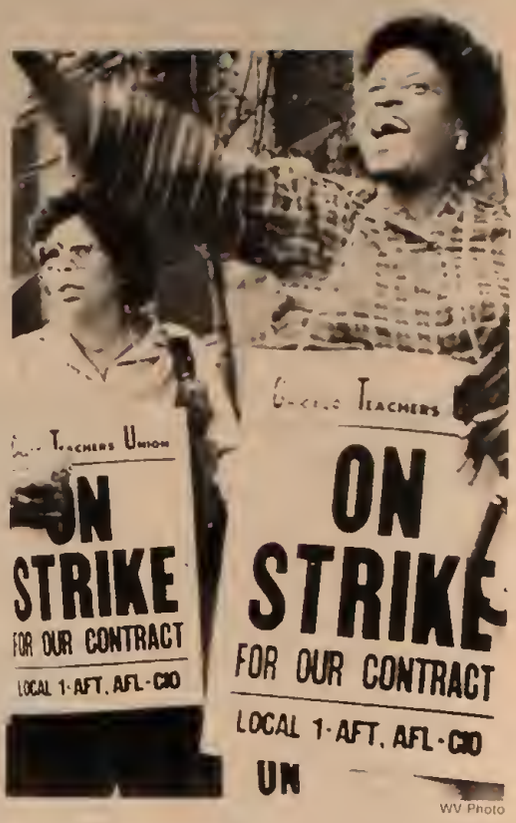
WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Digs In, Mayor's Out for Blood

Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!



Militant teachers are fighting for all Chicago workers.

WV Photo

CHICAGO—On September 8, 38,000 members of the Chicago Teachers Union and 20 allied unions struck the Chicago school system. Faced with a *pay cut* by the Board of Education, part of an assault against municipal unions, the CTU members are prepared for a hard strike. Black Democratic mayor Harold Washington told the unionists to eat the pay cut and show up for work, and the union-busting *Chicago Tribune* (5 September) demanded that the school board "not back down": "Such a stiff-spine showdown between the board and the teachers' union is long overdue." But the CTU voted more than ten to one for a strike. One picketer summed up the strikers' determination when she told an NBC Evening News reporter, "If all the board can offer me is a pay cut, then I'll be out here forever."

Washington's allies, like the black newspaper *Chicago Defender*, are trying to portray the black-led union as being against the system's 83 percent black and Hispanic schoolchildren. This is a *lie*. The heavily black CTU is up against the LaSalle Street bankers who lord it over Chicago, with its segregated schools, decaying public housing, and racist cop and Klan/Nazi terror. From Chicago to Detroit, where teachers are also engaged in a bitter strike against black Democratic mayor Coleman Young, the urban poor are bled dry and the unions shackled. Welfare is slashed, the schools and public housing go to hell, all to pay for Trident submarines and aircraft carriers. It's a bipartisan program of unemployment, illiteracy, segregation and war. And it is enforced by racist terror, from the cold-blooded cop murder of auto worker Larry Hawkins in his own South Side home last July and the brutal police assault on black bus driver Cassandra Seay, to the nightriding terror of the Klan and Nazis.

The CTU strike is a chance for all black and working people to fight the deep race/class oppression in "Segregation City." With no hope of jobs, almost 50 percent of Chicago's children drop out rather than remain in the decaying schools. Now the Illinois state legislature has slashed $60 million from the Chicago school budget. And despite their public bickering, both Illinois Republican governor James Thompson and Mayor Washington are united on a program of austerity and cutbacks. They have every city workers union in their sights. Chicago Transit Authority workers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, are getting shafted with yet another givebback contract. The unions had better stand together—or they will be defeated by the "salami" tactics used by former mayor Jane Byrne against the firefighters, teachers and transit workers in 1980.

What's needed is a broad working-class offensive which goes beyond narrow trade-union demands, taking up the fight for decent integrated education and housing, free mass transit and labor/black power to crush racist terror. The CTU and the rest of the labor movement must wage a fight for quality, integrated education. Despite a bogus "voluntary desegregation" plan installed five years ago, Chicago schools are as segregated as ever. There must be busing *to and from* the lily-white, better funded schools in the suburbs, with labor/black defense guards to protect children from racist attack. The labor movement must defend bilingual education programs from the wave of anti-immigrant racist reaction.

The current strike is the teachers' *fourth* trip to the picket lines in the four and a half years since Washington was first elected. CTU members are rightfully angry over the deterioration of their real pay and working conditions. New teachers start out at a paltry $17,600 per year, and the average salary for Chicago teachers is now several thousand dollars below most of their suburban counterparts. Last year the Chicago school board, all of whose members are now Washington appointees, joined the Reagan/Meese "moral majority" witchhunt against teachers and other public employees by ordering fingerprinting and criminal background checks for all new workers.

Many CTU members, fed up with being victims of the bourgeoisie's

continued on page 11

Jesse Jackson Runs for the Dixiecrats

UPI Bettmann

Hustling endorsements, Jackson gladhands George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace in Montgomery, Alabama.

Jesse Jackson has now announced he will officially announce his candidacy for president on October 10. This time around he's not even pretending to be "independent" from the racist powers that be in the Democratic Party. His "freedom train" chugs into the "new" Old South where he's gone courting the "good ole boys" of the Dixiecrat power structure, begging endorsement from the likes of George Wallace. In July, Jackson paid a call on Mr. Segregation, saying Wallace's administration of Alabama was "one of the most forward" of any Southern state. The president of the Louisiana Senate introduced Jackson as a "son of the South." Jackson did his job for the Democrats last time, by pulling in four million blacks to register and then turning those votes over to Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale. As we said then, "Jesse Delivers, Blacks Shafted." Now Jesse wants his payoff as a power broker at the Democratic convention.

Jackson's "son of Dixie" courting is right in line with the Democrats' strategy. The party bosses were determined to win back the white vote which went to Reagan in '84. As we wrote right after the elections about the near-unanimous black vote for Mondale:

> "Anyone who thought that this massive (and lonely) display of loyalty would increase black influence in the Democratic Party is dead wrong. In fact, it is having just the *opposite* effect. Democratic Party leaders have concluded that they must go after the open racist vote to win back some of the constituencies they lost."
>
> —*BT* No. 367, 23 November 1984

So Jackson's been making speeches to Dixiecrat caucuses, like the Atlanta-based Democratic Leadership Council,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 437 | 2 October 1987

War-Crazy Reagan Attacks the Ayatollahs

Trigger-Happy in the Persian Gulf

Careening from Contragate revelations of having secretly sold arms to Teheran, the Reagan administration seems hell-bent on provoking war with Iran. Last week, in a brazen act of war, the U.S. attacked and seized an Iranian ship in the Persian Gulf without warning. To further taunt Khomeini, the Navy scuttled the ship by blowing it up. And war secretary Weinberger is demanding "a totally different kind of government in Iran." The Reaganauts have delusions they're back in the days of Teddy Roosevelt and his "big stick," that by sailing gunboats up the Gulf they can install another shah. Washington has sucked virtually every European NATO power into its shoot-'em-up adventure on the Cold War grounds of "keeping the Soviets out" of the Gulf. But by getting mired in the muck of the Iran/Iraq war, Rambo Reagan has shot himself in the groin. Now this pyromaniac could light the fuse for World War III.

First they sent in a Navy flotilla, daring Khomeini to respond. But Teheran didn't bite. So the U.S. used two helicopter gunships from a secret high-tech Army unit (Task Force 160) to disable the Iranian ship, killing at least three seamen and capturing 26. Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger showed up in person on the decks of the command ship *LaSalle* to crow. He called the Iranian craft "a blazing gun," a "mine-laying ship" caught "red-handed" in waters used by American ships as an anchorage. The U.S. solemnly declares it's not going to allow such "criminal acts" in the *Persian* Gulf. According to the Pentagon the Iranian craft was the *Iran Ajr*, but Lloyd's Register lists this as a cargo ship. Reporters who boarded her say it was the *Rakhsh*. Who will ever know, since the Pentagon dynamited the evidence.

Duncan/AP

Persian Gulf minefield: USS Jarrett captures Iranian ship. Reagan's provocations are dangerous trip wire for World War III.

The U.S. is clearly gearing up to at least drop some bombs on Iran. And if Reagan gets his Gulf war, it's going to be a messy business. Scores of tankers crowd the shipping lanes through this shallow basin nearly closed by the Straits of Hormuz. There's now a NATO war fleet of more than 60 ships, a small Soviet naval group of minesweepers and escort ships, a couple of Iranian

continued on page 4

Feds Caught Out on Nazi Holocaust Lies

Reagan's Amerika

Every time you turn over another rock in Reagan's administration, another Nazi-lover slithers out. The latest outrage came out in a New York *Daily News* (20 September) front-page exposé headlined, "UNFAIR TO NAZIS." Who but a swastika-toting Hitler-lover could say such a thing?! Reagan's Department of Education, that's who—and it tells you a lot about the people running this country.

The *News* revealed that a U.S. Department of Education panel last year refused to fund a widely used high school curriculum on the Holocaust because, as one panelist wrote, it didn't give "the Nazi point of view" nor "that of the Ku Klux Klan." If that high school course is "unfair to Nazis," we hail it! Nazism is not a "point of view," it's genocide. Hitler's Holocaust murdered six million Jews, a million German Communists and hundreds of thousands of Gypsies. The Soviet peoples lost 20 million dead in their heroic struggle that smashed the Nazi death machine.

This government apology for Nazi terror is no aberration, but part of the onslaught of social and political reaction in Reagan's Amerika. Fundamentalist book-burners and cross-burners are spreading ignorance and fear across the land while the diehard "nuke the Russians" gang is still in office. When Reagan salutes SS Nazi graves at Bitburg, West Germany, spitting on the victims of the Holocaust, it's no wonder that the Nazi- and Klan-lovers in this administration drop the mask. Now the Reaganites propose to turn American schools into platforms for anti-Semitism, lynch mob terror and fascist filth. We say: No way!

"Facing History and Ourselves" is a curriculum focusing on the Holocaust written in 1975 by two Massachusetts high school teachers. Consisting of a teacher training course, a textbook and a collection of documentary films, the course has been used for the last ten years by over 30,000 teachers nationwide. Last year, the program applied for a federal grant to the Education Department's "National Diffusion Network," which gives funds to make programs more widely available. It ran smack into the Reagan administration's new "program significance panel," which is supposed to screen (i.e., censor) programs for "appropriateness." The panels are pushed by ultra-rightists like the Eagle Forum and "Parents to Protect Our Youth From Propaganda, Brainwashing, and Subversive Texthooks in Our Schools."

An article in the professional journal

continued on page 11

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

For the past 12 months Mordechai Vanunu has been held in solitary confinement in the notorious Ashkelon dungeon run by the Shin Beth (Israeli FBI). Vanunu faces the death penalty for courageously exposing the Zionist state's arsenal of 100-200 nuclear bombs. Vanunu is formally charged with giving information to "unauthorized persons" and "passing secrets to the enemy." The "secret" of Israel's nuclear arsenal is well known. But Vanunu's exposure of its vast extent revealed to the world that the bombs are directed not just at Arab capitals but at the Soviet Union—posing a threat of a global nuclear holocaust.

All proceedings against Vanunu are conducted behind closed doors. Vanunu's family members are limited to a half hour visit with Vanunu every two weeks and are subject to strict gag orders themselves. The Israeli government issued a warrant for the arrest of Vanunu's brother Meir on charges of espionage for telling the European press how the Israeli Mossad kidnapped Mordechai from Rome. The Partisan Defense Committee protested to the Israeli embassy this forced exile of Meir from family and home. We again demanded Mordechai Vanunu's immediate release and that all charges against both Mordechai and Meir Vanunu be dropped.

Independent

Mordechai Vanunu

In July Mordechai Vanunu wrote of his motivations in an open letter from Ashkelon prison:

> "My principal message is in several spheres. On the personal level, the individual, the citizen, anywhere on the face of the earth, has to find the way in which he can add his personal contribution to improve life on earth, its quality and safety.
>
> "In my own case, I wanted to increase the awareness of the nuclear danger in this country and in the region, so it was an action that contributes to the security and the brotherhood of nations,...
>
> "By this action I pointed out the path in which I believe, my own philosophy, about what must be done, the way in which a man must be willing to sacrifice and risk his life for the sake of an act that is important and beneficial to all mankind...."

The trial is adjourned until mid-October. We must use this time to build mass international support for his defense. Support for Vanunu has been growing, including inside the Zionist fortress itself. He has performed a great service for humanity, and that debt must be repaid. International pressure and working-class action must be mobilized to *free Vanunu now!* Send contributions for his defense to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145.

* * *

A number of MOVE members have written us about Sue Africa, who as a white member of MOVE has faced a particular form of persecution and harassment by government officials. Sue has been in Muncy, Pennsylvania state prison since 1980 on charges stemming from a 1977 cop assault on the MOVE home. After receiving her first stipend last month Sue wrote us of the state's most recent efforts to break her will:

> "Not only did the Parole Board deny my parole because I refused to abide by the stipulation that I don't associate with *any* MOVE member but they have also advised me that they will *not* be reviewing me for parole again and I have 6 more years until my maximum sentence of 12 years—*unless* I write and tell them I am 'amenable to their special stipulation that I don't associate with any MOVE member.' This is a precedent in prison parole policy, every inmate on parole is always reviewed at least every 6 mo.-1 yr."

On 13 May 1985—Mother's Day—Sue's nine-year-old son Tomasa was burned to death with four other MOVE children when Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered the bombing of their home on Osage Avenue. MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote us from Pennsylvania's death row about Sue's courage:

> "Thanx for your timely rap on Sue. She is a story that is worthy of your & all committed folks' deepest concern. The most cold, calloused and heartless treatment is reserved for 'white' MOVE members and supporters. Sue is no exception. As a reporter, I covered her 'trial'; a farce from the opening rap of the gavel, her 'judge' now sits on the State Supreme Ct., a redneck who's only interest was in separating Sue from her belief. At trial, he couldn't look that brave revolutionary in the face!
>
> "They've alternatively sent her to Fairhaven State Hospital for the criminally insane (on the particularly racist notion that any 'white' person who dared join a predominantly 'black' organization, i.e., MOVE, must, by definition, be quite mad) to keeping her isolated on separate quarters from other MOVE women, to actually taunting her with news of the incineration of MOVE infants May 13th; all in a vain attempt to wrest her from MOVE's influence. That she remained startlingly sane, not to mention, still committed to her belief, her religion, and still in resistance to this infanticidal system, is itself a tribute to a remarkable revolutionary, and a still more remarkable revolutionary teaching. ..."

The persecution of Sue Africa and all MOVE members must be met with mass protest. Send letters and telegrams demanding immediate freedom for Sue Africa to: Mr. Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 N. Front Street, Harrisburg, PA 17110.

* * *

The PDC helped publicize and pay legal expenses for the successful Spartacist lawsuit against Accuracy in Academia (see article on page 10) which forced AIA to retract its deadly libel that Spartacist publications "urge... the killing of police officers." This important victory for all defenders of democratic rights cost nearly $10,000 in legal expenses and publicity. Help defray the costs of this case. Send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. ■

TROTSKY

Trotsky on the Jewish Question

LENIN

In December 1938 Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, addressed an appeal to American Jews. Trotsky saw that Hitler's victory in Germany, the proliferation of fascist forces in Europe and the U.S. and the imminent imperialist world war posed the direct danger of genocide of the Jewish people, underlining the urgency of the fight for revolutionary leadership against the decadent capitalist system which engenders fascism and war.

The number of countries which expel the Jews grows without cease. The number of countries able to accept them decreases. At the same time the exacerbation of the struggle intensifies. It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future world war. But even without war the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the *physical extermination of the Jews*....

Now more than ever, the fate of the Jewish people—not only their political but also their physical fate—is indissolubly linked with the emancipating struggle of the international proletariat. Only audacious mobilization of the workers against reaction, creation of workers' militia, direct physical resistance to the fascist gangs, increasing self-confidence, activity and audacity on the part of all the oppressed can provoke a change in the relation of forces, stop the world wave of fascism, and open a new chapter in the history of mankind.

—Leon Trotsky, "Appeal to American Jews Menaced by Fascism and Anti-Semitism" (December 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 437 · **2 October 1987**

SL Victory Against "Accuracy in Academia"

AIA Witchhunters Retract Deadly Libel

BERKELEY

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University of California

Speaker:
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Staff counsel,
Partisan Defense Committee

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Striking Chicago Teachers Surround City Hall

CHICAGO—Over 1,000 striking teachers, members of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), surrounded City Hall on September 23 demanding Democratic mayor Harold Washington come up with the money for a decent contract. Still solid after three weeks on the picket lines, the 38,000 teachers and maintenance workers are determined to beat back the Board of Education's insulting demand for a pay cut, recently *increased* from 2 to 4 percent!

Even as Washington's administration is heavily cutting back on supplementary food distributions for the poor, his school board is cynically attempting to pry open the schools by offering free lunches to children who cross the picket lines! At the City Hall rally, strikers chanted "Chop the top," referring to the bloated salaries of school administrators. To enforce its strikebreaking, the board has filed "unfair labor practices" charges against the unions with the Illinois Labor Relations Board. Any attempt to order the striking unions back to work must be met with a massive mobilization of Chicago labor—transit workers, firemen, all city workers—to turn any injunctions into worthless scraps of paper.

At the September 23 rally strikers chanted, "Where's Harold?" A first step to winning this strike is to realize

WV Photo

Chicago teachers chant "Where's Harold?" at September 23 strike rally. Black Democratic mayor Washington is on the other side of class line.

that the black Democratic mayor *is on the other side!* Washington's school board is trying to break the CTU. The mayor's allies, like Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, are trying to mobilize black parents against the heavily black CTU. From Detroit to Chicago the black Democratic Party mayors are the hatchet men for Reagan's war on blacks and labor—*it's their job.* Those like the reformist Communist Party, which calls for the strikers to show "maximum unity" with "the Harold Washington administration" (*People's Daily World*, 17 September), are paving the way for the defeat of the teachers strike and of all city workers.

Last week Chicago transit workers were saddled with a rotten takeaway contract, the product of a state anti-labor law which was pushed through the legislature by Washington in 1983. And the drive against the city unions goes hand in hand with racist terror in Segregation City. In July trigger-happy cops gunned down disabled black auto worker Larry Hawkins in his own home, and brutally beat up and arrested Cassandra Seay, a bus driver and member of the Amalgamated Transit Union. The integrated unions in Chicago, especially teachers and transit workers, have the links to the oppressed ghetto masses and the *power* to defeat the union-busters and the racist terrorists. Blacks and all working people must break with the capitalist Democratic Party, fighting instead to forge a workers party that has on its banner the defense of all the oppressed. Victory to the Chicago teachers strike!■

Atlanta Cops Gun Down Black Viet Vet

ATLANTA—On the evening of September 10, two white plainclothes cops chased down black 38-year-old Vietnam veteran Eddie Lee Callahan. The two cops were cruising the Carver Homes housing project for "dope deals" and gunning for someone. The cops' "excuse" for chasing Callahan, who crashed his car, was that he had stolen it. The car belonged to his father. As Callahan ran away, dazed, the cops pounced on and pistol-whipped him. And while he was handcuffed, they pumped six hollow point bullets into his back and side at pointblank range.

This was the second killing by cops in a week here where the victim was shot in the back. The cops have claimed that Callahan was grabbing their gun when he was shot, but according to the *Atlanta Constitution* (15 September), "Witnesses said Callahan was handcuffed and lying face down when he was shot." Five hundred enraged residents of the black project gathered as Callahan lay dead, shouting "Murderers!" and "Killers!" at the police. For this cold-blooded racist execution the cops were suspended with pay (put on vacation) pending an internal police investigation. These same two cops were already under investigation for the brutal beating of a black man several months earlier.

On September 17, two hundred people marched to demand the cops Watson and Long be suspended without pay. Three days earlier, after 125 angry Carver Homes residents demonstrated inside City Hall chambers, black Commissioner of Public Safety George Napper had suspended the cops. But Mayor Andrew Young and Napper then revoked the suspensions when the cops threatened to "strike." This case underlines the role of black Democrats as front men for the racist capitalist system. Young, the Martin Luther King lieutenant nicknamed "Tom," went from protecting the racist killer cops from the outrage of Atlanta blacks to Washington, D.C., where he used his stature as civil rights leader to testify against racist Judge Bork. Young has recently returned from Guatemala City where he set up a program for Guatemalan death squad police to come to Atlanta for "human rights" training!

As the 1988 Democratic convention approaches, the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state has been gearing up to keep in line the black, working-class and poor majority of the "city too busy to hate." Dumdum bullets, "vagrant-free zones," West German anti-terrorist "training" for Atlanta police are elements of the deadly package. And in order to neutralize the fury around the Callahan shooting, the city and cops have launched a smear campaign against the victim. Police investigators have leaked reports that courageous eyewitnesses to the police murder failed lie detector tests while the cops passed. Meanwhile, the Fulton County coroner's office has fired a woman who accused the coroner of suppressing information which punched holes in the cops' lying cover-up.

Former King lieutenant and black city councilman Hosea Williams has tapped the seething anger of Carver Homes residents. Amid persistent warnings from the *Atlanta Constitution* to back off, Williams is leading nighttime marches and vigils at City Hall, drawing up to 300 people, until the cops are removed from the payroll. But don't be

WV Photos

Angry community protests the murder of Eddie Lee Callahan.

fooled—his attacks on Young are to push Williams' own mayoral ambitions, and no less than the mayor he's trying to divert anger away from the state. He's worried that unless a token gesture is made, the whole thing could blow in a way the Democratic Party can't handle.

Williams wants to "get rid of some rotten apples" in the police, but is not raising calls for them to be jailed, or charged with murder. He has praised the police department as being the best big city department in the nation, and leads songs with verses saying, "We love the police." Likewise, the Forsyth County march last January derailed the anger over KKK attacks into support for the Democrats, spreading illusions that the state (through the Georgia National Guard!) would protect black rights against the Klan.

The police are the armed fist of the capitalist state, and strikebreaking racist enemies of blacks and the working class. Elementary justice demands that the cop killers of Eddie Callahan be jailed! If the mainly black city workers and transit unions were to demand a halt to this racist rampage and flex some strike muscle, Young and the ruling class he serves would think twice about unleashing their police. For labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror! Black liberation through socialist revolution!■

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Chambers St. near Church St.)
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War-Crazy Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

warships and submarines, mines everywhere, and scads of Iranian speedboats for "martyrdom" attacks. The destruction of the Iranian ship provided Reagan with the desired momentary spike of popularity in the polls. But things will change swiftly if those "American boys" start getting shot down by Hawk missiles sold to Iran by the Reagan/North gang in the first place.

Reagan's Real Target Is Russia

The Iran/Iraq war, which now enters its eighth year and has cost over one million dead, is a dirty war between two repulsive dictatorial regimes. The working class must oppose both sides in this squalid bloodbath. We have called since the beginning for Iranian and Iraqi workers to turn the guns the other way and bring down Khomeini and Hussein. If Reagan now carries out his war threats, as Democrat Carter tried and failed to do, revolutionaries must defend Iran against imperialist attack. *But Reagan's real target is Russia.* Behind the Iran/contra arms scandal is the fact that Reagan and Khomeini are brothers under the skin. Washington has followed a schizophrenic policy of arming and denouncing the ayatollahs, while both of them denounce the Soviet "evil empire" and are quietly allied in a "holy war" against Communism in Afghanistan.

The imperialist powers had for years taken a low profile in the Iran/Iraq war, playing both sides off against each other. This year the U.S. started tilting more against Iran with the scheme to "reflag" Kuwaiti oil tankers and provide Navy escorts for them. At first Europe shrank from Reagan's folly, especially after the first tanker to be escorted hit a mine. The Reaganauts' high-tech 600-ship Navy looked like a helpless giant when it was revealed that they had *no* modern minesweepers. A vice admiral sheepishly admitted that a cheap "fish finder" sonar used by fishermen could have spotted the mine that hit the *Bridgeton* (*Navy Times*, 28 September). Yet the White House has since persuaded the Netherlands, Italy, Britain and Belgium to send their navies into the crazy adventure. The Japanese and West Germans have come on board; and France, whose Teheran embassy is now under siege, already has its own war fleet in place.

The sudden escalation of anti-Iran craziness is reminiscent of the anti-Libya "terrorism" frenzy of last year, which Admiral Poindexter later admitted during the Iran/contra hearings was part of a U.S. disinformation campaign to justify a military assault on Libya. In fact the terrorist HQ was on the Potomac, as the Reagan gang launched a bombing run on Tripoli in April 1986 intended to assassinate Qaddafi—they succeeded only in killing his adopted daughter along with other Libyan civilians. U.S. commando attacks on Libya continued throughout 1986, and now the Pentagon is supplying gas masks to Chad, currently engaged in a border war with Libya. Is Washington planning a poison gas attack on Libya?

Who is Reagan defending in Persian Gulf? Feudalist King Fahd of Saudi Arabia ("Country 2" of Contragate fame).

What links U.S. aggression and military adventures against Libya and Iran is the global war drive against the Soviet Union. The hysteria over Qaddafi was based on the fiction that he was the main proxy terrorist for the Kremlin. Now they're pushing the Big Lie that Russia is out to take over the Persian Gulf and cut off the "free world's" oil supply. The U.S. wants to "reflag" the Gulf as "Lake Michigan" in the name of "freedom of navigation," even though the only ones it's vital to as a commercial waterway are Iran and the local sultanates. But Reagan's nutty military adventurism is far more dangerous in the strategic Persian Gulf, a nodal point of world tensions just a few hundred miles from the Soviet Union, than in North Africa.

Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peacekeeping with Imperialism

The Soviet Union can chortle over Reagan's foundering in the Gulf. Responding to American calls for an arms embargo against Iran, Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov jibed, "We are not selling arms to Iran. Some other countries were selling arms to Iran and telling others not to do so" (*New York Times*, 25 September). Moreover Moscow recently agreed with Iran to build a railroad and pipeline linking the USSR with fabled "warm water ports," which must drive Washington crazy. But the Soviets are anxious to end the Gulf war in order to strengthen ties with *both* Khomeini's Teheran and Saddam Hussein's Baghdad. Fat chance!

Gorbachev & Co. have been trying to push a negotiated settlement to the war via UN Resolution 598, which calls for a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces. In fact the Soviets last year started paying money into the fund for United Nations "peacekeeping" operations, such as the UNIFIL forces in Lebanon, which are nothing more than border guards for Israel. Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze is now pushing for a UN force to go into the Gulf. The Soviets' proposal would only legitimize imperialist intervention by giving it a UN flag—as when the U.S. invaded Korea in the '50s, or raped the Congo and killed African nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba in 1961.

Lenin called the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, an imperialist "den of thieves." The United Nations is an imperialist cabal along with their neocolonial victims in the "Third World," as well as bureaucratically deformed workers states like the Soviet Union. Gorbachev still pines for the old Stalinist dream of 1945, when they thought that the "Big Five" (U.S., Britain, USSR, France and China) would rule the world through the UN. But almost immediately Truman and Churchill launched the Cold War to "roll back" Communism and eventually overthrow the Soviet government in the name of "free world" capitalism. Whether there's a war-crazed madman like Reagan in the White House or Democratic Cold Warriors like Truman and Kennedy, defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist warmongers requires world socialist revolution.

As the Iran/Contragate affair demonstrated, the war drive against the Soviet Union abroad also means the subversion of any pretense of parliamentary democracy at home. Once again Reagan is flouting laws designed to prevent a president from running amok—in this case, the toothless War Powers Act, which requires the president to inform Congress when he puts troops in a situation of "imminent hostilities." Invoking the act would mean that Congress must approve a continuation of the military action. So Reagan simply ignores it and goes into the Gulf with guns blazing. And once again the lily-livered liberals in Congress have capitulated, timidly suggesting a watered-down version of the same empty law so they don't "tie the president's hands."

From Central America to the Persian Gulf, the gang in power in Washington have been looking for an easy "win" against the Soviets. The Reaganauts were "walking tall" after stomping the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada (hoping everyone would forget their Beirut fiasco). But their Grenada high didn't last. They've gone after Nicaragua with a vengeance, vowing (as CIA director Casey put it) to take back at least one country from Communism. But it hasn't been so easy—the Nicaraguan masses have fought tenaciously to defend their revolution. Even Qaddafi's house refused to fall down no matter how hard Reagan puffed. And now the Reaganauts are desperate. No major power in its right mind would go to war over the Persian Gulf, but who ever thought the Reagan regime was sane? ■

Spartacist Events

Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!
Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

NEW YORK
Thursday, Oct. 15
7:30 p.m.
Barnard Hall
Room 306A
Barnard College
For more information
(212) 267-1025

AMHERST
Monday, Oct. 19
7:30 p.m.
(Room to be announced)
UMass Amherst

BOSTON
Tuesday, Oct. 20
7:30 p.m.
(Room to be announced)
Harvard University
For more information (617) 492-3928

Speaker: Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist League Central Committee
Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor, 1985

CLEVELAND
Saturday, Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m.
109 University Center
2121 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland State University

OBERLIN
Sunday, Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m.
Wilder YW
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 881-3700

Speaker: Tweet Carter, Spartacist League

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

LOS ANGELES
Friday, October 2, 7:00 p.m.
Dodd Hall, Room 154
UCLA

Speaker
Joseph Seymour
Spartacist League
Central Committee

For more information (213) 380-8239

SEATTLE
Friday, October 2
Time and location to be announced

Speaker
Martha Phillips
Member, Spartacist League,
just returned from the Soviet Union

Eyewitness Report—
Slides of Leningrad and Moscow

For more information (415) 839-0851

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

CHICAGO
Wednesday, Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.
Ida Noyes, Library
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

Speakers:
Judith Preston
Member, Spartacus Youth Club,
recently returned from Nicaragua

Marijke Asten
Spartacist League

Relatives of KAL 007 Victims:

WV Photo

UPI

Families mourn relatives who died on KAL 007, in New York (left) and Japan. Now many know culprit is in the White House.

We Accuse Reagan!

The morning after Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down by a Soviet fighter jet on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, the Reagan administration put its anti-Soviet propaganda machine into high gear. And while Democrats and Republicans alike were vituperating against the "evil empire," the U.S. government was systematically suppressing the accumulating evidence which contradicted the official claim of an "innocent" flight gone "astray." A National Transportation Safety Board investigation was called off, Air Force tapes were erased, air controllers silenced.

We said right off, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (see the Spartacist pamphlet *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*). Ever since, proof has piled up that the airliner was on a spy mission over some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, overflying Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island. At first, everyone from hard-core Reaganauts to Congressional Democrats and the "free but responsible" American bourgeois press insisted that "our government" wouldn't send over 200 innocent airline passengers to their deaths in a monstrous anti-Soviet provocation. Now after the Iran/contra scandal the blinders are being lifted, as people realize that lies and murder are the M.O. of the Reagan gang.

And those who are angriest about it all are the relatives of the victims. On September 9 a press conference was held in Washington to present new evidence just published in David Pearson's *KAL 007: The Cover-Up*. During the discussion period, a young man spoke out:

> "Let me answer from a person who lost a mother and father on the flight. I've been living with this thing since...and I've been optimistic [about] having an investigation. I had no idea about the feeling that a lot of information was hidden, and based on the Iran/contra thing—how much can be hidden and destroyed ... There are facts out there, and we're not being allowed to see these facts [as] to what really happened.... What country do we live in, if we can't get a good investigation? What do we pay our taxes for? What kind of defense do we have?".

When a hostile "reporter" from *Aviation Week* tried to shift the blame for the deaths onto the Soviets, another relative, Nan Oldham, shot back that it was the American government's responsibility:

> "Our relatives had no business being over Sakhalin, they had no business being over Kamchatka. My son bought his ticket in Greenwich Village, he was going to China to teach for a year. He didn't expect to be used for electronic intelligence or political purpose. He didn't expect to be sent or to go wherever he went. Why don't we know these things? We want both the National Transportation Safety Board and Congress to investigate....
> "A commercial flight should act like a commercial flight. It shouldn't go over one naval base and turn and go over another, should it? Don't you think anybody would shoot down [such] a plane?"

As the Congressional Contragate hearings demonstrated in full measure, lies and cover-up are part of the daily routine of American imperialism. As Marxists, we have insisted that the capitalist state will not carry out an "impartial investigation" of the KAL 007 affair, which is anchored on the central axis of the Cold War: smashing the Soviet Union. Will it take a victorious workers revolution to finally open the files on this and the rest of imperialism's crimes? ■

The KAL Tapes

At a September 9 press conference in Washington, D.C., Yale scholar David Pearson presented what he termed the "single most important new piece of evidence" in the investigation of Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007's provocative overflight of sensitive Soviet military regions four years ago. Tapes of background conversations among the Anchorage air traffic controllers on that fateful night show that the U.S. knew the plane was heading for Soviet airspace and deliberately did not stop it. KAL 007 was a U.S. war provocation.

As detailed in Pearson's new book *KAL 007: The Cover-Up*, about an hour and a half after takeoff, at a time when KAL 007 had already made a rightward turn toward Soviet airspace, an air controller tried five times to contact the plane but could not. He initiated a call to a private radio service in an attempt to relay a message, but then inexplicably canceled it. Two minutes later a voice from a loudspeaker (someone elsewhere in the complex, or a military controller at Elmendorff Air Force Base?) announces, "Okay, you guys got *someone bumping into the Russians' air defenses* over here" (emphasis added). Then come the responses: "Oh, you're kidding," "A person should warn him" and "That's why you should've given the information here, instead of waiting." In the end, no warning was issued, though clearly they perceived the plane was dangerously off course some *four hours* before the shootdown!

Besides the Anchorage tapes, obtained in 1985 through a Freedom of Information Act request, the investigators also analyzed communications between KAL 007 and Tokyo air traffic controllers. The Tokyo tape was plagued by mysterious noise which blotted out critical pieces of information, in particular the supposed "final" message from KAL 007. But when an acoustics expert compared the official Tokyo tape with an early, partial tape obtained from the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, he found there was *no* such noise on this early tape. His conclusion: the official tape had been doctored. This is only one example of an elaborate U.S./Japanese governmental cover-up.

Dr. Thomas Amlie, a Pentagon military engineer and scientific/technical adviser for the liberal Fund for Constitutional Government which financed the investigation, added another small bombshell at the press conference: a very reliable source ("whose name I will not reveal to anybody except to the investigators") asserts that "there was a piece of [avionics] equipment on that airplane that didn't belong there." This would fit in with a story which circulated in September 1983 that a KAL plane with the same tail number as that of Flight 007 had been flown into Andrews Air Force Base on August 11, not long before the fateful flight:

> "Upon arrival it was taken to the far end of the field to building 1752, operated by E-Systems. E-Systems is a Dallas-based defense and CIA contractor specializing in electronic warfare equipment. There, the Korean airliner was said to have been outfitted with unspecified electronic gear."
>
> —Pearson, *KAL 007: The Cover-Up*

When someone reported this story to Reagan's National Security Adviser William P. Clark, he reportedly went berserk and branded it "Soviet disinformation." That same day the director of the top-secret National Security Agency, Lt. Gen. Lincoln Faurer, "called a number of editors and publishers to his office to tell them the Andrews story had been fabricated by the Russians." Amlie's revelation lends even more credence to Soviet marshal Nikolai Ogarkov's statement in September 1983 that

continued on page 12

Shootdown/Viking

Der Spiegel

Alaskan air controllers saw KAL 007 heading toward Soviet airspace, but did nothing. The plane's provocative course was deliberate.

Oakland Meeting Defends Class-War Prisoners

OAKLAND, California—Partisans of the cause of freedom for America's foremost class-war prisoners and other important defense cases gathered here on August 21 at a forum sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. About 130 people attended the Oakland meeting, held at the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 28 hall. Don Alexander, spokesman for the Spartacist League and Labor Black League, centered his remarks on the case of former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt, who has spent 17 years behind bars (eight of them in solitary) on a frame-up murder charge. Among the guest speakers were Dennis Jennings on behalf of American Indian militant Leonard Peltier, a leader of the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, framed on bogus cop-killing charges; a spokesman for victimized Watsonville cannery strikers; and Constance Scott for the Freedom Socialist Party and its Seattle Freeway Hall case.

WV Photo

An injury to one is an injury to all! Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League forum brought out 130 people in support of united class-struggle defense.

Janet McCullough John spoke for the PDC, noting that its work was based on the tradition of the International Labor Defense during the 1920s. "The ILD fused two great traditions," she said, "that of the Wobblies—of militant class struggle and the slogan, 'An injury to one is an injury to all'—with the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917." She was greeted by applause as she held aloft the lantern given to the Spartacist League by the National Union of Mineworkers in South Wales. The lantern was a token of appreciation for the PDC's 1984 campaign that raised $23,000 for the striking British miners. They, in turn, have now joined with American unionists in support of Geronimo Pratt: three NUM locals have sent letters and telegrams on Pratt's behalf.

There was heartfelt applause again when Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West read a letter from Mordechai Vanunu, the courageous Israeli nuclear technician now on trial in Jerusalem. Vanunu faces the death sentence for his exposure of the Zionist nuclear arsenal: *hundreds* of Israeli warheads aimed not only at every Arab capital but at the Soviet Union itself. All humanity owes this champion of peace a debt of gratitude for alerting the international proletariat to this heightened danger of thermonuclear holocaust.

Carlos Hernández spoke for the Watsonville One Thousand Defense Committee. Having failed to break the union, the company is now trying to intimidate the workforce by framing four cannery workers who defended their picket line during the hard-fought 18-month strike which ended last March. The strike was *solid*, and the Watsonville strikers are justly proud of it. "When we began this strike, we were one thousand strikers," said Hernández. "When we ended the strike, we were *the same one thousand strikers*." Now he and other union brothers face charges that could put them behind bars for years. All labor must fight to drop the charges against the Watsonville strikers!

Dennis Jennings of the American Indian Movement spoke on behalf of imprisoned militant Leonard Peltier, convicted in 1977 on trumped-up murder charges in the shooting death of two FBI agents on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. This racist COINTELPRO frame-up has already stolen ten years of the life of this American Indian leader. A campaign of international pressure recently forced Leavenworth prison authorities to allow Peltier, suffering from a severe eye disorder, to be examined by two Soviet specialists; he has been invited to the Soviet Union for treatment. Jennings said he had accepted the PDC's invitation "because of your work in behalf of Geronimo Pratt." He spoke of the mass petition campaign for Peltier inside the Soviet Union, and read a letter from Peltier sketching his work on behalf of the Indian community: "For this, my work to help people live in peace, I may spend the rest of my life in prison."

The Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party is the victim of a witchhunting vendetta initiated by a disgruntled ex-member who had donated money in the purchase of a new headquarters after the FSP was evicted from its "Freeway Hall." The FSP has refused to turn over its membership lists, internal documents and minutes of party meetings to the government. Constance Scott of the FSP told the audience that "our members and our organization face financial penalties, the possibility of losing our headquarters, and perhaps jail." The defense of the FSP's principled refusal to disclose their internal documents is vital to the workers movement and critical to all who would defend democratic rights.

* * *

We print below excerpts from the speech of Don Alexander of the Spartacist League and Bay Area Labor Black League:

Reagan, Meese, Rehnquist—they're the criminals who belong in jail, not Geronimo Pratt. They belong in the jailhouse for their enormous and bloody crimes against working people and minorities abroad and at home—from Tripoli to Managua to Philadelphia. From J. Edgar Hoover's FBI targeting of Marcus Garvey for imprisonment, to the FBI and so-called "Justice" Department disruption, surveillance, harassment of M.L. King and other civil rights activists, to their bloody campaign of extermination of the Panthers—the racist capitalist rulers seek the destruction of militant black struggle which could open the road to general social struggle and the possibility of thousands of blacks becoming reds.

Of the 295 FBI COINTELPRO operations against the black organizations in the '60s and early '70s, 233 of them were against the Panthers. Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered by the state, hundreds were arrested, many driven into exile, countless suffered preventive detention—this happened in the land of freedom for the capitalists. Geronimo Pratt was framed. You name it, and they've reached far down into their grimy bag of dirty tricks in order to destroy him. We have to redouble our efforts to free him. While we favor all legal efforts to free him, we place absolutely no confidence in the capitalist courts, cops and politicians, but only in the independent mobilizations of the working people and the oppressed.

People here remember that Reagan was trying to crush black militancy in the '60s while he was governor of California and Meese was his assistant. They oversaw the war of extermination against the Panthers. In the late '60s,

Indian Nation

Wounded Knee, 1973: Rifle-toting U.S. marshals besiege American Indian protesters.

Rehnquist fought to jail a *New York Times* reporter, Earl Caldwell, for refusing to turn over his records and photographs on the Panthers for prosecution. The Panther leaders were cut down by the state in the most savage and systematic murder campaign ever seen in the modern-day United States. And we have fought to invoke their memory in our fight against "McCarthyism with a drawn gun," in our successful fight against the attempt by the FBI, Reagan, etc., to set us up as terrorist outlaws to be blown away in the dead of night.

We defend Pratt and all class-war prisoners as an integral and consistent part of our struggle for world socialism. We have raised the call for his freedom internationally. British coal miners have called for his freedom. Radio Moscow reported on the February rally [the

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AP

WV Photo

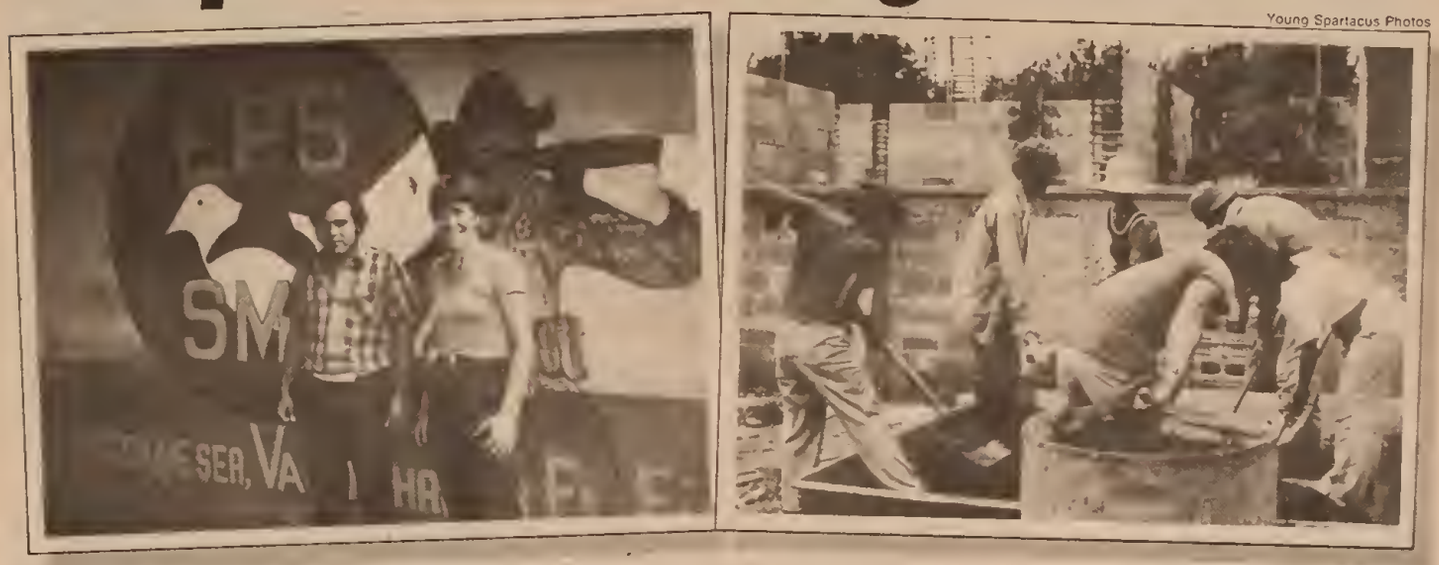
Savage COINTELPRO murder campaign against black leadership. Los Angeles Black Panther Party headquarters hit by mass cop "search and destroy" operation, December 1969. Former L.A. Panther leader Geronimo Pratt (right), America's foremost class-war prisoner, must be free!

Young Spartacus

"Peace" Hoax Imperils Nicaraguan Masses

Eyewitness Reports from Spartacist Brigadistas

Young Spartacus Photos



Left: Mary Jo with fellow worker in Managua. Mural for military service reads: "Whatever the cost, we'll go to the end." Judith (in dark shirt with shovel) at work with fellow brigadistas on construction site for ISCA university.

In conjunction with our "Nicabucks" campaign to raise hard currency for the defense of Nicaragua, Spartacus Youth Clubs have organized an ambitious speaking tour of Spartacist *brigadistas* recently returned from embattled Nicaragua. Comrades and friends have presented eyewitness accounts and slide shows, and a Trotskyist analysis of the road forward for the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Mary Jo Marino, a CCNY student and New York City transit worker, donated a month's labor in Nicaragua as an industrial electrician. SYC *brigadistas* Dan and Judith recently returned from work building a soil testing facility for the ISCA university near Managua. We print here edited excerpts from Mary Jo's forum at Columbia University on September 11, Judith's eyewitness account given at Oberlin University on September 15, and Dan's diary.

A central topic of discussion at these SYC events has been the treacherous "peace" plan accepted by the FSLN and promoted by Democratic Party liberals and U.S. client states in Central America. Yet even as the Sandinista government tries to appease Washington by implementing a unilateral truce and reopening "*La PrenCIA*" and a reactionary clerical radio station as a gesture of "good will," Reagan declares that "communist Nicaragua is, in fact, a Soviet beachhead in the Americas," and is gearing up to request another $270 million in contra aid.

A "peace" of paper solves nothing. The struggle continues and a Trotskyist party is urgently needed to bring down the anti-Soviet warmongers in this country and to lead the masses to victory in Nicaragua as well.

* * *

Mary Jo:

I'm sure that the position on the peace treaty is something that is not immediately clear to people. This peace treaty is an attempt by the Democrats and the various rulers of the other Central American countries to freeze the revolution in Nicaragua right where it is, and to stop the spread of revolution through the rest of Central America. This peace treaty will not bring peace.

What does it mean to say there will be amnesty for the contras and for the National Guard? It means that the people that are killing the sons of the workers and peasants in the northern provinces and along the Costa Rican border, as well as the National Guardsmen that are currently in jail, will be free to walk the streets with the families of their victims. And it's a real knife in the back to the Salvadoran insurgents, who are actually in an advantageous position in Salvador right now. There are many Salvadoran refugees who currently live in Nicaragua and are able to politically organize. The implementation of this treaty would definitely mean a move against these political refugees.

Many have argued that the peace treaty will provide a little breathing space for Nicaragua to develop peacefully. But FSLN leader Omar Cabezas said straight out that what this means is that there's going to be more space *for the right wing* to organize. Furthermore the population is presently armed

continued on page 8

no credit

Militiawomen at Bluefields. Nicaraguan women play active role in production and defense. SYC Nicabucks campaign raises funds for material aid to embattled Nicaragua. Order buttons ($2.00) and send contributions to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118 Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Every dollar donated goes to Nicaragua.

Spartacist Brigadistas...

(continued from page 7)

and organized. What if some of these armed militias go take direct action against *La Prensa*? What's the government going to do? They would have to crack heads, and move against the people within Nicaragua who oppose this betrayal—and there will be those people, believe me.

If they invite back the big landlords, what happens to the agrarian policy in Nicaragua? Already many of the peasants have never received land, because very early on the Sandinista government said "whoa, stop, wait" to the peasants who seized estates. If they invite all these big landlords back, will these peasants ever have land? What will happen to the cooperative movement if these big landowners return? Already opposition demonstrations have been demanding a return of confiscated property, and a dissolution of the Sandinista Defense Committees—in other words, they want to smash the organizations of the people. So obviously this also signals more concessions to the capitalist class.

I'm sure people are aware of the work of Ben Linder, who was bringing electricity to the rural villages. If this kind of "peace" went through, would these villages ever see electricity? Or how about health care? Would that once again become a luxury of a few people? One of the good things the Sandinistas did was open up education to the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants. If there is a reversal, will it once again be simply the domain of the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie and the better-off middle class? What about women? Will they ever win the right to abortion and day care under a "peace"

Andy Peri

Contra war comes home: Brian Willson (center) protesting on tracks before munitions train ran him down.

aimed at further conciliating the Catholic church?

At City College one fellow raised his hand and said, "Well, if this peace plan is so detrimental to Nicaragua, why would Ortega sign it?" One has to look at what the Sandinistas are and what they really represent. Despite the fact that the papers here are always saying that they're some kind of hard-core Marxist revolutionaries, really what they are is nationalists.

The FSLN believes that there can be social progress in Nicaragua *without* expropriating the capitalist class, that they can have a bloc with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie in the country and go forward. Their perspective internationally is that they would like to see a more friendly administration in Washington. That means the Democratic Party. From their point of view the possibility of ever having a revolution in the United States is as far out as Star Wars. Because of their framework of nationalism, they do not even look to furthering revolutions in countries like El Salvador or Guatemala, or more importantly Mexico.

Now a lot of people have been arguing that this plan is good because at least it's a Central American initiative. No. This is not a Central American initiative. This peace plan was basically written by Senator Dodd and adopted and promoted by Arias in the region. Because Reagan's contra war has failed, they want to step in, they want a chance to try their tactics to stop things cold. Remember the history of the Democratic Party: Walter Mondale ran for president on a program to *quarantine* Nicaragua.

The Democrats have been very clear that should the Sandinistas do anything so wild as to accept MIGs from the Soviet government, they would support bombing them off the map. If they're so interested in peace in Central America, why is it that they so routinely vote aid to the contras and Duarte's death squad "democracy" in El Salvador?

The Democrats have often been the ones to execute and escalate the wars that the Republicans have laid the ground for—remember Vietnam. When we put before you the possibility of fighting to complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution and joining our Nicabucks campaign of material aid to defend Nicaragua, the alternative that you're seeing from the "solidarity" movement is to go lobby the Democrats. There is a fundamental problem here: the Democrats, too, want to strangle this revolution.

One of the important things here is that peace is not going to be decided by a piece of paper. And a sellout is not something that is going to go over easy. These people have not had their sons and daughters fight and die to hand back to the exploiters everything that they feel that they have won.

* * *

Judith:

I went to Nicaragua to show my solidarity with that revolution and to donate my labor for work on a construction project, something that could be used in the future by the Nicaraguan people. This was a very valuable experience, to be able to talk with Nicaraguans who don't have any illusions that the Democratic Party is any alternative to the Republicans. They remember that the Bay of Pigs invasion was launched from Nicaragua by John F. Kennedy. They knew of the oppression of workers and minorities in the U.S. and are very supportive of the *brigadistas*.

My first weekend I went to Matagalpa, which is about 90 kilometers north of Managua in mountainous territory. This is where a lot of contras hide out and carry out their attacks, mostly against the campesino cooperatives. One of my fellow *brigadistas* brought balloons to give to the children, and the whole neighborhood came out. Matagalpa is very poor, and these kids had infected faces, infected feet, distended bellies, no clothes.

Ben Linder was buried in Matagalpa. To symbolize the happiness that he brought to many Nicaraguan children when he worked with the Managua circus, his gravestone is engraved with a unicycle, a dove and some balls in a circle. At the cemetery where Ben Linder is buried, graves are allotted for another 17,500 people—the future victims of contra terror, yet to be put into the ground.

Franco, one of the Nicaraguans I worked with on the construction project, was from Jinotega, which is an area right outside of Matagalpa. One day, while working in Matagalpa, contras stormed down the hill and killed one of his coworkers. Everyone who worked on this project was armed, so Franco turned around and killed the contra and was awarded medals for that. He has brothers who fight in the military and already lost two to the contra murderers in 1983. Franco was in the reserve army. He left our construction project for military service on the same day that the contras murdered an older woman and a nine-year-old girl and burned down 29 houses on a cooperative outside his hometown of Jinotega. All of us *brigadistas* felt that Franco would avenge this.

All of the skilled workers on our project were Nicaraguans. My foreman, Gustavo, and I would sit around at lunchtime and talk about the revolution. I asked him what he thought about Soviet aid and he said, "Well, what do they want us to fight with? All we have here is rocks and axes." Every day, very effective Soviet military helicopters would fly overhead, which made us feel very safe and secure.

At the University of Central America (UCA) the FSLN runs a preparatory school for campesinos who fought in the military and never received any secondary education. The university student population has doubled in Nicaragua since 1978. Students get their books and tuition paid for, and according to their needs, they can also get subsidized transportation, food and housing. Youth attend school until they're 16 or 17 years old and then go into the military. You see everybody reading around Nicaragua. The bookstores are filled with Marxist literature, science books, novels—most published in the Soviet Union and Cuba and which cost only about a dime.

I had a chance to talk to one of the leaders of the Juventud (the Sandinista youth organization) and we had a big argument over amnesty. This guy had just come back from spending five weeks in the hills handing letters over to contra families, appealing to them to call on members of their families to lay down their arms. He lost a lot of friends who were killed by the contras and he admitted that "sometimes when they hand over their arms, the first thing I want to do is blow them away." This amnesty is a betrayal by the Sandinis-

NICAT

BENJAMIN ERNEST LINDER
1959 - 1987

Benjamin Linder, internacionalista, murdered by U.S. contra terrorists.

Young Spartacus

Comrade Dan at Ben Linder's grave in Matagalpa, an honored site for young defenders of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Barreto/NY Times

"Peace" plan reopens contra mouthpiece. We say: Shut down La PrenCIA for good!

tas—and the majority of the people I met were opposed to it.

Everybody that I met in Nicaragua was also opposed to reopening *La Prensa*. By giving a voice to these counterrevolutionaries known as *La PrenCIA*, the FSLN is essentially giving them the right to kill. These scum advocate taking up arms against the Sandinistas and overthrowing the government. These guys are also the mouthpiece for the black marketeers who sabotage the economy and are a great threat to the proletariat.

There's a beautiful statue in downtown Managua inscribed with the slogan, "Only the workers and peasants will go to the end." We recognize the hope embodied in that, but for the revolution to be consolidated and made permanent requires a Trotskyist leadership to carry out a program to expropriate the bourgeoisie and extend the revolution throughout Central America and beyond.

In Nicaragua, the Democrats and Republicans want to score a "win" in their anti-Soviet war drive. They seek to crush the Nicaraguan Revolution because it is a tremendous inspiration to the workers and oppressed people of all the world, including to youth and black and Hispanic workers in this country. Our job is to put an end to imperialism once and for all by putting an end to capitalism here in this country.

• • •

Dan:

August 19: We met with the FSLN women's organization, AMNLAE. A representative of the organization stressed the gains for women since the revolution. In 1977 the literacy rate for women was 7 percent, last year it was 87 percent. Special hospitals have been opened up for women and women now take an active part in defense and production. The new Nicaraguan constitution states that women have equal rights—pretty significant when you think that the ERA can't even get passed in the U.S.

The AMNLAE representative was uncomfortable and hedged when asked about abortion. She told her skeptical audience that abortion was a "divisive issue" and that only when the war was over would the question be taken up. It is obvious that the Sandinistas are caving in to pressure from the Catholic church and trying to appease the counterrevolutionary opposition. Many women's lives are lost because of the ban on abortions. Reagan calls the Sandinistas "Communists," but real communists, the Bolsheviks, made abortion legal over 60 years ago in the Soviet Union.

August 22: Hitched out to a cooperative run by Salvadoran refugees about six kilometers outside Esteli, Nicaragua is a beacon for Salvadorans fleeing junta terror. Here they are given land, seeds, tools, schools, and a chance to start over. But only a small number make it to Nicaragua. Salvadorans who are caught on the dangerous journey through Honduras are put in concentration camps and many others who try to cross the Gulf of Fonseca in small boats are shot out of the water. Although everyone in this region of Nicaragua is armed, the Sandinistas try to allay the concerns of the "international community" by keeping Salvadoreños unarmed. It's suicidal even to cut sugar cane without your AK-47 here. Four weeks ago during the eighth anniversary festivities contras burned Soviet-made tractors and killed a health care worker at a nearby cooperative.

August 24: Visited the Toña beer factory this morning. It's privately owned by a millionaire who's now in Miami. Workers work 12-hour shifts and earn about $15 a month. It was infuriating to see over 20 percent of the product flowing down floor drains because faulty parts in a bottling machine can't be replaced due to the U.S. embargo (all the equipment here was made in Milwaukee). But now they use Czechoslovakian malt, so it's good beer.

A kilometer away on the other side of the highway, we visited the state-owned Fanatex textile factory. Here workers work eight-hour shifts for $12 a month. As workers returned from lunch, a Sandinista spokeswoman urged them to sign up for volunteer work because the plant was behind quota. Workers listened quietly with their arms crossed. How many must be fuming at being asked to work voluntary overtime as a patriotic duty while the FSLN refuses to expropriate the beer baron across the street who never reinvests a cent of his profits!

Sept. 4: The bloodthirsty attempted murder of Brian Willson, run down by a train carrying weapons eventually bound for the contras, made front-page headlines in the papers here. *Barricada* stressed that Willson was a Vietnam veteran and that he was run down while practicing civil disobedience. It was announced that Ortega's wife is going to visit Willson in the hospital, to convey the deep admiration of the Nicaraguan people for his courage in standing up to the U.S. war machine. ■

WV Photo

Chicago Spartacists join protest against contra war criminal Adolfo Calero, July 18.

Young Spartacus

"Peace" plan calls for amnesty for Somozaist killers. Nicaraguan mother grieves while telling brigadistas of savage murder of her son.

AIA Retraction...

(continued from page 10)

organization notorious as a front for right wing machinations), they now have forced the notorious 'Accuracy in Academia' to retract as well. Libelous statements that anyone 'advocates violence,' especially against the police, are part of a continuing attempt to equate speech with action and to blur the line between the two, so that somebody's 'violent' thoughts and speech can become an excuse for actual violence by their opponents, inside and outside the government.... By showing courage on this occasion, the Spartacists have eliminated dangers for all of us; and we should all be grateful."

Ann N. Michelini
Officer, American Association of University Professors*
(Cincinnati)

Defend Free Speech

"I have just read the news of the June 19, 1987, settlement of the Spartacist League libel suit filed against 'Accuracy in Academia.' Even though I have my political differences with SL and my own constitutional problems with libel laws, I have absolutely no reservations in my unmitigated opposition to the AIA and its persecutive tactics. Freedom for all is endangered by the articulated purposes and the demonstrated tactics of AIA. Whenever any individual or group monitors the content of speech, the result is ideological conformity, self-censorship, and infringement of the freedom of speech and association.

"I applaud your victory. My own investigation of Accuracy in Academia has convinced me that these 'virtuous' and 'right-thinking' watchdogs use political pressure, spies, and intimidation in their attempts to insure that the classroom is swept clean of all 'dirt' and 'untruth' as defined by the AIA censors. The Spartacist League victory against AIA is an important victory for all of us who believe that individuals in our society have a right to be exposed to all ideas and to make choices among those ideas. We do not need witchhunters, spies, or monitors who abridge access to certain ideas and fetter the freedom of each student and teacher to read, write, hear, speak, think, and choose."

Nancy G. McDermid
Dean, School of Humanities
San Francisco State University*

Can't Ignore AIA

"In the fall of 1986 a student in my class in the Law and Justice Program ('Authority, Liberty and Law') anonymously claimed that he was monitoring the course for Accuracy in Academia.... After one of my lectures a Nazi sticker was pasted on my office door with the Swastika and a 'stop all immigration' slogan. The sticker was affixed to a statement of Martin Niemöller which I had posted on my door: 'In Germany they first came for the Communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me—and by that time no one was left to speak up'....

"The purpose of Accuracy in Academia like the Moral Majority and the American Nazi Party is to intimidate and silence anyone who even slightly disagrees with them. While we cannot overestimate their power and organization neither can we ignore them. My response will be to teach more about fascism not less."

Charley Shively
Professor
Law and Justice Program
University of Massachusetts,*
Boston

Evil Irvine

"Reed Irvine is one of the principal apologists for neo-fascist ideology in the world today!"

Chip Berlet
Secretary, National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee*

**Organizational and university affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.* ■

WV Photo

February 1987: Spartacists picket ABC's anti-Communist soap opera Amerika, brain child of witchhunter Reed Irvine.

Young Spartacus

Campus Contras Cry Uncle

In an important victory for democratic rights, the Spartacist League won a libel lawsuit against the malicious witchhunters of "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA). In a pamphlet titled "Appeasing the Censors: A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses," AIA invented and peddled a libel that kills: that Spartacist publications "urge...the killing of police officers." As a result of our suit, AIA was forced to print a prominent retraction in the July/August issue of AIA's *Campus Report*.

The settlement was reached on June 19 when AIA, its executive director Laszlo Csorba, and Reed Irvine, AIA's founder and head of "Accuracy in Media," admitted their deadly lies were utterly false. While "Big Brother" Irvine and little brother Csorba squirmed with embarrassment, the SL's attorney Jonathan Lubell proclaimed the settlement "a total victory" in a statement carried by Associated Press. UPI also carried a story on AIA's retraction, as did the *Wall Street Journal* and a number of campus and black community newspapers.

Successfully forcing these campus contras to back down is especially important now as the dirty contra war comes home with the attempted murder of Brian Willson, brutally maimed outside a California naval base for protesting U.S. war moves on Nicaragua. As Reagan's domestic shock troops, AIA is the living embodiment of what we've called "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." From spying on, harassing and intimidating liberal and leftist professors to lauding physical violence such as the sledgehammer attack on students in an anti-apartheid shanty at Dartmouth, AIA cuts a wide swath. We found support for our case among the many victims and intended targets of these sinister thought cops. As Saul Landau, an early target of AIA, wrote us: "Everyone attacked by AIA should fight back. Glad you won!" Other letters of congratulation are reprinted below.

A Real "Mitzvah"

"I congratulate the SL on its successful libel suit against Accuracy in Academia (AIA). I wish I could say that this will keep these ultrareactionaries honest. It won't. But it will make them more careful, a little less wild in their charges, and therefore a little less dangerous to everyone on the left. You've done a real 'mitzvah' this time."

Bertell Ollman
Professor of Political Science
New York University*

Good Offense

"Your recent victory over AIA demonstrates once again that the best defense against anti-communist witchhunters is a powerful offense based on truth. Congratulations!"

Richard Rubenstein
Author and Professor
of Public Affairs
George Mason University*

Right on Target

"...The Spartacist League picks its targets extremely well. After attacking a libel by the followers of Rev. Moon (an

continued on page 9

CAMPUS REPORT
from Accuracy in Academia
JULY-AUGUST, 1987
Volume II, Number 7

Correction

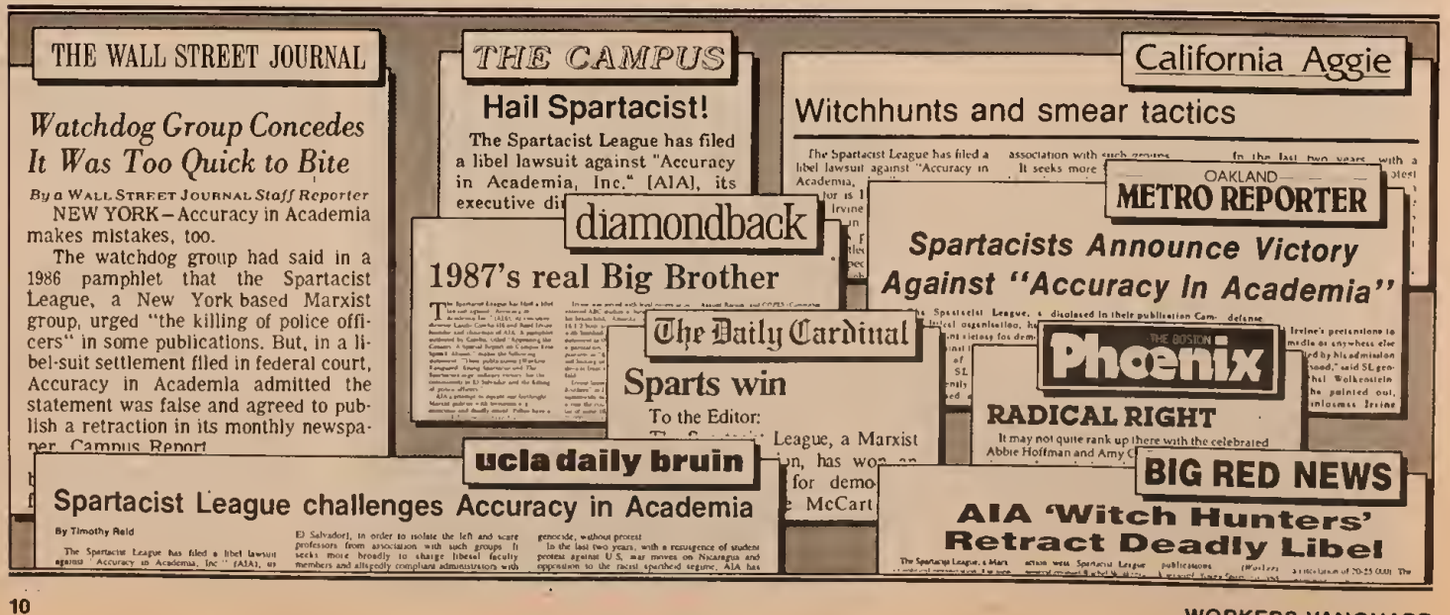
AIA and Laszlo Csorba now admit the falsity of a statement contained in a pamphlet published and distributed by them that the Spartacist League in its ''publications *(Workers Vanguard, Young Spartacus,* and *The Spartacus (sic)* urge . . . the killing of police officers.'' This statement about the Spartacist League is false.

Don't mess with the Spartacist League! AIA forced to retract deadly libel in July/August issue of Campus Report.

"Accuracy in Academia" Eats Its Deadly Lies

California Aggie

Inaccurate and not academic: pipsqueak McCarthyite Les Csorba with drawn gun. Csorba & Co. would purge universities of leftists as his personal hero, death squad leader D'Aubuisson, did in El Salvador. SL suit is blow against campus witchhunters.



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Watchdog Group Concedes It Was Too Quick to Bite

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—Accuracy in Academia makes mistakes, too.

The watchdog group had said in a 1986 pamphlet that the Spartacist League, a New York based Marxist group, urged "the killing of police officers" in some publications. But, in a libel-suit settlement filed in federal court, Accuracy in Academia admitted the statement was false and agreed to publish a retraction in its monthly newspaper, Campus Report.

THE CAMPUS

Hail Spartacist!

The Spartacist League has filed a libel lawsuit against "Accuracy in Academia, Inc." [AIA], its executive di

California Aggie

Witchhunts and smear tactics

The Spartacist League has filed a libel lawsuit against "Accuracy in Academia,

association with

It seeks more

diamondback

1987's real Big Brother

OAKLAND METRO REPORTER

Spartacists Announce Victory Against "Accuracy In Academia"

The Daily Cardinal

Sparts win

To the Editor:

League, a Marxist

on, has wo

for demo-

McCart

THE BOSTON Phœnix

RADICAL RIGHT

It may not quite rank up there with the celebrated Abbie Hoffman and Amy C

ucla daily bruin

Spartacist League challenges Accuracy in Academia

By Timothy Reid

El Salvador), in order to isolate the left and scare professors from association with such groups it seeks more broadly to charge liberal faculty members and allegedly compliant administrators with genocide, without protest

In the last two years, with a resurgence of student protest against U.S. war moves on Nicaragua and oppression of the racist apartheid regime, AIA has

BIG RED NEWS

AIA 'Witch Hunters' Retract Deadly Libel

The Spartacist League, a Marx

ation was Spartacist League publications

Reagan's Amerika...

(continued from page 1)

Education Week (4 August) first exposed what Reagan's board of censors was up to, forcing Education Department spokesman Ronald Preston to admit that the "significance panel" and its criticism of the Holocaust program was "a disaster.... We bungled it." Once the lid was blown, Preston tried to control the damage, declaring that Christina Price, the panelist who wrote the Nazi comment, would be taken off the list of teachers used in the reviews. He tried to shrug it off, saying, "You never know what these independent people on the outside [panels] are necessarily going to say."

What would you expect from the bunch who brought you Bitburg? According to *Education Week*, Price has been a supporter of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum since her days in "the anti-ERA movement" against equal rights for women. She said she'd been selected for the panel by Shirley Curry, an Education Department director who also reportedly has close ties to Schlafly. Schlafly is part of the "High Frontier" lobby that supports a massive military buildup to kill Russians. A former John Birch Society member, Schlafly got her witchhunting anti-communist Big Lie training as a former "researcher" for Senator Joe McCarthy. Her program for women could be summed up by the Nazi slogan, "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen and church)—which spells KKK any way you look at it.

Christina Price, this self-described "politically neutral" "mother of four," is currently a political science teacher at Kennesaw College in Marietta, Georgia, home of the Ku Klux Klan and former John Bircher Congressman Larry McDonald (who went down on KAL Flight 007). At the time of her panel review, Price was teaching at Troy State University in Alabama, where fundamentalist bigots got a reactionary judge to ban "secular humanist" textbooks.

And Price is no isolated nut. Some federal panel—these guys read more like a list of people who ought to be deported for Nazi war crimes! *WV* obtained copies from the Department of Education of the original reviews, which are filled with anti-Communist apologies for racist terror. One complained that "the only companion mentioned to be set beside the Nazi extermination policy is the Ku Klux Klan," while "killings in Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia and Afghanistan are ignored." Both Price and another reviewer say the course is not needed because *The Diary of Anne Frank* is "common reading material." They obscenely use this young Jewish victim of Nazism to try to bury the Holocaust!

Anne Frank Fonds, Basel/Comapress

Anne Frank. Her diary showed millions the horror of Nazi occupation.

Funding for "Facing History" was again denied this August, after a new panel complained of a "profoundly anti-Christian bias," that was "offensive to fundamentalists and evangelicals." One reviewer wrapped it all up ideologically, saying the program had an "overt and consistent bias—anti-war, anti-hunting; on restrictions on immigration equated with Nazism...proposed discussion on draft might induce young men to break law by not registering." It's pretty clear who this guy wants to hunt—and it's not the Nazis. The director and co-author of "Facing History," Margo Stern Strom, angrily complained of the "inane, ignorant and scandalous views" of the reviewers.

For Reagan's second term in office, their super-conservative Heritage Foundation think tank proposed turning the Education Department into a "bully pulpit" for "Americans with sound ideas." This is the result. Reagan's education secretary William Bennett made his debut by announcing that too many people go to college and slashing school lunches. Now they are pushing fascist and racist filth in a nationwide crusade. In California, the chairman of the Bicentennial Commission for the U.S. Constitution, Jane Crosby, a John Bircher appointed by Governor Deukmejian, got the Commission to sponsor a racist textbook that called American black slaves "pickaninnies" and claimed slaveowners were the real victims of the system!

This isn't a matter of academic "points of view" but justifying lynching! So-called "revisionist historians"—that is, apologists for Nazism—have been pushing the obscene lie that the Holocaust maybe didn't happen, or it's a question of "interpretation." In France, the fascist Le Pen—a candidate for the French presidency—recently said that the Nazi gas chambers were a "minor point of history." Le Pen's fascists are in action on the streets, murdering Arab immigrants, beating up leftists, terrorizing the oppressed. Theirs are lies that kill.

The U.S. imperialists do not want the history of the Nazi Holocaust taught in the schools. They do not want American kids to learn that the government imported tens of thousands of Nazi killers into this country after the war, to use as agents and spies against the Russians. They do not want it learned that just last Passover top cop Ed Meese went skulking around asking Latin American dictators to harbor Nazi butcher Karl Linnas, to prevent him from being returned to Estonia to face the wrath of his surviving victims. They do not want the Nazi terror studied. Maybe the comparisons to the methods of Reagan's favorite terrorists, the CIA-contras, are too clear. During the Contragate hearings, it came out (despite attempts of the "loyal opposition" Democratic Party to stop it) that the Reagan government has its own plans for military takeover of America and concentration camps for immigrants, blacks, and all opponents of this fanatic, crazed anti-Communist regime.

Thousands of Americans who died in World War II thought they were fighting Nazism. But Ronald Reagan represents that section of the American ruling class who think the U.S. was on the wrong side. When Reagan went to Bitburg, it was chilling proof of the determination to openly embrace the Nazis in the name of anti-Communism. They hope to finish up where the genocidal Third Reich left off when the Red Army smashed Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. They want to crush the Soviet Union and roll back the Bolshevik Revolution. They don't want the Holocaust remembered. They're planning their own nuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. We had better stop them soon. ■

RACING • • • • FINAL

POPE'S STERN FAREWELL

Calls for ban on abortion and mercy-killing — Page 5

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

Federal panel calls Holocaust course:

UNFAIR TO NAZIS

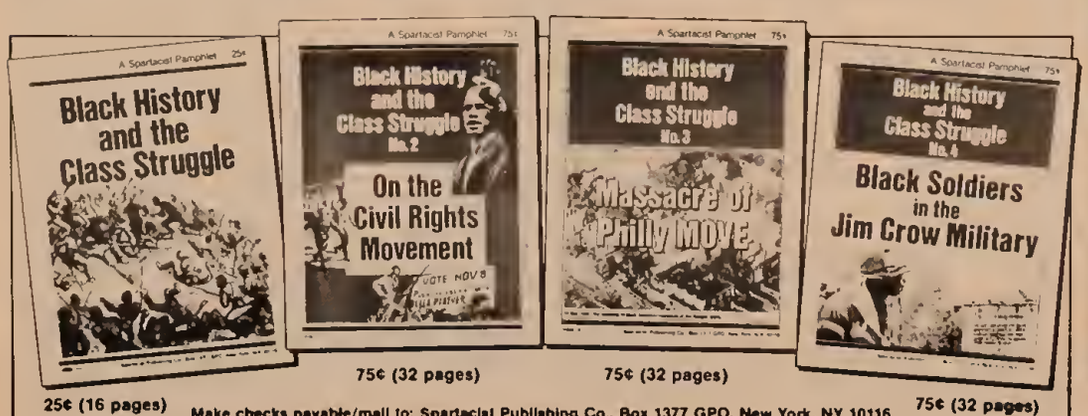
Story on page 3

TASS from Sovfoto

OUTRAGE! Reagan's Department of Education tried to whitewash Nazi Holocaust. Right: fascists publicly execute young Jewish partisans in Minsk, USSR, 1941. Nazism isn't a "point of view"—it's genocide.

AP

May 1985: Reagan salutes Nazi SS at Bitburg in service of anti-Soviet war drive.



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WV Photo

Reagan's Amerika: anti-Soviet war drive fuels racist terror.

BT Covers for COINTELPRO

The fight to free Geronimo Pratt is the cause of every genuine enemy of racist injustice. But at the August 21 Oakland forum, the dubious Bolshevik Tendency (BT) repeated its despicable slander that Pratt is in prison not beeausc of the government's murderous COINTELPRO drive to wipe out the Black Panthers, hut because of "Panther sectarianism." BTer Gerald Smith spat on the graves of the 38 Panthers murdered by COINTELPRO when he said:

> "...it was blind factionalism and sectarianism on the part of the Panther leadership that undermined a possible defense for Geronimo Pratt in the beginning.... In our opinion, it was sectarianism that put brother Geronimo Pratt behind bars in the first place, and it will take a principled struggle against sectarianism, including the sectarianism of the Spartacist League, to free him."

Blaming the victims for the crime, the BT parrots the FBI Big Lie that it was the Panthers' own fault they were killed. The BT's new twist is to extend the lie to include the Spartacist League. Smith's nauseating echo of government propaganda was a regurgitation of his speech at the February 21 Oakland rally for Pratt's freedom initiated by the PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense. At that event BT guru Howard Keylor tried to leap onto the stage, while they obscenely attempted to donate *one dollar* to Pratt's defense (see "BT Provocation Lands in the Mud," *WV* No. 423, 6 March).

After the BT staged a violent provocation at a Spartacist forum on 19 September 1986, which instantly brought the racist Berkeley campus cops onto the scene, the SL instituted a policy of searching BTers at the door to our forums in order to ensure the safety of all participants and the rights of all to an orderly and democratic meeting. After showing up at a subsequent SL forum with a kit of clanking hardware, the BT announced in stentorian tones that they refused to submit to a search. At the August 21 Oakland forum they ended up permitting themselves to be searched, albeit with loud histrionics. When they asked guest speaker Dennis Jennings of the American Indian Movement what he thought about their being "singled out" for a search, Jennings calmly replied that his organization always reserves the right to search anyone wishing to enter its meetings.

One group that did swallow the BT's sucker bait was the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), which protested from the podium in solidarity with the BT's complaints. But then the FSP does seem to have a hard time recognizing provocation. After all, it has yet to disavow its fervid enthusiasm and PR service for "Miskito Indian leader" Brooklyn Rivera, a Nicaraguan contra mercenary now publicly identified as being on the CIA's payroll.

Oakland Forum...

(continued from page 6)

labor-centered Oakland demonstration initiated by the PDC and LBL]. We need to continue to find ways to broaden this call to other places. The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against racist capitalism. The LBL was initiated by and is fraternally allied to the Spartacist League and is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

This is a government of war abroad and at home. Reagan has virtually ended sectoralism: the Klan-backed Reagan hates everyhody *except* the rich capitalists. The bloody contras, the Afghan feudalist cutthroats, apartheid slavery, abortion clinic bombers, Nazis and Klansmen, and the Contra Democrats, are right up there beside him. They want to bleed us to death to pay for their bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

It took a civil war to emancipate black people from chattel slavery and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finish the Civil War and to establish full equality between the races and working-class emancipation. On the LBL's membership card is a statement once made by Karl Marx, a German communist and the founder of scientific socialism. Marx said labor in a white skin can't be free if it is branded in the black. Labor must fight for black freedom and freedom for all of the oppressed. That's where the social power is and guided by a class-struggle program and a class-struggle revolutionary party the working people can turn the world upside down and set it on new foundations.

We Trotskyists fight for revolutionary integrationism, for black liberation through proletarian revolution as the only road to black freedom. Key to such struggle is breaking with the Democratic Party and forging a revolutionary workers party. Geronimo Pratt and all class-war prisoners can only be freed through massive, united class struggle and no reliance on the bourgeois state. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! Free all class-war prisoners! Help build a Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the workers and the oppressed to power by joining with the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense. ■

Oakland, February 21: rally initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League demands freedom for Geronimo Pratt.

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KAL Tapes...

(continued from page 5)

KAL 007 was emitting "periodically transmitted brief coded signals." This was a spy plane.

Soviet air marshal Piotr Kirsanov provided detailed evidence four years ago that the flight of KAL 007 was "strictly synchronized" with the orbit of a U.S. "ferret" spy satellite. The Western press buried this report, but we found evidence that the U.S had indeed launched such a "ferret" on 20 June 1983, only weeks before the fatal flight (*WV* No. 350, "Reagan's KAL 007 Plot Unravels," 16 March 1984). Washington was particularly obsessed with a newly discovered Soviet phased array radar, located at Abalakova in Siberia, which the Reaganauts feared would foil their plans for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union.

More recent evidence indicates the U.S. also launched yet another spy satellite specifically aimed at Abalakova on 31 July 1983. Caught in the crossfire, the top-secret satellite's mission is to take precise measurements of high-performance phased array ... radars (such as the huge one at Abalakova)," according to William E. Burrows' revealing 1986 book on spy satellites *Deep Black*. With the satellite and other intelligence listening posts in place, all the U.S. needed to do was to *provoke* the Soviet defense systems, and record the signals. Enter KAL 007.

Ironically, last month—in the spirit of *glasnost* (openness) and seeking an arms control agreement—the ruling Soviet Politburo permitted a delegation of U.S. Congressmen to tour the top-secret Abalakova radar site and take over 1,000 pictures, inside and out. The Democratic Congressmen verified that the radar is still under construction and is not yet operational. But this has been known for years and that hasn't slowed the rush toward war emanating from the White House. Military *glasnost* will not appease the warmongering U.S. imperialists—they must be thrown out of power. ■

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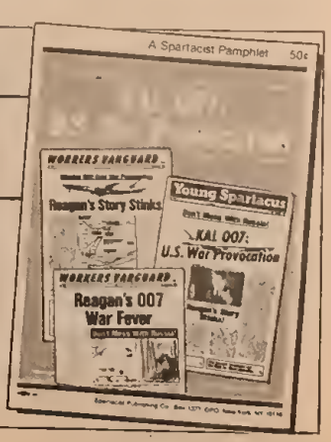

Racism, Immigration and AIDS

No to "Disease Exclusion"!

After years of neglect of the international AIDS epidemic in the vindictive fundamentalist hope that it was a "gay disease," the Reagan administration now wants "action." But rather than mobilizing the social resources necessary to find a cure or treatment, what the Reagan government suggests for a "solution" (in addition to chastity, of course) is a hysterical proposal for "routine" (the new word for mandatory) testing of just about everybody. The threat to gang-test the population will result only in turning up the hysteria another notch while driving underground those who suspect they might have AIDS, correctly fearing the dire consequences of a positive test: firing, eviction, loss of health insurance, social ostracism. And it's probably going to get worse.

Neither the preacher's sermons nor the spectre of mass testing will stop AIDS: it is a virus. And neither will barbed wire stop it. Over the last few months Washington has implemented a chauvinist proposal to exclude from the country immigrants testing positive for HIV antibodies. People already living in the U.S., applying for citizenship or residency, will be denied legal status if found HIV positive; effective December 1, those applying for admission to the country will be denied, if they test positive (but, illogically, the policy does not apply to tourists, students or others temporarily in the U.S.). The Spartacist League strongly protests this vicious xenophobia and continued exploitation of this horrible disease in the service of right-wing reaction. We have filed a formal letter to the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) demanding the abolition of the entire disease exclusion measure as cruel, inhumane and unnecessary:

> "This regulation reflects a governmental policy of witchhunting and malicious neglect. Instead of searching for a cure or control of AIDS by the adequate expenditure of money on thoughtful research, the government continues to cut funds for social services in favor of military expenditures. It is possible that the AIDS virus will elude modern medical technology in its current state. The enormity of the challenge makes it all the more imperative that adequate resources be allocated for internationally coordinated research projects on AIDS.
>
> "There is no rational, medical basis for the exclusion from society of people who either test positive for HIV virus or have AIDS.... We oppose mandatory HIV testing for everyone, including U.S. citizens. In general, mass testing for diseases could be valuable both to the individual and society as a whole, *but only if the purpose were curative or epidemiological rather than punitive*.... We support instead a program of voluntary, *anonymous* testing for those who want it, as recommended by health experts concerned to find a cure...."

There are good medical reasons to want to monitor the spread of infectious diseases. But given the chilling reprisals inflicted on people with AIDS under the prevailing social climate, mandatory testing does not constitute tracking the disease, but tracking the victims so as to punish them for having AIDS. And exclusion of immigrants is a dangerous precedent which will be exploited by those bigots pushing to quarantine everybody suffering from AIDS.

Brown Brothers

Thousands of poor immigrants were refused entry to U.S. by Ellis Island medical examiners. Down with disease exclusion acts!

The useless viciousness of the U.S. exclusion policy is only emphasized by the fact that it will do absolutely nothing to halt or contain the epidemic within the U.S. Indeed, AIDS is known in many countries as "the American disease," since the majority of cases recorded with the World Health Organization are here. Other countries are also excluding AIDS victims, many of them Americans. Japan has banned HIV-infected foreigners and has already deported a Filipina woman. Britain refuses admission to anyone with the disease; an American airline cabin steward was detained at Gatwick Airport and returned to the U.S. The British colony of Hong Kong refused to allow an American with AIDS to so much as pass through, while Canada refuses admission to those with active AIDS. The USSR is testing all foreigners seeking to stay for longer than three months, and has already deported about 40 people. So what's the solution—a nation of AIDS sufferers in Antarctica? Or, as one rabid bigot said of leprosy patients in California, "...take 'em to the moon" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 7 May)? But viruses don't stop at borders and don't bow to immigration officials. As Dr. Jonathan Mann of the World Health Organization said, "We can't control it anywhere unless we control it everywhere."

Der Spiegel

Medieval Europe saw ravages of bubonic plague as god's scourge; today's witchhunters blame AIDS victims for disease.

Disease Exclusion: American Race-Hate

Historically fear of disease has been used as a cover for prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. As we commented in our protest of the disease exclusion regulations:

> "The history of exclusion of immigrants in this country is one of discrimination and xenophobia, in which 'medical' exclusions have been inextricably intertwined. The vicious stereotype of the 'disease-ridden foreigner' has been used by this nation's rulers to exclude immigrants ever since massive immigration restrictions began."

To the extent that quarantining and exclusion for diseases became regularized prior to World War I, it was overtly class-biased. The notorious Ellis Island holding pens were reserved for those who made the sea voyage in steerage, while first-class passengers were admitted after a few brief questions. The tragedies of separated families were enormous, as 5 percent were rejected, with some committing suicide rather than face the uncertain voyage back to lonely, desperate poverty.

Sweeping Asian exclusion laws victimized the Chinese, who were forbidden to immigrate, own land or intermarry. Savage prejudice against these workers, a reservoir of pathetically cheap labor, was most evident in California. After the completion of the Union Pacific railroad (built largely with Chinese labor) in 1869, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (at the behest of the racist trade-union tops), which among other things prevented the wives of Chinese men in the U.S. from joining their husbands. The intersection of this racism with fear of disease was evident in San Francisco in the early 1900s, when an outbreak of plague led to proposals to raze Chinatown and forcibly detain the inhabitants.

Racist nativist agitation against immigrants reached a peak in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Prior to World War I the government began codifying the exclusion of whole categories of people, including polygamists, anarchists and other radicals, convicts, "lunatics," people with tuberculosis, prostitutes, illiterates and virtually all immigrants from Asia—a grab bag of accumulated prejudices. The lie that syphilis and gonorrhea could be spread via drinking fountains was used by officials in the early 20th century to justify the exclusion of unwanted races and ethnic groups, who were blamed for passing these diseases on to the "clean" upper classes.

Attempts to blame immigrant workers for the disease-breeding slums where their starvation wages forced them to live are a recurring theme of racist capitalist self-justification. President Theodore Roosevelt argued in 1901 for restrictions to "stop the influx of cheap labor, and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of the bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchist organizations have their greatest possibility of growth." Congress responded by excluding anarchists in 1903 and "imbeciles, feeble-minded [persons] and persons with physical or mental defects which might affect their ability to earn a living" in 1907.

In the early 1920s, such racist tracts as Madison Grant's fake-scientific *The Passing of the Great Race* were widely used to justify cutting off immigration, which allegedly "contained a large and increasing number of the weak, the broken, and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean basin and the Balkans, together with hordes of the wretched, submerged population of the Polish Ghettos." In April 1924, Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act by a vast majority. Many witnesses before the hearings argued that "biology" demanded the exclusion of most Eastern and Southern European "races." President Calvin Coolidge, who as vice president had publicly declared that "Biological laws show...that Nordics deteriorate when mixed with other races," quickly signed the act into law. The other major U.S. immigration bill, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, was also passed during a period of virulent reaction—the McCarthyite Cold War period of violent anti-red scares, xenophobia and resurgent racism.

In our statement to the Public Health Service, the Spartacist League opposed these provisions in general as "necessarily arbitrary, selective and punitive":

> "This is most overt in the case of 'sexual deviation,' under which homosexuals can be excluded. Homosexuality is neither a 'disease' nor a 'medical condition,' but simply one expression of human sexuality, which exists on a broad continuum."

The U.S. ruling class has had a contradictory attitude toward the control and eradication of disease in the population. When a disease has threatened its basic interests, the capitalist class has moved rapidly to end it, within the existing limits of medical knowledge. For example, Army Medical Corps major Walter Reed's campaign to wipe out yellow fever followed the U.S. takeover of Cuba in the Spanish-American War of 1898, when this dreaded disease threatened U.S. imperialist aims in Central America.

However, the ruling classes' efforts to combat sexually transmitted diseases are tentative, at best. In the first decade of the 20th century, the great biologist Paul Ehrlich discovered Salvarsan, the first effective treatment for syphilis.

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AIDS Witchhunt...

(continued from page 16)

mandatory fink list of sexual contacts going back as far as seven to ten years, liberals are now praising the governor's "moderate" role. In fact, this legislation, effective immediately, could result in wiping out anonymous HIV testing in Illinois by requiring that every testee give written permission (i.e., sign their names), in effect volunteering for an AIDS blacklist.

In Chicago, right-wing thugs have already carried the anti-gay offensive into the streets. A recent survey (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 20 June) showed that one out of every five homosexual men in Chicago had been physically attacked because he was gay. Last spring fascistic punks at the elite University of Chicago waged a campaign of intimidation aimed primarily at gays. When a gay newspaper published an exposé of this homophobic and racist group, two thugs walked into the editorial office and brutally attacked the publisher with a baseball bat.

AP/Wide World

Anti-sex fanatics target AIDS victims.

Racism and AIDS

In every possible way AIDS hysteria intersects sexual prejudices and racial and ethnic hatred in this deeply bigoted country. AIDS was first identified in the U.S. in 1981 among gay men, who are still a majority of the victims. But in the past period, it has begun to spread much more rapidly among users of intravenous drugs, disproportionately black and Hispanic, through sharing contaminated needles.

While blacks and Hispanics make up 17 percent of the American population, they account for 38 percent of AIDS victims. Seventy-three percent of women with AIDS are black or Hispanic. In New York City, over 90 percent of children with AIDS are black or Hispanic. Two years ago thousands of residents of Queens kept their children out of school because *one* lone child with HIV was attending school somewhere in New York City. Last spring in Queens a foster home for these children was firebombed. Queens—where a vicious white mob attacked three black men in Howard Beach and killed Michael Griffith. The explosive race tensions in New York feed on AIDS hysteria, which has become yet another right-wing rallying cry for segregation and oppression.

The AIDS death rates are a shocking reminder of the condition of black people in America: on average, two years after a white is diagnosed with AIDS, he is dead. For blacks, it's *19 weeks*. Racism and poverty are big factors in the spread of disease. That's why 62 percent of Americans with tuberculosis (which is soaring in the U.S. today) are black: bad living and working conditions and wretched medical care mean poor health—including diseases which, unlike AIDS, can be cured.

Last August the Centers for Disease Control sponsored a special conference on AIDS and minorities. But participants who anticipated a scientific discussion found instead a diatribe of moralism of the "just say no" variety, like Nancy Reagan turning down a piece of chocolate cake. In his keynote address CDC deputy director Donald Hopkins denounced promiscuity, teenage pregnancy and "loose" sex, which he equated with drug use. "Strategies" for AIDS education boil down to exhorting the impoverished ghetto masses against sex and drugs. "Just say no"—the perennial exhortation to youth—has never worked before in the history of our species, and it won't work now.

Everyone knows that AIDS is spread among the poor by intravenous drug users sharing contaminated needles. The distribution of free sterile needles would be an elementary public health measure, but this approach to checking the spread of AIDS and saving lives runs smack up against Reagan's moralistic anti-drug crusade.

At a public forum last November, a Spartacist spokesman described the intersection between racism and general social reaction, and the cohabitation of the black Democrats with Reagan and the racist cops in the anti-drug witchhunt:

> "The cops either hold the pushers up for their cut and then the pushers charge that much more; or they just take the entire thing and sell it themselves. So what you get between the pushers and the cops is combat for profit. And that's the vice squad
>
> "So this war on drugs is simply a tool to build the police department, to eliminate democratic rights so the police can go anywhere to terrorize black kids. And not only that. The conditions of capitalism in the ghettos are so severe with generational unemployment, with no possibility of getting out for these kids, no possibility of jobs, so why not take drugs? A black mother in the ghetto knows that there's a struggle every day, second by second, to save her child from that damned pusher. So what you get is the black hustlers like Jesse Jackson that come up and say to this black woman, 'Yeah, you've got to support your cops, that's the answer.' '... the Uncle Toms... say what you've got to do is, don't ask for anything from the white man, improve yourself in the eyes of the white man, and if you're good and good long enough, then you'll get something. And basically what it does, it accepts the terms of the racism of the oppressor. Jesse Jackson's recent statement is that drugs kill more than Klan ropes—does he want a unified front with the KKK against drugs?"
>
> —"Sex, Race and Class in the 'American Century'," *Women and Revolution* No. 33, Spring 1987

The hypocrisy of the anti-drug crusade and its class-biased double standards is as striking on the drug question as on the issue of sexuality—it's illegal when the poor do it. Wall Street brokers use cocaine on a daily basis while columnists (a "profession" not known for the sobriety of its members) urge the hunting down of suspected "drug abusers"... so long as they are impoverished ghetto kids or even black sports stars. Meanwhile the ruling class is up to its neck in drug-running, from the days of British imperialism's subjugation of China to the CIA in Indochina and the present "Contragate" scandal. In the same way, the English Victorians found sex very dirty and distasteful when practiced by the poor, and in "modern" times the distinction between "erotica" and "smut" has always resided in the quality and price of the printing job. (The self-styled "feminists" of some years back who took up the "anti-porn" campaign of the anti-sex book-burners put themselves on the wrong side in a deeply racist and anti-woman crusade to reimpose the "morality" of the religious right, a crusade waged in part by the

Jim Peppler WV Photo

Harlem Hospital: AIDS patient, one of thousands abandoned to deteriorating health care. Right, AFSCME workers protest cutbacks at Harlem's last remaining hospital in June.

"Disease Exclusion"...

(continued from page 13)

Instead of hailing this important breakthrough, many health officials wailed that it would encourage "licentiousness." This is the same view expressed by Pope Leo XII in 1826 when he banned the use of the condom because "it defiled the intentions of divine Providence... to punish sinners by striking them in the member with which they had sinned" (Henry E. Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*). Fear of sexually transmitted disease has been manipulated for sexual guilt: if you get sick as a result of a sexual act, you're *supposed* to suffer.

Syphilis was an identified disease for a good century before a cure, penicillin, was discovered. We don't know how long it will take to find a cure for AIDS. To this day, although both syphilis and gonorrhea are generally easily cured, they remain widespread in the United States. In 1979 gonorrhea accounted for two-thirds of all reported communicable disease in the U.S.; it is the most prevalent serious human bacterial infection on the planet. Yet the U.S. government has systematically slashed funding for education and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases. AIDS is a replay of the same sorry moralistic drivel, compounded by ferocious sexual and racial hatred.

Free, Quality Health Care for All!

As a species, we stand directly in the shadow of the Black Death which killed approximately one-third of the world's population in the 14th century. At the time, Francesco Petrarch wrote, "Oh happy posterity who will not experience such abysmal woe—and who will look upon our testimony as fable." But our species has not won its independence from nature! With the advent of agriculture, followed by concentration in cities, human beings became an extremely prone target for disease of the like not known to hunting-gathering societies. In 1918-19, six centuries after Petrarch's prayer, a virulent influenza killed more people than died in World War I. As we said in our letter to the Public Health Service:

> "Disease is a universal problem of our species which cannot be solved by national exclusion and border patrols. We do not have ready-made answers to this problem and we don't pretend to expertise where medical technology has so far failed. But as Marxists we seek to approach general social questions in a scientific and rational manner. And we fight for a society in which resources can be mobilized on the basis of social needs."

Care for the aged and ill is supposed to be a hallmark of humanity; indeed, anthropologists cite evidence that Neandertals cared for their aged and crippled as indicating the intelligence and humanity of these people. Although medical technology is far from having all the answers, it has made it possible for our species to control many diseases which have been hideous scourges in past centuries, smallpox not the least. Quality health care for all is objectively within the reach of material possibility, but not within the framework of this capitalist system, which cannot provide the necessities of life to its citizens even though the productive capacities and technology exist to feed the hungry across the whole planet. Even on the level of ideas, the need of the system's apologists to justify the exploitation and brutal oppression of the masses leaves increasingly little room for a rational approach to anything, including science and medicine. ■

Women and Revolution

Spartacists at 1986 Gay Pride Day march in New York City.

naked terrorism of abortion clinic bombers.)

Reagan Reaction and the Democrats

The Democratic Party—partner with the Reaganauts in America's *one-party* system, the class dictatorship of the property party—has no program except to *compete with Reagan* for right-wing voters. The Democrats do have certain tactical differences with Reagan, for example over whether revolution in Central America can possibly be stopped by funding the loser contras. Their differences concern not what Reagan wants to do to America and the world, but whether the U.S. population is "ready" to go along. Indeed the Democratic Party of Hiroshima and Vietnam is historically the *war party* within the "Republicrat" division of labor, since the façade of democracy and hypocritical promises to combat injustice can more effectively compel the masses to sacrifice for the so-called "national interest."

As far as their present social program is concerned, the Democrats are definitely not motivated to make any concessions toward the specially oppressed. The gloating hatefulness of the Reagan regime means to the Democrats that they can take the black vote for granted. After the success of Jesse Jackson in turning out blacks for Mondale in 1984 (no other section of society went for Mondale in its majority, while about 90 percent of black voters did), black pressure will have *less* effect on the Democrats' platform than before, as the Democrats openly court racist support. The reformist "left" organizations who do not cease to tail the Democrats and tout the "Rainbow Coalition" share responsibility for the lack of a revolutionary alternative to Reagan reaction, to the extent that their small and demoralized forces have any influence.

The Democrats, knowing full well that Reagan is their best recruiter, duck every issue of real concern to the people, presenting instead a set of media-glossy "personalities" (who moreover display a certain tendency for self-destruction). Their best hope is that the cast of characters in Reagan's camp will make them look good. There's the Civil Rights Commission that hates civil rights, the occupational safety agency that doesn't believe in safety, and just look at Reagan's AIDS commission. It includes one Penny Pullen, who has claimed that homosexuals deliberately donate infected blood to pollute the bloodbanks. Among other members are Theresa L. Crenshaw, a supporter of the fascistic LaRouche initiative in California for quarantine (concentration camps) for AIDS victims, and Amway Corp. president Richard M. DeVos, the largest individual contributor to Reagan's 1980 campaign, who says that gay men "just can't control themselves" (*Washington Post*, 26 August). New York Cardinal O'Connor, the U.S. Catholic church's most prominent crusader against gay rights, was appointed "to bring a religious values perspective to the discussion" (*New York Times*, 24 July).

It's not just venality or stupidity that makes the Democrats partners in the all-sided social reaction called "Reaganism." Following the co-optation and betrayal of the mass movement for black freedom which swept this country in the late 1950s and 1960s (and the smashing of its most militant wing by the state), and following the U.S. *military defeat* in Vietnam, the ruling class began a policy of "moral rearmament" and reregimentation of the population. Beginning under the Democrat Carter, civil rights gains were "rolled back" and the courts acquiesced to the dismantling of school busing, which was carried out by enraged racist mobs in the streets. A bipartisan program was adopted of official racism and hatred of the cities—the killer budget cuts, the closing of hospitals to finance the military build-up, the Klan's broad-daylight massacre of an integrated rally of unionists and leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 (a crime in which the government, as usual, participated heavily).

The accelerated pace of repression under Reagan has depended heavily on the Democrats' eager participation, cheered on by the fat-cat labor tops who won't lift a finger on behalf of blacks, women, gays and all the oppressed. When Reagan went after the well-paid air traffic controllers (PATCO) union and literally put their leaders in chains as a message to all of labor, the union bureaucrats were concerned above all to preserve their ties to lying "friend of labor" politicians, and the first condition of those "alliances" is to accept the bosses' anti-union laws, the "rules of the game" which guarantee that labor will lose.

To keep the desperate black masses intimidated, the Democrats have been crucial as their mayors administer the big cities, bristling with social contradiction and racial polarization and fear, on behalf of the White House. In Philadelphia, for example, many black working people thought they had a stake in the victory of black mayor Wilson Goode over the old racist machine of long-time boss Frank Rizzo. But it was in Philly two years ago that the cops culminated their years-long vendetta against the MOVE commune, whose only "crime" was to be "uppity" in Reagan's America. On Mother's Day, 1985, Goode's cops and Reagan's FBI worked together to fly a bombing mission over the MOVE house, massacring five children and six adults and burning down a neighborhood of black homes. The proliferation of "Black Elected Officials" (touted as proof of black advancement) was no gain for the black masses, for the black mayors like Marion Barry in Washington are, no less than white racists like New York's mayor Koch, merely overseers on Reagan's plantation.

The black Democrats, like their white counterparts, are overtly the enemies of the real struggles which can forge a fighting alliance of labor and the ghetto: the labor/black mobilizations to stop the Klan/Nazi provocations which have tried to invade the big cities, the strikes of unions with a large black component (like several city workers strikes in Andrew Young's Atlanta or the present confrontation between Chicago teachers and the Harold Washington administration) where union victories could not only put some money into black workers' pockets but also encourage others among the oppressed to fight back against a reactionary regime which is visibly in considerable conjunctural disarray.

Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

The organizers of the upcoming march in Washington on October 11 lay great stress on the question of "unity" and support from other "constituencies" outside the gay community. Of course, no sane person would underestimate the need for vulnerable, specially targeted social layers like homosexuals to find allies among the rest of the oppressed. But real unity can never be secured by tying the working people to our *class enemies*. Such "alliances" only guarantee that those who are compelled to come forward and fight—picket-line militants in bitter local strikes, black youth who have good reasons for their moods of rebellion, people with AIDS confronting virulent bigotry and the prospect of death—are left isolated and betrayed. Only a *revolutionary program* to fight capitalism can beat the rulers' divide-and-conquer schemes and achieve a fighting unity of the targets of Reagan reaction.

The main document adopted at the Spartacist League's recent Eighth National Conference states:

> "...the all-sided reactionary nature of Reagan's attacks fuels the realization, among all those who know they have a sworn enemy in the White House, that democratic struggles are indivisible. In sneering at hunger and homelessness, in taking aim gloatingly at those most helpless like ghetto children, AIDS victims, non-citizens, old-age pensioners and so forth, Reaganism as an ideology highlights the objective need for a fighting proletarian vanguard as a *tribune of the people*. . . After years of vicious and even bizarre social reaction spearheaded by Reagan, many people manifestly have an appetite to fight if they only could see a way forward. The probability is that any serious struggle by the unions or oppressed will pull other sectors behind it...."
>
> —"Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," 18 June 1987

We got a foretaste of the power of that program when in June 1982 a Spartacist-initiated united-front mobilization in Chicago spiked a genocidal Nazi provocation against "Gay Pride Day." While the city's gay groups despaired of the possibility of mobilizing unionists and minorities in explicit defense of gays (and/or resented us for coming onto their "turf"), our anti-Nazi protest drew 3,000 demonstrators, including members of dozens of unions and a significant minority of black people who came out because they knew that the Nazis who today target the gays have many others in their sights. Then on November 27 of the same year, a larger SL-initiated mobilization in Washington, D.C. composed overwhelmingly of black unionists and black youth prevented the hated KKK from marching against Hispanics and other immigrant workers. But the potential for labor/black power shown by these important actions cannot triumph without the construction in struggle of a revolutionary leadership able to present itself to the masses of working people as the alternative to the two-headed property party of the capitalist system, and the champion of the struggles of all the oppressed. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated united front spiked Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day, Chicago, 1982. For labor/black action to smash fascist terror!

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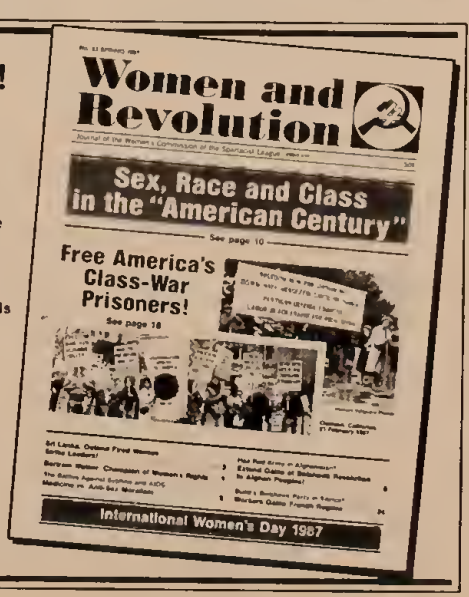


WORKERS VANGUARD

Reagan, Democrats Target Gays, Immigrants, Blacks

Down with AIDS Witchhunt!

AIDS has become a lightning rod for the most vicious racism and bigotry in this sick society: from brutal beatings of homosexuals to school boycotts, it's "AIDS" on the lips of every reactionary whipping up hatred and pogromist frenzy. Because of the ways it is spread (in the United States, at least), AIDS strikes disproportionately at gays, blacks and Hispanics (and their children and sex partners), compounding the ingrained superstitions fostered by capitalist society. The bigots' message: only "nice," white American families, with the approved lifestyles straight out of a Norman Rockwell painting, deserve good health and a decent life. And these racist, anti-gay bigots mean *action*: in August a family with three hemophiliac boys, all infected with the AIDS virus through blood transfusions, was burned out of their home in Arcadia, Florida.

From the beginning, the tragic AIDS epidemic has been exploited by peddlers of fear and bigotry. While the AIDS virus, HIV, is *not* spread by casual, day-to-day contact, AIDS victims—including those *suspected* of having AIDS or of being associated with AIDS victims—have been fired from their jobs, evicted from their apartments, denied health and life insurance.

Gay organizations across the country, fed up with the vicious discrimination which is increasingly openly sanctioned by the government (a recent *New York Times* front-page story was headlined: "Rights Bill on AIDS Is to Be Opposed by Administration"), have called what may be the biggest gay protest ever, to be held in Washington, D.C. on October 11. The political coloration of the march is heavily pro-Democratic Party (urban gays are, except for blacks, perhaps the best-organized Democratic Party "constituency"). In effect the march will be one of the opening shots of the "anti-Reagan forces" looking toward the 1988 presidential elections. *But the Democrats' social program is no less reactionary than that of the White House!* On every social question, from teen sex to drugs to AIDS, and especially on the race question, which is the key to social struggle in this country, the Democrats are trying to out-Reagan Reagan to compete for the support of outright racists and fundamentalist reactionaries. As we wrote last year following the Supreme Court's outrageous anti-"sodomy" decision:

> "When gay rights protesters raised the chant, 'Civil rights or civil war!' and opponents of the Supreme Court ruling referred to it as the *Dred Scott* decision for gays, they touched on a key connection. Black people are the main victims of Reagan reaction and the struggle for the rights of all vulnerable sections of the population—homosexuals, women, immigrants, youth, the elderly—is integrally bound up with the fight for black liberation."
>
> —"Reagan's Sex Witchhunt," *WV* No. 408, 18 July 1986

Democratic rights are *indivisible*—labor and minorities must fight for the rights of homosexuals!

Burbank/Fort Myers News Press

Colburn/Photoreporters

Reaganites whip up hysterical violence against AIDS victims: When three hemophiliac children infected with AIDS virus through blood transfusion entered school, bigots burned down their Florida home. Right: Washington, D.C. cops wearing rubber gloves arrest protesters demanding funding for AIDS research.

A Climate of Vicious Hysteria

As of mid-September, there have been over 41,000 cases of AIDS reported to the federal Centers for Disease Control. There remain many unanswered questions about AIDS: although the media spread the assumption that once you're infected, you're sure to get sick, that is by no means proved. What is clear is that the United States is already experiencing a major health care crisis in all dimensions, and people with AIDS are getting the worst that hospitals have to offer. After years of cutbacks and hospital closings, the dumping of mental patients out of treatment facilities, the deterioration of conditions in hospitals for patients and staff, New York City hospitals can't find enough nurses willing to work there—even from traditional "Third World" sources of cheap labor, like the Philippines or Latin America.

For AIDS patients, this scene is compounded by denial of their civil rights in a climate of hysteria. Medical personnel who refuse to treat victims of AIDS (or leprosy or any other disease—hospitals used to refuse beds to syphilitics) are like the military officer who says, "I resign in case of war." They are practitioners of religious superstition, not medical science.

People with AIDS are quickly impoverished by a disease costing thousands to treat, while public funding for care is pitiful. Meanwhile, Burroughs Wellcome rakes in millions for AZT, the only current drug which, while not a cure, appears to act against HIV itself, although it has serious side effects. And the insurance vultures shriek that their profits will go down unless they strike AIDS victims from their lists. It's already happening systematically in Britain, where AIDS-positive people can no longer get life insurance, and even just taking the test can lead to denial of coverage.

A friend of our party recently sent us a moving account of the impact of AIDS on people's lives. Even those not made destitute and homeless face desperate choices among untested therapies; they endure Kafkaesque bureaucracy and "the rapacious greed of the drug companies and the anarchy of a health care for profit system." In the gay milieu in New York and California, substantial self-help organizations and networks of volunteers are trying to provide basic information and some help to AIDS victims within and outside the gay "community," in the face of society's callous abandonment.

The comrade's letter also observes:

> "The AIDS epidemic intersects two deep wells of backwardness and irrationality. On the one hand, it touches on ancient fears of the plague or the leper syndrome. On the other hand, these fears become intertwined with the visceral rejection of sexual pleasure, particularly in its 'aberrant' forms.... The campaigns to remove gay teachers speak to phobias that combine rejection of the sexuality of youth with the horrors of pederasty, phobias that are heightened to fever pitch by the AIDS epidemic."

In Illinois, a dozen reactionary AIDS bills passed the state legislature this summer. These laws prescribe mandatory testing of all "sex and drug crime offenders" and marriage license applicants. On September 20, Governor James Thompson approved the reactionary core of the legislation. Relieved that he did veto the section calling for a

continued on page 14

Racism, Immigration and AIDS

No to "Disease Exclusion"!

SEE PAGE THIRTEEN

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 438 | 16 October 1987

Abolish Racist Death Penalty!

Bob Adelman

Speedup on Death Row

"Black Friday on Death Row" headlined the *New York Post*—three men murdered by legal writ in one day last August. "Louisiana Leads U.S. in a Surge of Executions" reported the *New York Times*—almost one a week during June and July. "As legal barriers fall, death sentences rise"—25 dead in only four months, already more executions than any year since capital punishment was restored after a brief respite a decade ago. Last April's Supreme Court ruling sanctioning open Jim Crow on death row has opened the sluice gates wider than ever for a "legal" racist bloodbath. The executioners are working overtime.

The speedup on death row not only continues but accelerates. The April decision in the McCleskey case is widely seen as putting an end to broad-based legal challenges to capital punishment. The death row population has topped 1,900—a record high. Nearly 200 are in California, which is now preparing for a wave of executions for the first time in 20 years, having recently dumped Chief Justice Rose Bird and two other liberal opponents of the death sentence from the State Supreme Court.

This ruling class doesn't just wade through blood; they wallow in it. Reagan gets off on his contra killers and rapists in Nicaragua; he salutes SS killers at Bitburg. Washington tried to censor teaching about the Holocaust, insisting "the Nazi point of view" be presented. They want to see more men strapped to the chair, swung from the noose, locked in the gas chamber or shot up with lethal injections. And they want the whole population to watch. Texas attorney general Jim Mattox wants executions televised to give the public "an understanding of what takes place." They long for the "good ole days" when "uppity" slaves were hung, drawn and quartered and their remains displayed publicly as a warning.

Jackson/Times-Picayune

Louisiana electric chair claimed a victim every week last June and July.

To top it off, the Reaganites tried to add Robert Bork to the "supreme" gang of butchers in black robes. Bork is a hanging judge if ever there was one. But one question that none of Bork's liberal and Democratic opponents seemingly considered raising in all the reams of Congressional testimony is his stand on the death penalty. Court-ordered racist murder is as bipartisan as flag-waving and Russia-baiting. They're rolling back progressive social legislation from equal rights to abortion. They want to steam open your mail, peer through your bedroom window, tell you who to screw, what to read, what to think. And blacks and minorities, as always, are in the cross hairs. That is the meaning of the hideous massacre of Philly MOVE, of the massive number of "extralegal" police executions on the streets, of the climate of racist terror which encourages the lynch mobs from Forsyth County to Howard Beach.

Reagan/Rehnquist/Meese want a population infused with terror, prepared to leap into the abyss of a thermonuclear holocaust on orders

continued on page 12

Shredded Bork

It's "legacy time" for the Reagan administration, so on top of everything else, they want to stick us with the racist pig Robert Bork on the Supreme Court.

Reagan is going for broke, hoping to get Senate Democrats to cry uncle. He's been trying the same "strategy" against the Sandinistas and the Soviets for years—with notable lack of success. But the Dems really are wimps. They weren't even going to block Bork until it became clear there was a groundswell of opposition from their constituencies. Anti-Bork demos hit the campuses from Cal Berkeley to Cornell. Blacks, women, gays, unions started mobilizing heavily to beat Bork.

So Bork looks like he's gone through the White House basement shredder, and Reagan looks, again, like a jackass. "Over my dead body," insisted Reagan when asked if his nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court would fail in committee. Whatever the state of Reagan's body, his administration has clearly been brain-dead for a fair while. A day

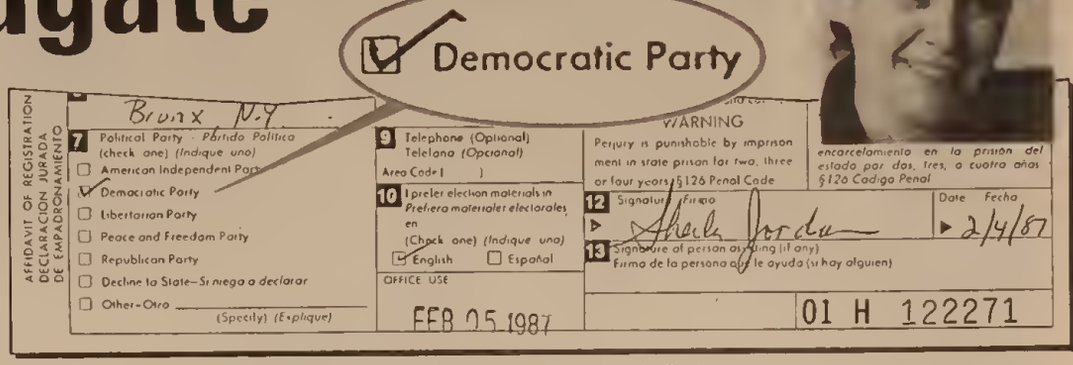
continued on page 13

Kevin Gilbert

Two right-wing nuts going down the tubes.

Third Camp Over the Rainbow, Again

"Sheilagate"



Sheila Jordan's party registration form dated February 4: Democratic Party.

A spectre is haunting the American social-democratic group "Solidarity"—the scandal of "Sheilagate." In April, prominent Solidarity supporter Sheila Jordan was elected to the Oakland, California school board *as a Democrat*. Hardly a surprise to us, but this story is causing some people acute embarrassment.

In case you're not up on the couplings and uncouplings in the Trotskyoid milieu, Solidarity is a lash-up of sundry Shachtmanite "Third Camp socialists" plus some supporters of Ernest Mandel's dis-"United Secretariat of the Fourth International." They named themselves after the Polish pope's company union for the CIA and bankers as a sort of political neon sign flashing, "We hate Russia, we hate Russia."

Of course, the group's founding "Principles of Solidarity" state: "The capitalist parties, especially the Republican and Democratic parties, are fundamentally anti-working class, racist and sexist. We oppose any form of participation in or support for these parties." But what's a "principle" or two when a seat on the school board is at stake?

Sheila's sordid little saga began when she went down to the registrar of voters last February to change her official affiliation to Democratic Party. Previously she was registered as Peace and Freedom Party, California's 1960s middle-class protest party, long a tiny sandbox for tired leftists.

Reportedly Jordan's campaign strategists advised her to keep her election material to the usual unctuous "Vote Me" pablum, eschewing anything more "political" than "shifting" funds. This is even more trivial than Sylvia Weinstein of the Mandelite Socialist Action who ran for school board in San Francisco on the Crisco-instead-of-guns slogan: "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need, and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship."

The Oakland *Tribune* (8 April) reported that Jordan had "received the lion's share of endorsements from elected officials at the outset of the race." Among her moneybags were the Montclair Democratic Club and Republican city council member Dick Spees, vice president of Kaiser Aluminum, whose campaign committee donated $500 (Sheilagate is a bipartisan affair.) The Oakland-based Clorox corporation kicked in another $500.

Kaiser and Clorox, for decades Oakland's dominant corporations, have been on an anti-union offensive, shutting plants to kill union jobs. Kaiser defeated a 1985 ILWU warehousemen's strike, viciously slashing wages and benefits. All Clorox's bleach can't wipe out the stain of Solidarity's brand of sewer socialism.

Jordan won with 59 percent of the vote—a thrilling leap into the "big time" for the small-time reformists, to be sure. Unfaithful even to her newfound Democratic cohorts, Jordan re-registered again after getting elected, changing her affiliation to "decline to state."

The reptilian sensibilities of the creatures that lurk in the anti-Soviet cesspool are vibrating over their dirty little secret of Sheilagate. Even longtime denizen of the "Third Camp" swamp, the wizened gnome Sy Landy, is said to be worried about *WV* breaking the scandal. Supporters of Mandel's frayed "United Secretariat" are said to have raised the affair in order to cut the number of USec affiliates in the U.S. from 3-1/2 to 3 (SWP, FIT and SA).

Jordan's companion Larry Cooperman, a supporter of the Fourth Internationalist Caucus (the Mandelite grouping in Solidarity), was reportedly up to his eyeballs in her campaign as a Democrat. And he just wrote a smarmy article in the California Teachers Association October *CTA Action* rapturously describing his girlfriend as a "dream candidate." For this shameless betrayal, Cooperman suffered the ultimate penalty. The firing squad? No, he was reportedly reduced from full member to last alternate on Solidarity's leading body.

Solidarity wants to claim that "Sheilagate" was an isolated incident, a personal aberration. But at its Chicago confab where Sheilagate was such a bombshell, there was a big debate over supporting Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. A number of members want to support Jackson if only he would nominally separate from the Democrats. This is exactly the line of other denizens of the fake-Trotskyist swamp like the Morenoites and Jack Barnes' weird SWP, sometimes. Sheila just got on a souped-up skateboard to go where the rest of this bunch are heading.

Since for all these groups the sum total of their "strategy" is to seek to build "mass movements" of the sort that have always been politically dominated by the Democrats (e.g., the Vietnam era peace crawls), the posture of electoral independence from the Democrats is actually a somewhat illogical and for them sectarian shibboleth. Logically, they might as well join the Democratic Party outright like so many other respectable "socialists" from Michael Harrington to Peter Camejo.

Sheilagate is far from the first time that the mask has fused with the face. So after many years of pinning the "left" tail on the Democratic donkey, Sheila Jordan one day looks in the mirror and discovers she's grown long ears and big teeth. ■

TROTSKY

Abolish the Death Penalty!

LENIN

Over a century ago Karl Marx attacked the London Times *for upholding capital punishment as necessary for the defense of "civilization," i.e., capitalism. Communists, from Marx to Lenin to Trotsky, have opposed primitive retribution and sought to transform the social conditions which produce crime. Today, with bourgeois society in its death agony, the public executioner comes to the fore as the instrument of capitalist "law and order."*

...it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to establish any principle upon which the justice or expediency of capital punishment could be founded, in a society glorying in its civilization. Punishment in general has been defended as a means either of ameliorating or of intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for the amelioration or intimidation of others? And besides, there is history—there is such a thing as statistics—which prove with the most complete evidence that since Cain the world has neither been intimidated nor ameliorated by punishment....

Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now, what a state of society is that, which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims through the "leading journal of the world" its own brutality as eternal law?

—Karl Marx, "Capital Punishment" (January 1853)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 438 **16 October 1987**

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Speaker: Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist League Central Committee
Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor, 1985

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

NFL Strikers Gotta Play Hardball to Win

Gene Upshaw, executive director of the striking NFL players, captured the enormous popularity of the current football strike when he said: "We all understand this is a fight about the working man in this country. If we fail, we drag them with us." Since Reagan smashed PATCO six years ago, as the labor tops stood by and allowed the 13,000 air controllers to be wiped out without a battle, working people have been itching for a chance to strike back at the contra-in-chief for the years of grinding Reagan reactinn. And the very visible strike of 1,600 National Football League athletes, 55 percent of whom are black, against the arrogant, greedy owners has captured their imagination.

Usually when there's a sports strike, the bosses' newspapers and TV feel free to take a vicious hard line against "overpaid" strikers, claiming sympathy for the poor working stiff denied his Sunday afternoon entertainment. But this time around the sports pages routinely label the scabs as just that, and deride the fake games. Unionists have showed up in the thousands to beef up the players' picket lines. A decade of givebacks, union-busting, bigotry and naked racist terror against labor, blacks, immigrants and just about anyone who doesn't "belong" in Reagan's America, has created a wealth of pent-up anger against America's rulers.

When the first scab games were played on October 4, in Washington, D.C. over 2,000 unionists showed up to join the Redskins' picket line—postal workers, Machinists, Teamsters, miners, stagehands, even a busload of Steelworkers from Newport News, Virginia—chanting "Scabs go home," and "We've got the real 'Skins, you've got the scabs." Workers snapped up hundreds of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," and many had them autographed by the strikers. But the AFL-CIO International bureaucrats there had no intention of stopping the game. Scab NBC television technicians got a lot of heat—they should have been given a real education about crossing picket lines.

In Philadelphia workers almost shut down the scab Eagles game—80 tractor-trailers carrying "Teamsters Don't Like Scabs" signs, and 3,000 unionists from 100 local unions, ringed Veterans Stadium.

Long before the NFL Players Association (NFLPA) struck on September 22, two weeks into the season, the owners were preparing to break the union.

AP

Kinney/NY Post

WV Photo

WV Photo

Widespread union support for football players strike (clockwise from above): contingent of tobacco workers at Atlanta rally; TWA flight attendant in New Jersey; 2,000 unionists rally in Washington, D.C.; Redskins' linebacker Mel Kautman with WV "Hardball" supplement.

Sitting atop a $500 million TV contract, and millions more in ticket revenues and concessions, the football barons began to hire scabs weeks before the strike began. Above all they want to maintain their literal *ownership* of the players: of 3,200 "free" agents in the last ten years, exactly *one* has been allowed to change teams. And to this involuntary servitude the owners want to add random, mandatory drug testing. It's their contribution to the "moral majority"—good "clean" sports heroes for the Reagan/Meese gang to use as "role models" for the regimentation of American youth on the road to war. (Of course when the owners pump the players full of steroids and painkillers that's for the "good of the sport.")

The players are demanding an end to the compensation clause and real free agency after four years. This is hardly a radical demand given that the average player is injured or out of the sport in four and a half years (after playing for free for four years in the racket called "amateur" college football, where the networks rake in the cash and most players never get even a college degree). The players union gave up genuine free agency, won after a court ruled the NFL was an illegal monopoly, in exchange for a dues checkoff and the union shop in 1977. Owners like Leon Hess of the New York Jets want to treat the players like the black workers at his oil refinery in St. Croix, who were locked out by Hess in a bitter yearlong struggle in 1984.

A black former player pointed to the reason for the owners' hatred of the union: "It's all part of that plantation mentality. You can see it in the caricatures of strikers in the cartoons. They're all black figurines and stick figures" (*Daily News*, 1 October). Sports in America is big business—and racist. From the onset of the strike, management has appealed to white players against the black leadership of the union. Gene Upshaw nailed the owners: "When all else fails, that's the next avenue that they'll take, to try and divide us along the lines of black vs. white." The handful of black athletes who "make it" in professional sports are supposed to be "cattle" for capitalist entertainment, not stand up for black rights or lead strikes.

Sports commentator Howard Cosell captured the racism inherent in American sports when he came down hard against the scabs:

> "Moral bankruptcy is never pretty. I find it particularly distasteful when it's clad in shoulder pads and wearing a jersey that has scab written above its number.
>
> "And perhaps I find it a particularly unattractive sight because I remember one young athlete who refused to take a step forward and be inducted into the Army. His name was Muhammad Ali. In so refusing to join the Army, which was against his religious beliefs, he was stripped of his right to fight, and he lost the best years of his career and his life fighting for his rights. He didn't even have a union to back him. He stood alone. . .
>
> "You could all learn a lesson from the courage of Muhammad Ali.
>
> "Instead you chose to line up with those who are called scabs. Rivers of blood and years of violence have been spilled so that Americans have the right to unionize and strike. . . You're one sorry bunch of men."
>
> —*Daily News*, 27 September

As the players strike enters its fourth week, and the owners and networks hold the second "Scab Sunday," unionists across the country want to see a labor victory. There should be mass picket lines ringing every stadium, lines that choke off the scab games and teach the football barons a lesson in the power of labor. And next time St. Croix oil workers fight Hess, or Mayor Goode's cops lay siege to blacks in Philly, maybe some of the NFL strikers will remember who came to their aid. Victory to the players strike! ■

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Picket Lines at Cornell

ITHACA, New York—Mass picket lines of striking maintenance and dining hall workers represented by UAW Local 2300 went up on October 7 and surrounded Cornell University in a determined fight to wrest a wage increase from this filthy rich Ivy League institution.

Strikers, sympathetic students, faculty and area unionists picked up the Spartacus Youth Club's chant, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and blockaded the main entrance to Willard Straight (a main cafeteria and student center on campus) three days running. Some $100 million in construction projects at Cornell ground to a halt as unionists honored UAW pickets, Teamsters dumped deliveries outside campus, and over 30 professors and teaching assistants canceled their classes or moved them off campus.

Like his ancestor, the racist colonial tyrant Cecil Rhodes, Cornell president Frank Rhodes has lorded it over "his" workers, over 200 of whom scratch out an existence below the federal poverty level. But on October 10, after surveying empty dining halls and buildings choked with garbage, and fearing the strike could spread to the 1,800 non-union clerical workers (several of whom walked and respected the UAW's lines), the administration backed down and offered a 10 percent wage increase for the lowest-paid workers.

The union ended the strike and accepted this agreement. Many workers walked out in anger over the settlement and say they're prepared to "play hardball" when contract negotiations reopen in February. A sop to the most militant workers was the promise that state assemblyman Barbaro would hold hearings on their plight. Beware of slick-talking Democrats! Barbaro's real record includes voting against busing for school integration, giving New York City's fat-cat bankers veto power over municipal union contracts and voting against a bill to increase welfare payments.

The Spartacus Youth Club earned the respect of union militants for helping to man picket lines and fighting to shut down all university business, including classes, in a solid campus-wide strike. At a meeting called to organize student strike support, the SYC put forward a motion calling for a boycott of classes. The motion was defeated with the help of the scabby International Socialist Organization (ISO) on the grounds that this was "too much" to demand from students. As the SYC stated in a leaflet issued on the picket lines, "With friends like this, who needs scabs?"

The ISO ought to be called the "International Scabbing Organization." In August 1984, during the hard-fought British miners strike, their mentor Tony Cliff bragged to a London meeting about the number of his supporters who scabbed on the coal strike: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines...." Since they trip over the class line on picket lines, it's no wonder they scab on the Soviet Union as well, calling the USSR "state capitalist" and refusing to defend the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism.

Students got an education *on the picket line* and in just a few days of hard struggle against scabs and the scab-herding cops, many were won to the side of the workers and the SYC's principled stand. Even the campus paper concluded at the strike's end, "If the administration refuses to negotiate in good faith on the UAW's 1988 contract, there should be no question about what will happen. Students and faculty members should make it clear now that they will not come to work either, and that Cornell will be shut down" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 12 October). We fight to win students to the side of the working class, to build a party that will lead all of the oppressed to victory against this racist, capitalist system. Join us! ■

Student strike supporters join campus workers in mass blockade of Willard Straight Hall, October 7.

Government Targets Longshore Union

Defend the ILA!

In an attack on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the Federal Maritime Commission has struck down a provision of the union contract which gives the ILA jurisdiction over container work within 50 miles of union ports. As in their vendetta against the Teamsters, Reagan and the Democrats have the powerful and strategic ILA in their sights—they hate this beachhead of black and white union power in the Jim Crow South. Longshore unions on both coasts are the target of a massive assault on wages and union jurisdiction.

The "50 mile rule" was part of a deal with the shippers (along with "pay guarantees" and royalties) which the union made in exchange for the massive job cuts accompanying the introduction of containers and automation in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. It only saved a fraction of the jobs slashed, but has been repeatedly challenged by the capitalist labor boards and courts. Union jurisdiction over stripping and stuffing of containers was a focus of Georgia Senator Sam Nunn's 1981 Senate hearings on waterfront "corruption." From Robert Kennedy's "Get Hoffa" campaign to the Reagan/Meese RICO witchhunt against labor, the bosses' government uses the cover of "mob influence" in order to break union power.

This latest assault on the ILA follows the 1986 contract, the first longshore agreement to break coastwise wage parity and institute a two-tier wage scale. Far from saving jobs, under the give-back contract the bosses' union-busting offensive has gained steam. In the Gulf, scab operations from Houston to Mobile pose a deadly threat to the ILA. The giant Crowley Maritime has shifted operations of its Coordinated Caribbean Transportation subsidiary in New Orleans and Miami to non-union ports in Lake Charles, Louisiana and Port Everglades, Florida.

What's needed is a joint fight by all waterfront/transport unions to smash these scab operations, organize the unorganized, and fight for jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This means taking on the government's Taft-Hartley injunctions against hot cargoing and transport strikes. It means eliminating the remaining segregated locals. In the South, the ILA can be a powerful weapon against the race terrorists and anti-union thugs of the Klan/Nazis. Key to unleashing the power of labor is forging a class-struggle leadership that fights to break the labor movement from the twin capitalist parties and build an integrated workers party. ■

Shut Down Ports to Beat Union-Buster Crowley!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 13—After eight months, Crowley Maritime is threatening to hire scabs to replace hundreds of striking members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) if they haven't returned to work by October 15. This assault on a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union comes only a month after the Herman/Rubio leadership of the ILWU rammed through its rotten multi-tier givehack contract in a revote.

Waterfront unity is needed *now* to defend the IBU! But Herman wants the strikers to crawl back without a contract, and even paper motions passed by ILWU Locals 10 and 34 executive boards for an October 13 one-day Bay Area port shutdown were deep-sixed by the union tops with the acquiescence of the fake "militants." This strike could have been won a long time ago. Stop the scabbing with mass picket lines that nobody crosses! For a coastwise waterfront/maritime strike!

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Save South African Black Unionist!

Free Moses Mayekiso!

The following article was adapted from Workers Hammer, *monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain, No. 92, October 1987.*

Charged with high treason, subversion and sedition, Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the newly formed National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), is scheduled to go on trial October 19. Four others are up on the same charges stemming from their political activism in the black township of Alexandra north of Johannesburg: Mayekiso's younger brother Mzwanele Mayekiso, Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane and Obed Kopeng Bapela. If convicted, these courageous fighters against apartheid face execution by Botha's murderous regime. Additionally, several dozen militants are already on death row in South Africa.

IDAF

Militant metal workers strike to free Mayekiso, March 1986.

The fight to free Mayekiso and his comrades from Alexandra has struck a deep chord among British trade unionists. An advertisement by the Friends of Moses Mayekiso in the London *Guardian* (18 September) was endorsed by several top national union leaders and hundreds of locals from over 30 unions. We have called (*WV* No. 428, 15 May) for international workers mobilization to save these anti-apartheid fighters, and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has sent telegrams of support to South African metal and mine workers unions. What's needed now are militant labor *actions* on behalf of Mayekiso and all imprisoned unionists and anti-apartheid fighters—including mass mobilizations and strikes.

Moses Mayekiso is a member of the central executive committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Like countless others before him from the impoverished rural areas, as a young man Mayekiso left his "homeland" in the Transkei and became a migrant worker in the mines. He later went to work at Toyota where in 1978 he joined the fledgling Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Targeted for his trade-union activities, he was fired in 1979. In 1980, as Transvaal secretary of MAWU he played a key role in building the metal workers union into one of the most powerful black trade unions in South Africa.

Mayekiso's effectiveness as a trade-union leader and his standing in his township have made him a prime target of the vicious apartheid police state at whose hands he has suffered both imprisonment and torture. He was detained in 1984 following the mass strike by Witwatersrand miners and released a month later after action by South African unionists. He was arrested and released twice more in 1985. In early 1986, the cops raided and ransacked his home, dragging him off to the notorious John Vorster Square detention center once again. MAWU members went on strike to obtain his release and then elected him general secretary of the union.

The vindictive repression of the Pretoria butchers extended to Maggie Thatcher's Britain; when Mayekiso visited there in 1986, he was detained at Heathrow airport for six hours during which he was strip-searched. Mayekiso was arrested in South Africa in June 1986 upon his return from a trip to Europe where he had been building international support for MAWU members engaged in a bitter dispute at the Sarmcol plant of the British Tyre & Rubber Co. When Mayekiso finally appeared in court in January of this year, 200 trade unionists including COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo and NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa picketed outside.

Mayekiso has been in detention since June 1986. But it was not until April that he was charged with treason for his political activities in Alexandra more than a year earlier where he had been elected chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee. The Committee had taken over running the township itself when the residents rose up in February 1986 and expelled police and government officials. Moses Mayekiso, his brother Mzwanele and the three others charged were all officials of the Action Committee. The charges laid against them by the apartheid police state are overtly political, including that Mayekiso and his comrades hold the view:

> "... that the working class, including the unemployed, the youth and other members of the community, should be mobilised, organised and united against the capitalist system and the state."
> —*Workers Press*, 26 September

Mayekiso, whose origins lie in the more "workerist" FOSATU union federation, has strongly held political convictions at times at variance with those of the African National Congress. At its recent merger conference Mayekiso's union NUMSA took a contradictory position: restating that it is committed to building socialism while adopting the ANC's Freedom Charter, which envisions a "democratic" *capitalist* South Africa, as the "first stage" of liberation of the South African masses.

Now, with the heroic black proletariat on center stage in the battle against apartheid slavery, the death sentence hanging over Mayekiso is a frontal assault by Botha & Co. against the whole of the black trade-union movement. It is the elementary and urgent duty of every enemy of the vicious racist regime to rally in defense of Mayekiso, regardless of political, programmatic differences on the course of the anti-apartheid struggle. The stakes in this case are very high.

For International Class-Struggle Defense!

The fight for the freedom of Moses Mayekiso can become a powerful international defense effort, backed up by the muscle of organized labor. But the case has precipitated some bitter wrangling in the British left and workers movement. The London *Observer* (13 September) published a garbled report that the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), backed by leaders of the African National Congress in London, was opposing the campaign to free Mayekiso on the grounds that it was based on "a personality cult" and "is run by Trotskyists." The newspaper printed a retraction of this claim on September 20, but did not retract its report that "The general secretary of the white-collar union NALGO, Mr John Daly, has written to all branches to tell them that the campaign is 'contrary to Nalgo policy'."

NALGO confirmed to *Workers Hammer* that it distributed a circular discouraging its branches from endorsing the Friends of Moses Mayekiso petition, whose organizers prominently include Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" Socialist Workers Party (SWP). NALGO's purported grounds were that the campaign did not consult with "recognised bodies" such as the ANC and the national AAM, and that Mayekiso was singled out "in personality cult fashion"! Reportedly, at a meeting in August called by the Hammersmith Trades Council and the local Anti-Apartheid group, there was an attempt to tear down a banner jointly showing Nelson Mandela and Moses Mayekiso. And recently, the SWP refused to participate in a "Free Mayekiso" rally October 10, saying it would "weaken" an upcoming pro-sanctions march in London.

Nonetheless, a number of NALGO branches did add their names to the petition demanding Mayekiso's immediate and unconditional release, and the national AAM has printed brief articles defending Mayekiso in its newsletter. Beyond the squalid infighting around Mayekiso's case, the AAM, British trade-union tops and various fake-lefts share a common program of pressuring the racist, imperialist British ruling class into enforcing sanctions against South Africa. At a recent National Union of Mineworkers-AAM conference in Sheffield, the Mayekiso case was buried while NUM leader Arthur Scargill spoke under the banner, "Ban South African coal now." This protectionist call channels anti-racist sentiment into a scheme whose main impact would be to rob black South African miners of their jobs.

Socialist Organiser

Metal workers union leader Moses Mayekiso.

In the autumn of 1985, when the apartheid state prepared to execute ANC supporter Benjamin Moloise, the Spartacist tendency in the U.S. and Britain initiated and participated in united-front mobilizations in an attempt to stop his execution. The PDC sent a telegram to key leaders of the U.S. longshore unions demanding: "Labor must immediately halt all South African shipping to stop the execution! Save Moloise!" Presently, 19 top leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front are standing trial on charges of treason; if convicted, they could be hanged. Another 32 courageous fighters against apartheid already convicted face execution, and hundreds of strikers charged during the recent miners strike await trial on various charges. *Free all victims of apartheid repression!*

It is urgent that the international workers movement be mobilized to demand freedom for Mayekiso and his four comrades now. South African miners have recently demonstrated anew their fighting mettle, while British miners who fought so heroically two years ago are again under Thatcher's guns. The solidarity and combativity of the working masses in South Africa, Britain and throughout the world must be linked together through a militant class-struggle defense campaign to liberate Moses Mayekiso and all anti-apartheid fighters from Botha's hangmen! Messages of support can be sent to: NUMSA (MAWU), AP Hing Building, 397 Kempston Road, Port Elizabeth 6001, South Africa. *An injury to one is an injury to all!* ■

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Divided Germany and Gorbachev's Glasnost

On September 11, Erich Honecker, the head of state of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), ended his state visit to West Germany. This was the first such visit in the 38 years of the DDR's existence—West Germany has never recognized it as a separate state. The Honecker trip once again highlighted the question of the *class division* of the two Germanys. The international Spartacist tendency and its German section, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, have uniquely fought for the revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe.

Recent events in both East and West Berlin, the divided front-line city of the Cold War, have underlined the centrality of the German question in European politics. Last June, some 3,000 to 4,000 East German youth gathered on the East Berlin side of the Brandenburg Gate in an attempt to hear music from a rock concert being held just across the Berlin Wall in the West. At one point they broke through East German police lines shouting, "The Wall must go!" but also "We want Gorbachev!"

Three days later Ronald Reagan's attempt to ignite a Cold War crusade against the Berlin Wall met ignominious failure. This was his first visit to West Germany since saluting the Nazi SS killer elite at Bitburg in 1985. West Berlin had to be put under police occupation so that he could safely make a provocative speech on the Western side of the Brandenburg Gate. The previous evening tens of thousands of West Berlin youth demonstrated against "Rambo Reagan" and encountered savage police repression.

Der Spiegel

Gamma

East Berlin, June 8—Young rock music fans shouted "The Wall must go!" but they also sang the Internationale and chanted "We want Gorbachev!"

Independent

East German Stalinist Erich Honecker (left) clinks glasses with West German imperialist chief Helmut Kohl.

Honecker Visits the Fourth Reich

The Honecker visit would have been impossible ten years ago, particularly under the auspices of the Christian Democratic Union. In 1984 a previous attempt was torpedoed by the ruling CDU and finally stopped by the Soviet Union, which disapproved of Honecker's mini-détente in the shadow of the U.S. Pershing missiles installed in West Germany. Now, with the Reagan regime discredited, Gorbachev's renewed attempts at détente encourage the DDR bureaucracy (despite its distaste for Gorbachev's internal policy of *glasnost*) to relaunch its own policy of conciliating West German imperialism.

Triumphal over Honecker's visit, the East German Stalinist regime believes that there will be a positive, peaceful development of inter-German relations. However, West Germany remains the bridgehead for NATO's anti-Soviet rollback policies and maintains its goal of regaining the territories lost in World War II and restoring capitalist "order" in East Europe. For the industrialists of the Ruhr and bankers of Frankfurt, East Germany remains "Mitteldeutschland." Refusing to sign a treaty recognizing the postwar German-Polish border (the Oder-Neisse line), West German revanchism dreams of reannexing parts of Poland and even subjugating the Soviet Union.

Honecker has long been reviled in West Germany as the architect of the Berlin Wall. The Wall was a defensive measure, even if partial and bureaucratic, protecting the DDR's collectivized economy against imperialism, built in 1961 to prevent a massive hemorrhage of the East German skilled workforce to the West. Today, Honecker is nonetheless prepared to let some 1.2 million East German citizens below retirement age visit West Germany. Given superior East German social services for the elderly, pensioners have long been permitted to cross the border, since there is little risk they will remain in the West.

The DDR now ranks among the world's top ten industrial powers with a per capita income *higher* than France, Britain or Italy. As part of his visit, Honecker went back to his boyhood home in the Saar, a region ravaged by plant closures and a 15 percent unemployment rate. This is a striking indication that the DDR's collectivized planned economy—a historic gain for the proletariat—is closing the gap with the capitalist West. Honecker is in a position to relax border crossing restrictions since thousands of East German émigrés are returning disillusioned from the West, unable to find decent jobs or to integrate themselves into the "free world."

Nonetheless, an aide to CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl could declare that Honecker "was moving in what we regard as the right direction" because the West German bourgeoisie believes his détente moves will further their goal of economically penetrating the DDR. The fact that trade between the two Germanys has doubled in the past ten years can be an effective lever for pressure by the Frankfurt bankers. The CDU leaders, even the arch-reactionary Strauss, have taken up the *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) of their Social Democratic predecessors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, aiming to economically soften up the Soviet bloc for capitalist restoration. But ultimately any such attempt at capitalist restoration cannot be peaceful, and West Germany has one of the best-equipped armies in the world—not only deutschmark diplomacy—to further its revanchist aims.

Two Demonstrations in Divided Berlin

The class division between the two Germanys is expressed most sharply in Berlin. The mere existence of the West Berlin imperialist outpost in the middle of East German territory is a provocation in itself, and it is heavily subsidized in order to fulfill its role as a showcase of the "free world."

The June rock concerts organized by the West Berlin Senate as part of Berlin's 750th anniversary were thus not simply entertainment. They were held on the Reichstag grounds abutting the Wall and the loudspeakers were turned toward East Berlin. The performers, especially the Eurythmics (creators of the music for the anti-Communist horror film *1984*) and David Bowie, also had a role to play. Bowie addressed himself particularly to East Berlin listeners.

Young East German rock fans carried radios to listen to the concerts and climbed up trees in Unter den Linden street (formerly Stalinallee and scene of the 1953 workers revolt) in a vain attempt to catch a glimpse of the bands. In their frustration, the youths began to shout, "The Wall must go!" Yet the attempt to provoke some kind of pro-capitalist political demonstration did not succeed. The protesters sang the *Internationale* and cries of "We want Gorbachev" were directed to the nearby Soviet embassy. The *New York Times*

(10 June) was virtually alone in the international press in pretending that "the intent [in singing the *Internationale*] was apparently sarcastic."

East Berlin police remained calm and tried to avoid a confrontation, but when the youth began to break through the security line, tension escalated. Some protesters were beaten up and a few hundred were arrested. If the West German press made the most of this (at least insofar as its own reporters were manhandled), there was little more to exploit. The protesters were released the next day and no charges were brought against them.

The young rock fans, who had come from all over the DDR and apparently have no ties to the meager East German oppositional "peace movement," angrily labeled the policemen "cop pigs" and shouted "Kreuzberg." This reference to a cop riot the previous month against opponents of the West German census in the immigrant Kreuzberg quarter of *West Berlin* shows what East German youth really think of West German capitalist "democracy."

East German youth counterposed neither Reagan, Kohl nor Social Democrat Willy Brandt to Honecker. Instead, especially given the opposition of the DDR bureaucracy to *glasnost* (including censoring some of Gorbachev's speeches in the East German press), these youth look to the Soviet leader as a new hope for liberalization. The press reports an upsurge of interest in Soviet studies in the DDR as a result.

To listen to Western rock music as an escape from the bureaucratic drabness of life in a deformed workers state is hardly embracing capitalism. Even Western radio and TV, which West Germany intends to be a conduit for imperialist propaganda, can be a double-edged sword. The West German media are also a source of information about unemployment, racism, police brutality and fascist atrocities under capitalism. The fact that East Berlin youth identified with their counterparts in Kreuzberg led the liberal West German newspaper *Die Zeit* to question if youth fighting the police, even East German Vopos (*Volkspolizei*), were "freedom fighters."

Reagan—who polls show has less standing among the West German public than Gorbachev!—visited West Berlin a few days later intending to exploit the June 8 events in East Berlin to the hilt. He would respond to East German youth's "cry for freedom" by denouncing the Wall in the name of "democracy." The result was a fiasco as "free world" cop repression made the Vopos look like Boy Scouts.

Not only was the crowd assembled to watch Reagan's theatrics in front of Brandenburg Gate composed essentially of American soldiers, but only a few hundred looked on from the other side of the Wall. Reagan declaimed, "Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate!" from behind a double layer of bulletproof glass within a barbed-wire compound! The day before, U.S. embassy personnel had to whitewash embarrassing slogans like "Reagan go home!" and "Yankees out of Nicaragua!" from the Wall.

West Berlin was turned into a police

AP

Reagan and Kohl salute Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg, 1985.

fortress with 10,000 city cops mobilized and an additional 1,000 imported from West Germany. They completely sealed off Kreuzberg, and a police sweep lasted five hours. But the brutal beatings and mass arrests did not stop 50,000 youth from demonstrating against Reagan the day before his visit. West Berlin resembled a city under siege: the subway shut down; its main department store, the Kadewe ("Department Store of the West"), closed; sharpshooters stationed on roofs, helicopters hovering in the sky and the streets filled with police vans and armored cars.

The Berlin Wall and the Cold War

Although they did not associate themselves with Reagan's antics, Kohl and CDU West Berlin mayor Eberhardt Diepgen are quite capable of screaming "Open up the Wall" themselves. In August 1986, under the eye of Reagan's ambassador, several hundred CDU youth were shipped to Berlin at government expense to hold an anti-Communist rally against the Wall. After the official CDU rally 200 fascist skinheads screaming "Hitler will be back" marched to the Wall and attempted to (unsuccessfully) provoke East German border guards to create an anti-Communist martyr. This year the sinister Moon sect attempted to repeat this demonstration with little success, and moreover ran into some West Berlin leftists.

Last year's anti-Communist campaign in West Germany around the 25th anniversary of the building of the Berlin Wall intersected the demagogic racist outcry over the so-called *Überfremdung* (invasion of foreigners)—that is, the racist terror campaign against Third World immigrant workers and refugees. German imperialism simultaneously demands that the Wall become more "permeable" for East Germans and that it be made watertight against dark-skinned Iranians, Tamils and others fleeing poverty and oppression.

What, then, is the Berlin Wall? It represents a defense, albeit in a bureaucratic fashion, of the DDR's collectivized economy. That is why the bourgeoisie hates it and we Trotskyists defend it. The Berlin Wall was an economic measure to stem wholesale emigration. During the 1950s tens of thousands of skilled workers who had been trained in the DDR were seeking an easier life in the capitalist West, whose economy was at that time in full expansion. The exodus was instigated and organized in part by a CIA campaign. The leaders of the East German deformed workers state finally reacted to ensure their own survival. This is the other side of the double nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which must sometimes defend the collectivized property forms on which it rests.

The construction of the Wall thus represented a step back from illusions in the possibility of a deal with NATO imperialism. As Cold Warrior Eleanor Dulles wrote in *One Germany or Two* (1970), "The Wall was the inevitable result of the Soviet leaders' decision to limit the policy of détente and to maintain a separate socialist state between the Federal Republic and Poland and Czechoslovakia." For the imperialists, the Wall has become a symbol of the Cold War because it was erected as a barrier to a *capitalist* reunification of Germany.

The Berlin Wall has never been the totalitarian thought-control measure to seal off the population of East Germany that anti-Communist propaganda portrays. How could it be, since practically the entire DDR receives West German TV? Even in the first years after its construction, during the mid-'60s, a million pensioners a year (out of a total population of 17 million) visited West Berlin, and a million and a half West Germans visited the DDR annually.

In the interests of imperialist *Ostpolitik* the Social Democrats have for some time muted their hostility to the Wall. Willy Brandt even declared that it "stabilized" the situation. The Christian Democrats are now following suit. Only right-wing CDUer Alfred Dregger was ready to draw a parallel between the 8 June youth protest and the 17 June 1953 East German workers revolt. In reply, the liberal *Die Zeit* declared the recent protest to be "an embarrassing faux pas in the German-German normalization," and that "reminiscences of 17 June 1953 are really far-fetched." *Stern* magazine even ran a headline, "Let's get rid of June 17."

Der Spiegel

17 June 1953—East German workers rise up against the Stalinist regime, call upon West German workers to "sweep out your crap in Bonn."

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

June 17 belongs to the German working class and not the revanchist bourgeoisie. It began with construction workers marching down Stalinallee to oppose piecework wages. They then raised the slogan "Ulbricht must go," referring to Honecker's predecessor. The bureaucracy was paralyzed as the strike spread through East Germany. The question of power was posed: a mass meeting of metal workers in East Berlin raised the slogan of a metal workers government based on strike committees. And they were avowedly pro-socialist. In the Halle train station strikers greeted travelers from the West with a banner reading, "Now sweep out your crap in Bonn—in Pankow [East Berlin] we're cleaning house." (For an account of this historic event, see "The East German Workers Uprising of 17 June 1953," *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983.)

June 17 was an uprising for a red soviet Germany and not an anti-Communist revolt as the propagandists for "German unity day" pretend. It was the forerunner of political revolution against the DDR bureaucracy, requiring Trotskyist leadership in order to be victorious. Honecker, the would-be guardian of "socialism in half a country," is hostile to revolutionary struggle in the West German linchpin of NATO and pushes the dangerous illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists. But the Cold War status quo Honecker wants to maintain is ultimately untenable.

The fate of divided Germany will not be settled in national isolation. The revolutionary unification of Germany by socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East will only be possible in the context of a European-wide revolution. This was placed on the historic agenda by the defeat of Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union in World War II at the cost of 20 million Soviet dead. But the Stalinists strangled incipient proletarian revolutions in West Europe. Washington transformed the German zones under imperialist occupation into a separate West German state as a bridgehead for NATO's anti-Soviet rollback strategy.

East Germany, where capitalism was expropriated as a measure of bureaucratic self-defense, has since become of vital importance for the Soviet bloc. At the same time, Gorbachev's *glasnost* has awakened new hopes for a freer and better life among East German workers and especially youth.

If the social power of the industrial proletariats of the two Germanys is united as an axis for socialist revolution in Europe, it will find allies in the working classes from Portugal to Russia. A Soviet Germany will take its rightful place as the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Europe. A reunited Berlin will become the capital of a Soviet Germany, and the victorious proletariat will raze the Berlin Wall. A Trotskyist world party must be built to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the capitalist world and to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies from East Berlin to Moscow and Peking. It is urgently necessary to build a German section of a reforged Fourth International! ■

Der Spiegel

Berlin Wall: bureaucratic measure to defend East German collectivized economy.

Lutte Ouvrière Censors Trotskyist Defense of the Soviet Union

In July 1986, the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) jumped into the game of musical chairs occupying various fake-Trotskyists around the globe by reviving its international organ *Lutte de Classe/Class Struggle/Lucha de Clase*. This was to be a forum for international discussion, LO announced, open to contributions from "various international Trotskyist tendencies." LO reasons that since the Fourth International no longer exists, all claims to Trotskyism are equally valid. But when we of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) took them up on their offer, by submitting a document on the Russian question, LO's response was a philistine refusal. We reprint below LO's invitation, the document submitted by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the iSt, and LO's reply.

The first issue of the new series of *Class Struggle* grouped together under the "Trotskyist" label everything from the parliamentary cretinist Militant group buried deep in the British Labour Party to Jack Barnes' American SWP, even as the latter formally renounced Trotskyism. LO is happy to engage in bloodless debates over the class nature of the USSR with the likes of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, which labels Russia "state capitalist." But when it comes to defending the gains of the October Revolution in Poland and Afghanistan, LO is just as rabidly anti-Soviet as the state caps. (The British SWP held up the iSt as the horrible example of what would happen to LO if it ever took seriously its own characterization of the USSR as a degenerated workers state.)

Characterized by workerist philistinism and corresponding national parochialism, Lutte Ouvrière has disdained the struggle for a democratic-centralist International. From its inception, the refurbished *Class Struggle* was intended as an "internationalist" fig leaf while LO seeks out new non-aggression pacts. For fake-Trotskyists, the basis for making (and unmaking) a succession of international rotten blocs is an anti-Soviet consensus, frequently undercut by conflicting opportunist appetites on differing national terrains. Support to Islamic reaction in Afghanistan and clerical-nationalist counterrevolution in Poland is taken for granted; what remains for *Class Struggle* is to "compare notes" on their various brands of national opportunism.

At the 1966 London conference of the International Committee, Voix Ouvrière, LO's predecessor, dissented from the political bandit Gerry Healy's self-proclamation of the IC as the Fourth International, as did Spartacist. During the next two years, the Spartacist League/U.S. established fraternal relations with Voix Ouvrière, while criticizing its syndicalist prejudices. VO's workerism and semi-clandestinity rendered it incapable of dealing with the prerevolutionary situation in France in May 1968, ignited by radical students. It is precisely at such moments that LO's schema of patient (and patronizing) sub-minimal "consciousness raising" falls apart, as sharp class struggle shakes everything up at once, undercutting organizational loyalties and posing new questions and the possibility of revolutionary answers. After the '68 general strike, LO moved sharply to the right, attempting to form a lowest-common-denominator merger of the entire French far left.

LO's obscure American affiliate, Spark, originated in a factional struggle within the Spartacist League at that time. LO supporter Kay Ellens combined an apolitical workerist posture with capitulation to petty-bourgeois black nationalism. Thus LO and its American supporters opposed the 1968 New York City teachers strike when the liberal Democratic city administration abetted by various black demagogues sought to break the largely Jewish teachers union. In the 1967 Arab-Israel war, LO militarily supported the Arab bourgeois states while the Spartacists called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides.

WV Photo

Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated in September 1981, saying "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

In the almost 20 years of its existence, Spark has buried itself in a few plants in Detroit and Baltimore in order to churn out reams of apolitical shop newsletters. Of late, however, Spark has raised its head on campuses in an effort to recruit radicalized student youth. To would-be revolutionary youth attracted to Spark's stance as studious Trotskyists and hard-working militants, we warn: LO's workerist politics are a left face of Cold War anti-Communism. Witness the fact that all of the participants in its "international forum" have the State Department line on Afghanistan and Poland.

In the first issue of *Class Struggle*, Georges Kaldy put forward LO's position that "an International will be set up only when a leadership emerges because a section in a country, or in several countries, will have succeeded in leading important struggles...." LO's response to every major international question is, "build the party in France!" In the meantime, LO is content to organize vague international "discussions" and radical tourism to "exchange experiences." Thus LO's diplomatic relations with the followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno simply disappeared after a delegation was dispatched to Buenos Aires to observe the Morenoites *in situ*.

Robert Capa

Trotsky speaks "In Defense of the Russian Revolution," Copenhagen, November 1932, in his first public speech in exile.

Defending the basic Leninist proposition that "only an international organization can be bearer of an international ideology," Trotsky refuted in advance LO's notion of an arithmetical sum of opportunist national policies: "Those who believe that the International Left will someday take shape as a simple sum of national groups, and that therefore the international unification can be postponed indefinitely until the national groups 'grow strong,' attribute only a secondary importance to the international factor and by this very reason take the path of national opportunism" ("An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund," February 1930).

LO is quite simply opposed to the necessary programmatic political struggle, the *splits* and *fusions* essential to reforging a genuinely democratic-centralist Fourth International. LO's version of "peaceful coexistence" within the so-called "family of Trotskyism" represents the most naked expression of its fatalistic denial of the necessity for revolutionary leadership. LO's politics are a reversion to those of the Russian Economists, fought by Lenin at the turn of the century: the notion that revolutionary politics are the spontaneous outgrowth of the daily struggles of the industrial proletariat. This negates the necessity for a programmatically based vanguard party. LO hides behind the political consciousness of the "average worker," a consciousness transmitted by the current misleaders of the working class to cover their reformism.

LO's workerist orientation to backward sections of the class, under the pretense that these supposedly "politically virgin" workers are the easiest recruits, has led them to adopt a series of scandalous positions for which they are notorious on the French left. Thus LO opposed any act of concrete solidarity with the British miners strike in 1984 and characterized the miners' heroic defense of their picket lines as "dividing" the workers. LO defended the fact that one of its "workers leaders" at the CKD auto parts plant at Rouen *scabbed* on a strike last year. LO refuses to advance a program to fight against racial oppression in the face of the wave of anti-immigrant racist terror in France and avoids the fight for mass workers mobilization to crush fascism by denying that Le Pen's murderous National Front is a fascist organization! And in 1981, LO capitulated to the popular front by calling for a vote, "without illusions but without reservation," to Cold Warrior Mitterrand.

It is not surprising that on the fundamental question dividing revolutionaries from reformists and centrists, LO comes down on the wrong side of the barricades whenever it's a question of defending the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states from the imperialist war drive and internal capitalist restoration. LO admitted that the leadership of Polish Solidarność proclaimed "nationalist, clericalist and reactionary political ideas openly" and that "it finds its political model in the memory of the deceased dictator Marshal Pilsudski." Nonetheless, they concluded, "It goes without saying that even if the Polish workers struggle on the basis of a program which does not lead to their social emancipation, revolutionaries must be *in complete solidarity* [our emphasis] with their struggles" (*Lutte de Classe*, 22 December 1980).

LO is equally the "left" wing of social-democratic anti-Communist hysteria around Afghanistan, comparing the Red Army's intervention on the side of social progress to that of French colonialism in Algeria or U.S. imperialism in Vietnam! But of course LO only defends the "tradition" of the Russian Revolution and does not see any *lasting social gains* to be extended to Afghanistan or defended in Poland. After all, collectivized property forms are only

"formal" and "juridical" since, in LO's view, the same institutions that constitute a workers state in the Soviet Union can be the basis of "state capitalism" in Vietnam, Cuba, Eastern Europe, etc. The absurd position that these deformed workers states remain bourgeois is now a rationalization—neither intelligent nor consistent—of LO's programmatic betrayals.

The organizational methods of workerist semi-clandestinity which are LO's trademark are inseparable from its program. Rejection of political struggle—inside as well as outside the organization—is the basis of LO's system of strictly individual contacting and recruitment, arbitrary membership criteria and secret leadership. LO boasts of being a "hard" organization, but this is just an organizational straitjacket designed to prevent an organizational liquidation matching its political liquidation. As for the international role assigned to satellites like Spark, LO's cavalier dismissal of "grouplets of a few ten of militants, or even less, dragged from some other Trotskyist organization, with no militant past of their own and who are pompously called by the name of section or even party" (see below) is eloquent enough.

LO's Call for "International Discussion"

This trilingual review is published by four Trotskyist organizations which have been active together for a number of years and the first three of which are better known under the name of their press organs:
—Lutte Ouvrière—France
—The Spark—USA
—Combat Ouvrier—French-speaking West Indies
—UATCI (African Union of Internationalist Communist Workers)

This publication is not the first of its kind: from 1972 to 1980, many bilingual issues (French-English and English-Spanish) of this review have been published by the same organizations—though from 1972 onward these bilingual editions have been replaced by monolingual ones in each language.

At still earlier date, a similar bilingual review had been published in 1967-1968 by Union Communiste (trotskyst), an organization which was banned in May 68 under De Gaulle.

Class Struggle will of course print the analysis and points of view of our organizations on political and social current events of international interest, based on our common fundamental options.

However, our ambition is to address ourselves to all Trotskyist militants who wish a genuine political confrontation between the various Trotskyist groups existing throughout the world, to all revolutionary workers who have an interest in the political future of their class and in the role it is bound to play in world history when it starts moving independently and autonomously—at the political and organizational levels—with respect to the other social classes, whether they be revolutionary or not.

Our hope then is for the review to become a forum of international discussion between various international Trotskyist tendencies even if, given the sectarianism of some of them, the discussion will not always be under the form of a dialogue and will perforce be restricted to one-way criticisms of other groups' interventions and political options as they appear in their press. But even if there can be no dialogue, we will keep clear of any kind of sterile polemical aggressions, as our aim is not to prove that we are in the right and all the others are in the wrong, but to discuss our own as well as the other currents' choices and options in front of the whole Trotskyist movement.

Of course, we would rather have a genuine discussion with the other groups, but despite our efforts those currents who claim to be an International in their own right stand their ground—not out of a conviction which does not exist but out of sheer self-satisfaction—and refuse any kind of relationships with other international groups with the exception of basically apolitical talks aimed at a future merger (the prelude to a further more or less rapid split).

Der Spiegel

Lech Walesa bows to Catholic hierarchy. LO supported Solidarność though admitting it pushed "clericalist and reactionary political ideas."

In this review, we will no doubt have other opportunities to formulate our opinion on the evolution of the Trotskyist movement since World War II, on the political as well as the organizational level, and to set down how we think the Fourth International could be built, or rebuilt.

The fact that many organizations either pretend they are the Fourth International or, more modestly, say they want to rebuild it is not in itself sufficient proof that none of these groups has enough credit—that is, enough political and human capital—to claim to be even the embryo of a World Proletarian Revolutionary Party which is what its founder, Leon Trotsky, wanted it to be.

A much more significant fact, unfortunately, is that none of these organizations, including the United Secretariat, has more than one national organization of any weights, (at the scale of today's Trotskyist movement).

The successive leaderships of the International Secretariat and later of the United Secretariat have stated as a principle that they were the Fourth International without raising the problem of whether during World War II Trotskyist organizations had really faced up to the situation created by the war and, more importantly, by the after-war period.

In any case, neither during post-war years in Europe nor during the 1945-1955 decade of revolutionary crises in the Third World (or even later) did any organization belonging to the Fourth International play any role, least of all any leading role.

And as pretences are not sufficient to bend facts the way one wishes for, the Fourth International underwent split after split, first at the time of "Pabloism" after which it broke down into ever smaller splinters to reach its present state.

Today, any national organization with a minimum number of militant forces refuses the arbitrary leadership of a would-be International and refuses to be forced to follow a policy decided upon by organizations which do not represent anything real. Each of these organizations will entice a few militants away from this or that organization affiliated to the USec and "huild" their own International on the same model as the USec.

This is how, today, all these Internationals are made up of but one sizeable organization (and even those are marginal in relation to the political life of their country and even more so in relation to the working class), surrounded by grouplets of a few ten of militants, or even less, dragged from some other Trotskyist organization, with no militant past of their own and who are pompously called by the name of section or even party. The relationships between these sections inside the so-called Internationals reflect the basi[c] reality and, despite the pomp of World Congress PS and other international hodies, they are based on nothing more than the personal influence of a few individuals, or even a single militant. This is not in itself blameworthy—if nothing else is possible—, but what is, is to use an erroneous vocabulary which deceives the militants, workers, and youths one wants to train and which renders them inefficient because they are incapable of discerning the tasks that lie before them.

There are political differences as well, of course, but they deserve to be assessed more seriously for they do not always lie where each of the so-called Internationals say they are.

The fact remains that this type of methods only favors sectarian and even national deformations. In any case, it does not work and this is why, though we are extremely rich in Internationals these days, there are no more Trotskyist militants today than in 1945. More importantly, the programs and the political and militant strategies of these militants cannot be compared any more to those for which Trotsky fought till his death. This is one of the problems we have in common, and it is not the least.

As for us, we do not claim we can tell others what they must do. If we are ever in a position to teach a thing or two to other militants, it will be through our activities and interventions. That is the only thing that counts.

The aim of this review, as we said before, will be merely to have a discussion which does not yet exist between the various Trotskyist trends.

We hope it will be of some help to all those who devote their activities to the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

French Spartacists' Suppressed Contribution

"I said again in my speech that politics is a concentrated expression of economics, because I had earlier heard my 'political' approach rebuked in a manner which is inconsistent and inadmissible for a Marxist. Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."

—V.I. Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," 1921

"War is a mere continuation of policy by other means."

—Clausewitz, *On War*, 1832

1. The world vanguard party—the Fourth International—can only be reforged in political struggle against revisionism and on the basis of a living program, that is, clear and precise positions on the burning questions of our time. The unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is as crucial a question today as it was when the Fourth International was founded. We thus address ourselves to the Russian question in this contribution to the discussion being carried on in the pages of *Lutte de Classe*.

2. The Russian Bolsheviks took the question of the workers revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality. Since October 1917, the defense of the Soviet Union

continued on page 10

Le Bolchévik

Ligue Trotskyste de France initiated December 1981 united-front protest in Rouen to smash fascist attacks. LTF banner says: "The popular front disarms the working class! Crush the fascist vermin! For workers self-defense!"

Lutte Ouvrière...

(continued from page 9)

has been a crucial task in the struggle to advance the world proletarian revolution, and simultaneously one of the touchstones that distinguishes those who struggle to retain and apply the understanding of the practices and traditions of the international communist movement in the spirit and program of the Bolsheviks from those who bend to prevailing political pressures.

3. Stalinism is a system of bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property. Writing about the USSR in 1921, V.I. Lenin noted: "A workers state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers state with bureaucratic distortions." In comrade Lenin's acute observation, subsequently deepened and expanded by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in their struggle against the consolidating Stalinist bureaucracy, are laid bare both the roots of Stalinism and the necessity of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. It was in 1923-24 that the qualitative change, the Soviet Thermidor, took place with the expropriation of political power by a bureaucratic caste. A *proletarian* political revolution is necessary to restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their revolutionary and internationalist mission.

4. The class nature of the deformed workers states (Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam), as defined by the property forms defended by those states, is qualitatively similar to that of the USSR. The bourgeoisies in these countries were expropriated and a bureaucratic caste holds political power. The program of the necessary Trotskyist vanguard parties in these countries is also qualitatively similar to that of the Soviet Union: defense of the proletarian gains and political revolution.

5. Cold War II dominates world politics, from the Pacific to the Near East, to Africa and Central America. Active propaganda aimed at winning the advanced workers in the imperialist centers and potential revolutionaries in the colonial and ex-colonial countries to the slogans for the defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states is an urgent and non-postponable task. Only a party that steadfastly defends the Soviet Union will win the Soviet proletariat to the banner of Trotskyism and be capable of leading a successful proletarian political revolution against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy.

* * *

6. The 1980s, like the period of the 1930s when the Left Opposition struggled to assemble cadres and forge the Fourth International, is a period of war preparations. Yesterday's "far-leftists" are running for cover from the dangers and pressures by seeking accommodation with their own bourgeoisies. Now, as then, the Russian question is a watershed. Trotsky's last major political battle was against Max Shachtman and his faction in the American Socialist Workers Party, who embraced third campism in a centrist fashion on the eve of World War II.

Now, as then, revolutionaries reject any support to any version of the popular front. To build such class-collaborationist alliances the bourgeoisie demands of its labor lieutenants two key guarantees: to not touch capitalist property relations and to support national defense. As the French Communist Party's support to the Stalin-Laval pact preceded its support to the Popular Front in 1936, its support for the anti-Soviet *force de frappe* was a necessary precondition for its participation in the Mitterrand popular front, for whom all the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in France—with the exception of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF)—voted in 1981. The electoral tactic of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) in 1981 in France was conditional opposition to the workers parties participating in the class-collaborationist alliance, that is, a precondition for considering the possibility of critical support to a mass reformist workers party is class independence, that it present its candidates in its own name. We were prevented from extending savagely critical support to presidential candidate Georges Marchais by the racist atrocity at Vitry, which also paved the way for the PCF's entry into the government immediately after the elections.

In recent years the Cold War has known two crucially important "hot spots": Afghanistan and Poland. Especially in continental Europe, social democracy on the rise has been the vanguard of anti-Soviet hysteria, with the Mitterrand popular front leading the pack. The iSt has alone stood firm and remained intransigent in the face of the prevailing pressures.

* * *

"...the Kremlin with its bureaucratic methods gave an impulse to the socialist revolution in Poland.... The popular masses in western Ukraine and Byelo Russia, in any event, felt this impulse, understood its meaning, and used it to accomplish a drastic overturn in property relations. A revolutionary party which failed to notice this impulse in time and refused to utilize it would be fit for nothing but the ash can.

"This impulse in the direction of socialist revolution was possible only because the bureaucracy of the USSR straddles and has its roots in the economy of a workers' state....

"Seeking to get around reality, namely that nothing else but the social foundations of the USSR forced a social revolutionary program upon the Kremlin, Shachtman refers to Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia where everything has remained as of old. An incredible argument! No one has said that the Soviet bureaucracy *always* and *everywhere* either wishes or is able to accomplish the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. We only say that no other government could have accomplished that social overturn which the Kremlin bureaucracy notwithstanding its alliance with Hitler found itself compelled to sanction in eastern Poland. Failing this, it could not include the territory in the Federation of the USSR."

—Leon Trotsky, "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," 1940

7. In Afghanistan, the imperialists support and arm an insurrection led by reactionary tribal chiefs and mullahs against a petty-bourgeois nationalist regime allied to the USSR. In this war, a victory for the pro-Western rebels would mean: 1) the yoke of an obscurantist Islamo-feudal dictatorship for the peoples of Afghanistan; 2) imperialist bases for military aggression, espionage and subversion on the border of Soviet Central Asia. In Afghanistan the Red Army plays a doubly progressive role: it defends the USSR against a direct military threat and it represents the camp of social progress. This latter is particularly clear on the woman question: on the rebels' side it is the assassination of schoolteachers, the veil, forced marriage, the life of a beast of burden; on the Soviet side, the right to be a human being. Even the hardened anti-Communists of the "humanitarian organizations" which aid the Afghan guerrillas are horrified by the "freedom fighters'" despicable treatment of women. In December 1979 the international Spartacist tendency chose its side in this military clash between two social systems: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! The other groups who claim filiation with Trotskyism, including Lutte Ouvrière, call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, thus acting as direct conduits for the anti-Soviet campaign of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy.

8. It is scandalous and erroneous to compare the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the imperialists' colonial wars in Algeria and Vietnam, as does LO. In the absence of a significant Afghan proletariat, the most elementary gains of bourgeois democracy can only be introduced in Afghanistan from the exterior. The Soviet state and its army can play this eminently progressive role—and for once are doing so—and the reason is precisely the historically progressive character of the planned economy in the Soviet Union.

9. Far from being bogged down in Afghanistan, the Red Army and Soviet-backed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are winning hands down. This fact has not prevented the Stalinists from seeking once again to conciliate the imperialists in the framework of their strategy of peaceful coexistence. The recent "peace initiative" from Moscow and Kabul is misguided and dangerous. There is a civil war in Afghanistan, and one side or the other must win. Offers of "compromise" will only embolden the imperialists. The sooner the feudalists are smashed, the sooner the bloodshed will end and the road to social progress will be secured.

* * *

"Victor Serge has disclosed in passing what caused the collapse of the Bolshevik party: excessive centralism, mistrust of ideological struggle, lack of freedom-loving ('*libertaire*', in reality anarchist) spirit. More confidence in the masses, more freedom! All this is outside time and space. But the masses are by no means identical: there are revolutionary masses, there are passive masses, there are reactionary masses. The very same masses are at different times inspired by different moods and objectives. It is just for this reason that a centralized organization of the vanguard is indispensable. Only a party, wielding the authority it has won, is capable of overcoming

Sports Illustrated

Planeta Publishers

Russian Revolution liberated women of the East from the veil. Soviet Central Asian Olympic gymnast Nelli Kim (left); Afghan woman enslaved to Islamic reaction (below).

Workerist philistinism and electoral cretinism: LO's Arlette Laguiller campaigns as "a worker, a woman."

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LO supported social-democratic Cold Warrior François Mitterrand in 1981 election "without illusions but without reservations." In 1985 Mitterrand's commandos killed a pacifist by blowing up Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior to carry out French nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

Pat Oliphant

the vacillation of the masses themselves. To invest the mass with traits of sanctity and to reduce one's program to amorphous 'democracy', is to dissolve oneself in the class as it is, to turn from a vanguard into a rearguard, and by this very thing, to renounce revolutionary tasks. On the other hand, if the dictatorship of the proletariat means anything at all, then it means that the vanguard of the class is armed with the resources of the state in order to repel dangers, including those emanating from the backward layers of the proletariat itself. All this is elementary; all this

Sygma

During 1984 Talbot auto strike, French Trotskyists say: "This government is anti-worker—Break with Mitterrand!"

has been demonstrated by the experience of Russia, and confirmed by the experience of Spain."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism: Peddlers of Indulgences and Their Socialist Allies, or the Cuckoo in a Strange Nest," 1939

10. The crisis which was opened in Poland by the general strike on the Baltic coast during the summer of 1980 marked the complete political (and economic) bankruptcy of Polish Stalinism. The Catholic church, which the bureaucracy has conciliated for decades and which has its own social base (the small landholding peasants) and had the monopoly on opposition to the regime, constituted the rallying point and backbone of those counterrevolutionary forces which existed from the beginning in Solidarność. The iSt recognized the initially contradictory character of Solidarność and said that the task of Trotskyists was to split the workers from the clerical-nationalist forces on the programmatic basis of defense of the proletarian gains—socialized property—and the unity of the Russian and Polish proletariats. Winning the workers to these points was precisely the way to organize for a proletarian political revolution and to stave off the danger of restorationist counterrevolution.

11. 1981 witnessed the further development of Solidarność, a mass political organization with a largely working-class base (but a strong petty-bourgeois component), behind an openly pro-Western leadership. One of the worst of the Stalinist crimes in Poland is precisely to have pushed the Polish proletariat, historically socialist, into the arms of the Vatican and the imperialist West. During its first congress, in September 1981, this organization definitively consolidated around a program of capitalist restoration: the dismantling of the planned economy ("self-management" and "autonomy" of enterprises); the call for foreign investments and the appeal to the IMF; "free elections" to parliament which would have meant placing governmental power at the base of society in the hands of explicitly anti-Communist and nationalist forces which included in their midst the Pilsudskiite anti-Semites of the KPN. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was *defeated*. At this point the iSt called to: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

The strength of Solidarność created a situation of cold dual power which could not last. At the end of 1981, the leadership of Solidarność, around Lech Walesa, decided to undertake a test of strength with the goal of seizing power, which was exposed by the "Radomgate" tapes, large extracts of which were printed in the Western press.

12. The success of this undertaking would have been a catastrophe of historic proportions for the world proletariat and for the Polish proletariat, which would have rapidly been subjected to IMF-dictated austerity and white terror, indispensable for defending "Polish sovereignty" against "atheistic Russian Communism." The international Spartacist tendency's position was that it was necessary to spike the counterrevolutionary power bid by Solidarność and fortunately Jaruzelski's counter-coup d'état did so. Here again, the pseudo-Trotskyist organizations cried with the bourgeois wolves at the crucial moment (the LCR marched in the same Parisian demonstration as the fascists and the RPR), de facto becoming apologists for the "democratic" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

13. LO has the position that the "states of the People's Democracies... were and remain bourgeois states" ("Les démocraties populaires," December 1971, reprinted in *Textes et documents, 1971-1985*, I, Part 1, p. 9). This position is untenable and flies in the face of empirical reality not to mention the Leninist theory of the state. But it does mean that LO believes that there is nothing to defend with regard to the property forms in Poland. LO does also state that "Imperialism will not intervene to 'liberate' the countries of Central Europe, but to subjugate both the Soviet Union and its former defense perimeter" ("L'Union Soviétique," December 1971, *ibid.*, I, Part 1, p. 8). But when it came to Solidarność, which was financed by the CIA and the Catholic church, this cautionary afterthought was subordinated to a more systematic logical development of a fundamentally Stalinophobic position: "It goes without saying that even if the Polish workers struggle on the basis of a program which does not lead to their social emancipation, revolutionaries must be in complete solidarity with their struggles" ("La situation internationale," November 1980, *ibid.*, I, Part 2, p. 24); and later on to regret that "the Polish working class [sic] was defeated without a struggle" ("La Pologne, Extraits des textes d'orientation de novembre 1982," *ibid.*, I, Part 3, p. 5). LO criticized Walesa, but when the crucial moment came, LO was on *his* side of the barricades.

14. But 13 December 1981 in Poland settled nothing. The defensive action of the bureaucracy froze *in extremis* a situation which is untenable in the long run. It is necessary to profit from this breathing space to construct clandestine Trotskyist propaganda and education cells to rip the working class away from the influence of the priests and reactionaries and to prepare the political revolution.

15. With regard to Poland and Afghanistan, Lutte Ouvrière capitulated to the social democracy and was in the camp of the bourgeoisie at the decisive moment, against the historic interests of the proletariat. The position of LO on the defense of the USSR is illogical and disastrous. In our opinion, Lutte Ouvrière is torn between a Stalinophobic negation of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and an appreciation that it would be suicidal to cut itself off from the advanced sectors of the French proletariat, whose attachment to the land of the October Revolution, albeit through the deforming influence of the class-collaborationist PCF, has for the moment withstood the onslaught of the anti-Communist propaganda of two Cold Wars.

16. From our inception as a tendency 25 years ago, we have based ourselves on international democratic centralism, a form of organization which is anathema to the nationally conflicting opportunist appetites of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups. Their attempts at international mergers ceaselessly fly apart no sooner than they are patched together, despite their common capitulation on the Russian question. We are building toward an International Trotskyist League which Trotsky would recognize; our goal is the reforging of the Fourth International and world revolution.

Ligue Trotskyste de France
French section of the International Spartacist tendency
4 May 1987

LO Reneges

Lutte Ouvrière
Paris
27 May 1987

Ligue Trotskyste de France
Paris Cedex 10

Dear Comrades,

We received your letter of May 5, as well as the document you ask us to publish in *Lutte de Classe*, the organ of our international tendency.

However, we see no reason to publish a document such as the one sent us. This document is not a discussion document, but theses on your own general political positions, "on the Russian question," as you state in the first point of your theses, but also, pell-mell, on the class nature of the states in East Europe, on the 1981 Presidential elections, on Afghanistan, Poland, etc. We cannot view the sporadic allusions to the positions of Lutte Ouvrière or others as even the starting point for a discussion.

As we said in the introduction to *Lutte de Classe*, we want to open our pages to a real discussion between organizations which lay claim to revolutionary communism. But we don't see why our journal should provide space for a soliloquy by another organization which has its own publications for that purpose.

With our revolutionary greetings,

Georges Kaldy
For *Lutte de Classe*

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(Signed)
Jan Norden
(Editor)

Death Penalty...

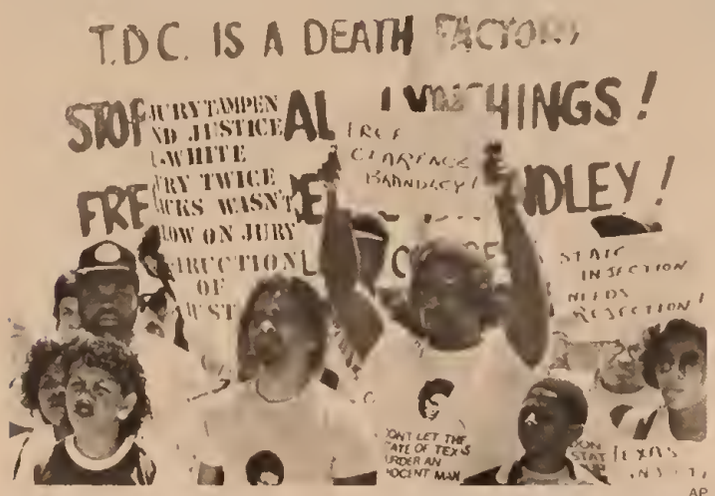
(continued from page 1)

from the Great Prevaricator (Big Liar). Meese still crows that a man shot down in cold blood by his cops during a '60s Berkeley radical protest "deserved to die." If you're arrested, you must be guilty, says Reagan's top cop—writing off 700 years of English common law. Chief Justice Rehnquist hails notorious Arkansas hanging judge Isaac C. Parker, who sent 164 men to their deaths during 1875-96 in the orgy of racist terror that buried Reconstruction. Reagan ranks the psychopathic murderers fighting "Communism" in Nicaragua and Afghanistan alongside the "founding fathers." He rants about "law and order" while openly proclaiming himself above the law and one after another of his Cabinet appointees face indictment for theft and corruption.

Reagan's Amerika is a sick, sick society. When the Supreme Court proclaims the "validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society," it expresses the racist rulers' view that even the "normal" functioning of this decaying imperialist power requires a permanent, codified reign of terror on a scale seen in no other advanced country. *Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder.* It will take a victorious workers revolution to reverse the descent into barbarism in Reagan's America. Stop the "legal" bloodbath! Abolish the death penalty!

savagery of America's institutionalized murder system in a 240-page book entitled *United States of America—The Death Penalty*. When it comes to executing juvenile offenders, the U.S. even surpasses clerical dictatorships like Pakistan. Three were put to death in 1985-86, and 32 others remain on death row. Yet the Amnesty campaign has been systematically blacked out of the U.S. press.

Even in the England of 1810, when families and entire communities were being ruthlessly uprooted in order to consolidate a disciplined industrial labor force, when even burglars and pickpockets were condemned to death and hangings were treated as carnival occasions, there were only 67 executions recorded. In the period from 1930 to 1967, the U.S. *averaged more than 100* executions a year, and the current rate may soon surpass even the peak period of the 1930s Depression. The relative decline during the last two decades created the illusion that people on death row don't get executed, also making jurors less hesitant to see the death penalty imposed. But, as the *New York Times* (9 August) reported, "The cycle now is apparently on an upturn. Even with executions, the death row population is growing by about 250 persons a year."

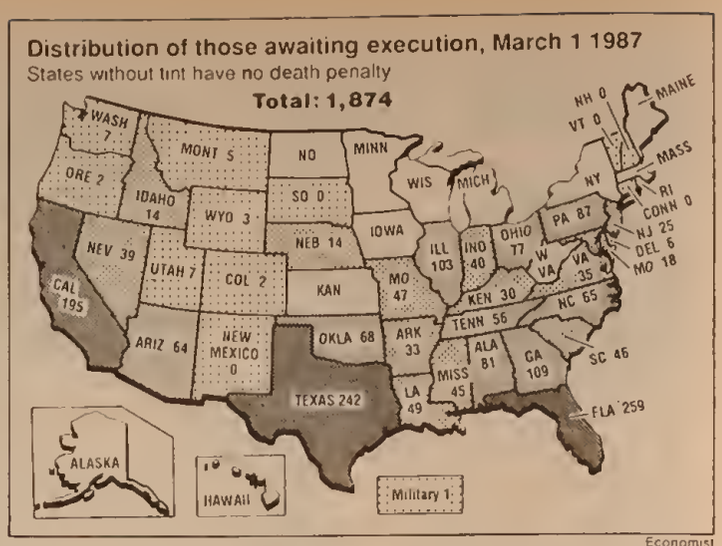


AP

Austin, Texas—Protesters last March demand freedom for Clarence Brandley, a black janitor on death row for six years despite witnesses' testimony he was innocent.

Racist Terror Runs Rampant

While Democrats and Republicans alike rant about supposed "human rights violations" in the Soviet Union, the scale of legalized murder in this country has become so scandalous that Amnesty International this year launched a campaign against the death penalty in the U.S. They detailed the case of Joseph Mulligan, the first victim after the April Supreme Court ruling, uttered his last words as they strapped him to the electric chair: "You are killing an innocent man. I tried to tell you over and over and over." Edward Earl Johnson, executed several days later, was gassed for a murder to which he was forced to confess at a sheriff's gunpoint in a Mississippi backwoods. Johnson had suffered brain damage as an infant, had been positively identified as not being the assailant by a witness and had recanted the confession extracted from him by the police. In Texas, Clarence Brandley—the only black janitor in a school where a 16-year-old white girl was found raped and murdered—has been sitting on death row for six years, as one witness after another testifies that he did not commit the crime for which he is slated to die.



Economist

States of old slavocracy lead nation in number of prisoners on death row.

The hosses' press highlights the most horrendous crimes for sensationalist treatment, as if to say that capital punishment will put an end to them. "Rogues gallery of the doomed killers," blares Murdoch's *Post*. But to the juridical killers, it matters little whether those condemned were indeed guilty of the crimes for which they were executed. According to a 1985 study, more than two dozen people executed this century were later found to have been wrongfully convicted (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 May). "The death penalty is largely symbolic," admits one leading supporter (Toronto *Globe and Mail*, 6 June). Not to those who die.

It is no accident that the U.S. and South Africa are among the few industrial powers which retain the death penalty. As we noted at the time of the Supreme Court decision: "In both countries, the death penalty is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master" ("Down with Racist Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 427, 1 May). The old slave states of the Deep South account for nearly all the executions of the last decade and the majority since 1900.

The death penalty in this country is an outgrowth of the slavocracy and the Klan terror that smashed Reconstruction. The slave codes made clear that only white life was sacred. As late as 1862 the nation's capital mandated that any slave convicted of petty treason, arson or murder should have "his right hand cut off, be hanged in the usual manner; the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters; the head and quarters set up in the most public places of the county," that any runaway slave who refused to surrender, "it shall be lawful to shoot, kill and destroy" and the slave's murderer "indemnified from any prosecution for such killing" (William Z. Foster, *The Negro People in American History*). With the emancipation of the slaves, the slave codes were replaced by the cross-burnings and lynchings of the Ku Klux Klan.

Today, one out of every two people on death row is black or Hispanic, *four times* their proportion of the population as a whole; 60 percent of those sentenced to death in the years 1972-76 were unemployed. In fact more than 150 of those on death row do not even have lawyers, because the state will not provide legal aid for post-conviction appeals. In Florida, one of the leading states in executions, no white has ever been sentenced to death for killing a black. Meanwhile the cops are licensed to carry out summary executions on the streets. Last year in New York City—where there is no "legal" death penalty—24 people, 21 of them black or Hispanic, were gunned down on the streets by police executioners.

In racist America, legal executions have always gone hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and the cops to keep black people "in their place." Among those sitting on Alabama's death row (which is 66 percent black!) is Johnny "Imani" Harris, a black prison activist framed up on charges of killing a guard. In Pennsylvania, former Black Panther and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists Mumia Abu-Jamal has been on death row for six and a half years due to a hideous racist frame-up. For his courageous exposure of kangaroo court trials of MOVE, Mumia was himself framed on charges of murdering a cop. As his wife Wadiya Abu-Jamal said, speaking at an NYC Spartacist forum on international class-struggle defense last June:

> "Philadelphia cops tried to add my husband's name to their deadly roll call
> And because they failed in the street, they took it to the next phase—the courts."

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, Johnny "Ima-

Daily World

Brown Brothers

AP

Victims of racism and anti-red hysteria (from left): Italian anarchists Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, framed and executed in 1920s; the Scottsboro Boys, railroaded during the 1930s Depression; Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, murdered in the electric chair during 1950s McCarthyite witchhunt.

ni" Harris and all victims of the racist capitalist murder machine!

This hideous system of racist "justice" was placed under the spotlight of international protest by the case of the Scottsboro Boys, seven black youth framed up on charges of raping two white women in the early 1930s. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote at the time:

> "The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately planned assassination of the unfortunate Negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts."
>
> —*Militant*, 9 April 1932

Revolutionary Worker

Bill Ingram

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal (above), Johnny "Imani" Harris and all victims of the racist capitalist murder machine!

Socialism or Barbarism

For the American ruling class, terror has always been the bottom line in meeting any challenge, real or perceived, to its racist class rule. Sixty years ago immigrant anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant hysteria following on the heels of the Russian Revolution. At the height of the Depression, as mass integrated labor struggle was burgeoning, the racist rulers held the noose over the heads of the Scottsboro Boys. In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Today the rulers are preparing to revive a massive legalized bloodletting to fuel their drive to thermonuclear holocaust.

After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the death penalty was abolished as a permanent feature of the penal code (one of many such measures subsequently reversed under the Stalinist political counterrevolution). Of course, just as the torturers and criminals of the tsarist autocracy were subjected to revolutionary justice, heinous Nazi war criminals like John Demjanjuk and Karl Linnas (so solicitously protected by Reagan/Meese) deserve to die. It will take world socialist revolution to put an end to this barbaric and racist system where lynch law executions are at the core of capitalist "justice." The struggle to smash the death penalty in this country is necessarily linked to the fight to finish the Civil War which freed the slaves. Down with capital punishment! Forward to the third, socialist American revolution! ■

Shredded Bork...

(continued from page 1)

later the Judiciary Committee nixed Bork by 9 votes to 5.

In the minds of millions, Robert Bork came to personify the gratuitously vicious, nasty quality of the Reagan administration's attacks on the poor, the oppressed, blacks, women, workers, you name it. This is the pig who squealed that it was a "principle of unsurpassed ugliness" to insist, as the 1964 Civil Rights Act did, that restaurants serve black people.

Bork's crackpot "original intent" interpretation of the Constitution is an expression of the Reaganites' social/legal agenda: rolling back the minimal legal gains for blacks won through the mass social struggles of the civil rights movement, dismantling social welfare, placing the Bill of Rights and the Reconstruction amendments back on the shelf to gather dust. He opposed Supreme Court rulings for desegregation, voter registration, and abortion and contraception. Indeed, "original intent" is today's code word for the "states' rights" banner under which the diehard segregationists rallied a generation ago.

Bork personifies the judicial ideal of the militarist dictatorship Reagan and his patriotic protégé Ollie North dream of and schemed for: unlimited presidential powers to order wiretapping and surveillance, no right to privacy, abolishing any sort of progressive social legislation from equal rights to abortion, opposing even the toothless Congressional restraints of the War Powers Act. Bork is a staunch advocate of making the imperial presidency ever more bonapartist. This, after all, is the guy Nixon turned to to fire special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox when Tricky Dick's own attorney general couldn't stomach the job.

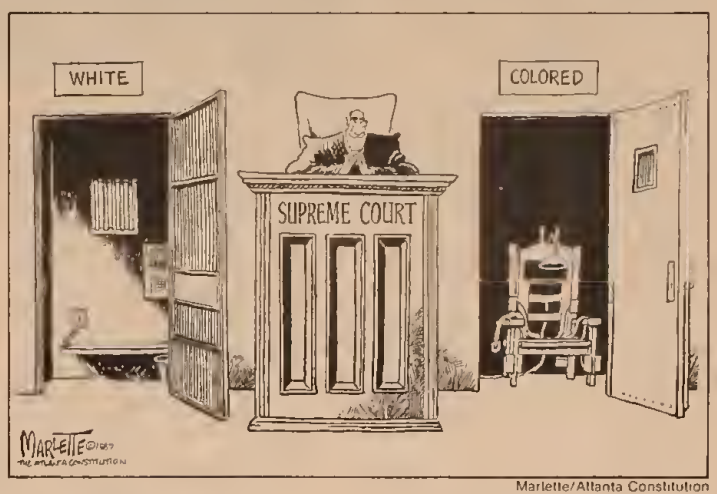
When it comes to capital punishment, according to Bork, "It is a little hard to understand how a penalty that the Framers explicitly assumed to be available can somehow become unavailable because of the very Constitution the Framers wrote" (*City Sun*, 23-29 September). The "framers of the Constitution" also explicitly denied the vote to all but white, male property holders. Much to the chagrin of Bork and his patrons, however, blacks can vote today—and even many of the Dixiecrats in Congress realized that supporting Bork would not wash with the black constituents whose votes they need.

When Reagan tried to raise the racist "law and order" crap in an eleventh-hour attempt to save Bork's ass, liberal columnist Tom Wicker noted the obvious: "the fact is that the Supreme Court already has a functioning 'law and order' majority" (*New York Times*, 5 October). The Democrats on Capitol Hill never even challenged Bork on his stand on the death penalty. For six years the Democrats have either endorsed or acceded to the Reaganites' legal counterrevolution—over 50 percent of today's federal court judges were installed under Reagan.

On every significant issue—from contra aid to school prayers—the majority of the population has been in opposition to Reagan, unlike the Democratic Party which has tailed along after the White House. With a Republican administration which has gone to the brink of total collapse, it is the Democrats who are in a shambles. The "seven dwarfs" of the Democratic Party presidential runoff, who spend most of their time stabbing each other in the back, can't seem to make it past a peashooter in a penny arcade. The only real candidate the Democrats have right now is Jesse Jackson, who aims to resurrect the old Democratic Party coalition tying labor and blacks to the Dixiecrats, on a program of protectionism and the refusal to fight racist terror.

Meanwhile, Reagan goes around attacking dyed-in-the-wool Dixiecrats as "leftists" for their opposition to Bork, and proclaiming the virtues of the old McCarthyite "House Un-American Activities Committee" in an interview in the Moonies' *Washington Times* (30 September):

> "Remember, there was once a Congress in which they had a committee that would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had communist involvement or communist leanings. Well, they've done away with those committees."



Marlette/Atlanta Constitution

You couldn't find a better caricature of a right-wing nut in a Woody Allen film, but this right-wing nut is more or less real and sits in the Oval Office.

Senate Democratic whip Robert Byrd made it clear right from the outset of the Bork debate that there would be no return to the "Warren court" of the 1950s, that great "liberal" nemesis of the John Birchers and other fringe rightist groups. Today the Birchers are out of the fringe and into the mainstream, and all that Bork's Democratic Senate opponents are demanding of Reagan is a "moderate conservative" as a replacement candidate. It is no accident that the current 200th anniversary hoopla celebrates the Constitution as it was written *without* the Bill of Rights, which represented a codification of the individual liberties proclaimed by the bourgeois revolutions of that period.

The rollback of rights of workers, women and minorities is the domestic corollary of the drive to "roll back Communism" internationally—and on that score the Tweedledee Democrats and Tweedledum Republicans walk hand in hand. As we wrote in "Reagan's Sex Witchhunt" last year:

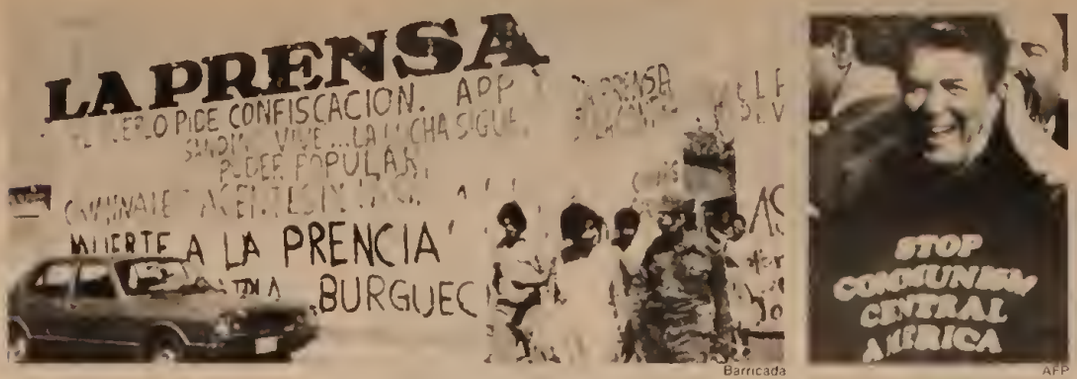
> "Like tsarist Russia in its last days, the American bourgeoisie exhibits increasingly irrational and brutal symptoms of a ruling class in its death agony. One of these is the attempted rollback of supposedly constitutionally protected rights. . .
>
> "Reagan and Meese want a servile, flag-waving population longing to invade Nicaragua, then Cuba, and then on to the Big One: Russia. But they don't have it, and to get it they have targeted democratic rights won through the first two American revolutions. Today it is the Marxists who vigilantly uphold these gains, as we fight for the liberation of all the oppressed in a third, proletarian revolution."
>
> —*WV* No. 408, 18 July 1986

Throughout the period of Reagan reaction, the Marxist Spartacist League has fought to defend basic democratic rights, from initiating successful mobilizations to stop Klan terror to carrying out a series of victorious legal actions insisting "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!"

The "Bork battle" is the first post-Contragate "confrontation" between the Democrats and the White House, an opening shot of the '88 election campaign. Yet with Reagan clearly on the ropes, all the pusillanimous Democrats can do is grope around for a salable version of Reaganism without Reagan. Now is the time to fight for a workers party to lead mass labor/black struggle against the partner parties of capitalist reaction ■

Downing/Newsweek

"Seven dwarfs" (rapidly dwindling) stumble through presidential race. With Reagan on the ropes, the Democrats are in disarray, putting "personality" in the forefront in hopes nobody will notice their congruence with the program of "Reaganism."



Nicaraguans protest "La PrenCIA" in 1982. This contra mouthpiece got at least $100,000 from Reagan gang.

La Prensa Wants to Give Nicaragua Back to the Yankees—We Say No!

When the Sandinistas shut down the Nicaraguan rightist newspaper *La Prensa* in June 1985, Reaganites and liberal Democrats alike railed about supposed "suppression of the free press." The affair became a *casus belli*, used to justify their bloody contra war. In August Costa Rican president Oscar Arias declared that reopening *La Prensa* was a non-negotiable component of the "peace" accord agreed to by the Central American presidents. When the Sandinista regime signed the pact, they agreed to reopen the voice of the internal contras. So on October 1 the presses rolled.

This week Reagan's dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick went to Managua where she embraced *La Prensa* publisher Violeta Chamorro as contra supporters cheered. What the *New York Times* didn't consider news fit to print was, as *Newsday* (11 October) headlined, "U.S. Bankrolls La Prensa." In Washington, the Senate just voted $250,000 additional funds to the "National Endowment for Democracy," a notorious CIA conduit, to finance counterrevolutionary opposition groups in Nicaragua. *La Prensa*'s general manager Jaime Chamorro declared that U.S. funding was "essential," and without these dollars they couldn't publish.

During the Contragate hearings it was confirmed that *La Prensa* had received at least $100,000 from the U.S. This yellow press is a mouthpiece for enemy propaganda in the terrorist war against embattled Nicaragua unleashed by the anti-Soviet warmongers in Washington. During the American Civil War, Lincoln shut down literally dozens of pro-Confederate ("Copperhead") newspapers. Likewise, the closure of *La Prensa* by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was a war measure: when the contras speak out of the barrel of a gun, their propaganda organ is a deadly weapon which the Nicaraguan Revolution must silence in self-defense.

Recently Sandinista president Daniel Ortega visited New York City to address the United Nations on October 8. Following this he attended a press conference at Columbia University. Our reporter, identifying herself as "from *Workers Vanguard*, a socialist newspaper that has always defended the revolution in Nicaragua," raised the issue of *La Prensa*:

> "We stand with the sentiment of people in Nicaragua who think it should be called 'La PrenCIA' because it's a mouthpiece for CIA propaganda. La PrenCIA would like to bring the Yankees back to Nicaragua. Don't you agree with many of the people in Nicaragua that La PrenCIA ought to be closed down for good?"

Ortega gave a lengthy response justifying the Sandinista government's closure of the paper: "We shut down *La Prensa* because it was defending the U.S. policy of aggression against Nicaragua. The proof is that one of its owners, the publisher of the newspaper Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, turned out to be a CIA agent in the leadership of the counterrevolution." When the U.S. Congress approved the $100 million in contra aid, he added, this was no longer tolerable. Washington wanted to use *La Prensa* as it had *El Mercurio* in Chile in preparing the overthrow of Allende. Ortega went on:

> "Why have we reopened *La Prensa* now? In Nicaraguan society, independently of our will there is a body of opinion contrary to revolutionary thought. So the most healthy thing would be for this opinion to express itself in the media. And that's why we judged that it would be convenient for *La Prensa* to come out again, to permit a political struggle, an ideological debate, to enrich the revolutionary process."

Unlike cynical American reformists who pander to liberals by hailing "restoration of full civil liberties"—*to the contras*—Ortega warned:

> "The only limitation which *La Prensa* has now, is that they can't say 'we are for the American Congress approving the $270 million for the contras.' We won't tolerate that. We would have to close *La Prensa* again."

New York, October 8—Spartacists join rally outside Daniel Ortega press conference at Columbia University.

The "free but responsible" imperialist press wagged their fingers at this restriction on "full civil liberties." Meanwhile, in El Salvador even moderately liberal radio stations and newspapers have been silenced for more than six years by the simple expedient of bombing their offices and killing their reporters.

The imperialists have always made demands for "freedom" of the counterrevolutionary press a centerpiece of their anti-Communist tirades. At the time of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the victorious Soviets faced the issue squarely. A November 9 decree on the press, authored by Lenin, declared that at the crucial moment when the power of the workers and peasants is just establishing itself:

> "It was impossible to leave this weapon [the press] wholly in the hands of the enemy, for in such moments it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns. That is why temporary extraordinary measures were taken to stem the torrent of filth and slander in which the yellow and green press would be only too glad to drown the recent victory of the people."

The Council of People's Commissars carefully limited restrictions on the press to "what is absolutely necessary":

> "Only those publications can be suppressed which (1) call for open resistance or insubordination to the Workers' and Peasants' Government; (2) sow sedition through demonstrably slanderous distortion of facts; (3) instigate actions of an obviously criminal, i.e. criminally punishable, nature."

The proscription of such media was only to be temporary, and when the revolution consolidated its power, "all administrative pressure on the press will be terminated and it will be granted complete freedom within the bounds of legal responsibility."

But following the death of Lenin, as Stalin consolidated his bureaucratic regime he silenced every critical voice. It would have been better if (after the end of the Civil War) the Mensheviks were able to publish their *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik* in Moscow instead of Berlin—helping the Bolsheviks sharpen their arguments and subjecting the yellow socialists to the criticism of the revolutionary workers. This would have been a largely symbolic gesture—newsprint was in short supply and virtually every supporter of the revolution had joined the Communist Party—but a good one. The last manifestation of a free revolutionary press in Soviet Russia was in late 1923, when they opened up the pages of *Pravda* as a safety valve following the appearance of the "Platform of the 46." But the torrent of Communist opposition led Stalin and his cohorts to suppress party democracy as they trampled on the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

Today in Nicaragua *La Prensa* has been reopened *while the war goes on*. And although Ortega at least threatens to shut it down again if necessary, the Sandinistas' conciliation of Nicaraguan capitalists and the "Democratic" Yankee imperialists does not give grounds for confidence. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution it's urgently necessary to complete it and extend it. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 16)

signed, the U.S. president declared his willingness "to work with our Central American friends as they perfect and implement it consistent with our national interest." Reagan's attitude toward his puppets recalls Teddy Roosevelt's snide reference to "my great and good friends, the Presidents of the various Central American Republics, and the excessively free and independent people over whom they preside."

Last week Reagan declared the "peace" plan "fatally flawed" and vowed to the Organization of American States he would support the contras "as long as there is breath in this body." Sounding like German general Hoffmann trying to dictate surrender terms to Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk in 1918 ("Give them another touch of the whip"), administration spokesmen demanded the Sandinistas declare their willingness to give up power or else. Yet even with the $100 million voted by Congress last year, Reagan's murderous contra "freedom fighters" have proven unable to hold a piece of territory or win a single battle against the Sandinista Army. As the contras begin to melt away, the FSLN regime declared a unilateral cease-fire in several war zones. Four hundred Miskito Indians came over to the government, and interior minister Borge announced that some contra local leaders were negotiating for amnesty.

Meanwhile, Nicaraguan president Ortega spoke at the United Nations on October 8. It was the anniversary of the CIA's assassination of Che Guevara, the heroic guerrilla whom the Sandinista leader later compared to the pacifist Gandhi. Despite Ortega's offers for "dialogue" and normalization of relations with the U.S., the American delegation walked out. The Sandinista leader warned the Reaganaut warmongers, "Rambo exists only in the movies." And while stressing that they had fulfilled the Guatemala accords to the letter, Ortega said any amnesty would be partial, not including the Somozaist National Guardsmen "who have tortured my people." At a press conference, responding to a question from *Workers Vanguard*, he said that if the U.S.-financed rightist paper *La Prensa* again calls for contra "aid," it would be closed again (see article this page).

But beyond the diplomatic maneuvering and occasional tough talk from the Sandinistas, the fundamental fact is that the Arias plan is a liberal formula for a counterrevolutionary "peace." It seeks to freeze the status quo in Central America, which would leave Nicaragua surrounded by hostile U.S. puppet regimes. Arias himself said it's the best way to stop Communism in the region. It doesn't call for removal of the string of American bases in Honduras, an end to the Pentagon's endless "war games" along the borders and coasts of Nicaragua, or removal of the hundreds of U.S. military "advisers" who are the backbone of local armies. Yet it requires that Nicaragua cut off any and all aid to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. At least the latter aren't suicidal. FMLN spokesman Schafik Handal categorically declared, "We will not give up our arms, not now or ever."

El Salvador, meanwhile, is in deep turmoil. Strikes continue to rock the country even when they lose. There have been monthly labor-led protests of tens of thousands marching under the guns of this death squad "democracy." Despite opposition from the Duarte regime and constant aerial bombardment, thousands of refugees are returning from camps in Honduras to their homes in guerrilla territory. The guerrillas have stepped up their campaign

against coffee and cotton plantatinns, blowing up bridges and sabotaging the war economy. Meanwhile, international relief funds have gone to line the pockets of Christian Democratic politicians, who are now shooting each other in the squabble over Duarte's succession. To Duarte's right, the frustrated Salvadoran oligarchy is reviving the death squads. A *Newsday* (28 September) headline summed up the situation: "El Salvador: A Government on the Verge of Crumbling."

Class Struggle Against Imperialist War

Yet with the contras on the run, the Duarte regime on its last legs and Honduran military officers demanding that the U.S. prepare to pull out its contra army, when prospects for sharp class struggle throughout the isthmus are better than at any time since the beginning of the decade, at this moment the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime signs a pact offering guarantees against revolution to its bourgeois neighbors and to the coalition of Democrats and "moderate" Republicans now ascendant in Congress. And in the "solidarity" milieu, reformists and rad-libs are pushing the treacherous "peace" pact with the Democrats and Washington's Central American puppets instead of a *revolutionary struggle against Yankee imperialism.*

Most shameless is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which proclaims "New stage opens in Nicaraguan revolution" (*Militant*, 16 October). It's a "new stage" where Jeane Kirkpatrick can stage contra provocations in the heart of Managua and *La Prensa* churns out CIA propaganda while peasants are still being killed by the contras in the field. "The restoration of full civil liberties"—to the contras!—"will create the best conditions possible for the FSLN to wage the necessary battle to increase the political education, mobilization, and involvement of the masses," writes the cynical anti-Trotskyist SWP. An editorial in the same issue declares that the "peace" accords "would mean the end of the contra war."

While the liberals and their reformist hangers-on are open about their support to the counterrevolutionary goals of the "peace" treaty, others have adopted a more "critical" posture toward the Guatemala accords which however alibis the Sandinistas and provides a bridge to supporting the Democrats. *Socialist Action* (September 1987), affiliated with Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), says "The U.S. anti-intervention movement must not be derailed into calling for support to a peace agreement the Sandinistas have been *compelled* to sign."

The most explicit presentation of this line is by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), another sympathizing

Hinterlang/JB Pictures

El Salvador: Class struggle can topple Duarte's death squad "democracy." Workers and peasants demonstrate for striking social security workers last July.

group of Mandel's USec, which in the latest issue of its *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*) argues that "Only a hopeless ultraleft 'purist' could condemn the Sandinistas for engaging in negotiations that might grant concessions to the imperialists and the puppet governments in the region." Who these "ultraleft purists" might be is left to the reader's imagination. The FIT seeks to give an aura of Leninist orthodoxy to their position by drawing a false parallel between the Sandinista push for the Arias plan and the Bolsheviks' signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty of 1918:

> "There is ample precedent for revolutionary governments to engage in diplomatic maneuvers to buy time for their survival. The Bolshevik leadership of the Russian Revolution negotiated the infamous Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany in 1918—a treaty which gave up vast amounts of territory. There was much controversy about this agreement even within the Bolshevik Party. But there is little question that the Russian Revolution would have been crushed by German militarism without it."
>
> —*BIDOM*, October 1987

But the analogy with Brest-Litovsk is false to the core. To begin with, the three-month-old revolutionary Soviet regime which inherited the defeated tsarist army had no troops to counter the advancing German imperialist army. The Sandinista regime, however, has built up a formidable military force over the last seven years, backed up by hundreds of thousands of armed workers and peasants, and they've whipped the contras. For the Bolsheviks in early 1918, the prospect of revolutionary struggle in neighboring countries was only a hope. But next door to Sandinista Nicaragua there is a deep-rooted Salvadoran leftist insurgency which has fought the U.S.-backed army to a standstill while the working class is courageously fighting against the tottering Duarte regime. The rest of Central America is a tinderbox, and Mexico has seen a series of strikes against IMF-imposed austerity.

Most fundamentally, the Bolsheviks had just made a proletarian revolution and were seeking in every way to *spread* it across Europe and around the world, but were limited by their resources. The Sandinistas, however, make no bones about the fact that they *do not want* to expropriate their own bourgeoisie, let alone extend a socialist revolution elsewhere. Theirs is a program of parochial left nationalism. In short, at Brest-Litovsk the Bolsheviks decided to trade territory in order to save the proletarian revolution. By accepting the Arias plan, the Sandinistas have agreed to limit social revolution hoping in this way to keep themselves in power. And in the process they are opening the door to capitalist counterrevolution, which will hardly be peaceful but a bloody slaughter which would sacrifice most dedicated revolutionary fighters.

At first glance, the arguments presented by the FIT would appear at most to be a softness toward the Sandinistas. But behind all the talk of Nicaragua's right of self-determination and calls for "Hands Off Nicaragua!" their common program is a denial of social revolution. They are really harking back to the Vietnam-era "peace" movement and the policy of the already deeply reformist SWP, of which most of them were leaders. This "movement" was a popular front with the defeatist wing of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie on the "single-issue" slogan "Out Now." That demand was the program of the Democratic "doves," personified in 1971 by the presence of Democratic Senator Vance Hartke in the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition conference. And the SWP reformists drew the line in blood, assaulting and driving out all those who protested the presence of this imperialist politician.

Then and now, it is impossible to talk about "peace" without talking about taking sides in the *class war*. Today in Central America, we not only defend the Nicaraguan Revolution, we seek to *complete* it, and *extend* it throughout Central America! The path of socialist revolution is the only road to a genuine peace. ■

Camera Press

Imperial War Museum

Trotsky confronted German general Max Hoffmann (right) at Brest-Litovsk negotiations in 1918.

Anti-Calero...

(continued from page 16)

Langdell Hall.

Before Calero got a chance to make his plug for the loser contra army, a member of Progressive Labor's International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), Joshua Laub, rushed the platform shouting "Death to the contras!" and lunged at Calero. Harvard cops quickly grabbed the protester, dragged him out of the room in handcuffs and shut the forum down. About 20 students followed Laub to the Harvard and Cambridge police departments, forming a picket line and chanting "Free Josh, Jail Calero" until he was released on $15 bail. But Laub now faces serious charges of disorderly conduct, disrupting a public assembly, and assault and battery on a police officer. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: Defend Joshua Laub! Drop the charges now!

At the demonstration outside Ames Courtroom, Harvard student Bill Hughes spoke for the Spartacus Youth Club: "It is an outrage that this man can speak today at Harvard or anywhere else. Calero and his contra buddies murder and rape thousands of Nicaraguan civilians, kill heroic *internacionalistas* like Ben Linder and bomb hospitals and schools. He should be run off campus! The only time he should be welcomed into any courtroom is on the day of his own trial, when he'll be sitting in front of the mothers of the heroes and martyrs of the Nicaraguan Revolution. They'll give him justice."

Calero's appearance at Harvard was scheduled a week after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias made a pitch for his phony "peace" plan at the Kennedy School of Government. The SL/SYC fought against illusions in this Democratic Party-backed plan to bring negotiated counterrevolution to Nicaragua, raising the slogans, "No Negotiated Sellout! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" "Arias 'Peace' Hoax Threatens Nicaraguan Masses" and "For Trotskyist Parties Throughout Central America!" We also collected "Nicabucks" for material aid to embattled Sandinista Nicaragua.

Our spirited contingent provided a left pole of attraction against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the "solidarity" milieu. When a spokesman for the Democratic "Socialists" of America (DSA) whined, "I want to clear up a few misconceptions.... We are a legitimately recognized branch of the Democratic Party," the Spartacists chanted, "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know whose side you're on!" The SYC pointed out that the Democrats vote for contra aid and that both the Democratic and Republican Clubs have invited contras to speak at Harvard.

Driving contra Calero off campus is a *victory* for all who seek justice for the crimes of Calero and his contra buddies. At the anti-Calero demonstration, the SYC spokesman pointed out: "The only way peace will come to Central America is when the contras are defeated on the battlefield—and that means *more* Soviet aid—and that revolution is completed," extending it throughout the region. Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, revolutionaries fight for militant labor action against the bipartisan attack on Nicaragua and to bring down the anti-Soviet warmongers who have Nicaragua in their gunsights. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sellout "Peace" Accords—Threat to Revolution

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

When Jeane Kirkpatrick supports a "peace" plan, you *know* there's something wrong with it. This imperialist war criminal was one of the architects of the contra war which has caused more than 40,000 Nicaraguan casualties over the last six years. One of the more notorious contra task forces, which has murdered and raped its way across the countryside, is named after her. This week Reagan's "envoy of death" (as Nicaraguan foreign minister Rev. D'Escoto aptly called her) was in Managua for a provocative demonstration staged by the American embassy. As frenzied counterrevolutionaries cheered "¡Viva Kirkpatrick!" she denounced the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime as a dictatorship (she calls the tyrant Somoza, who bombed Nicaragua's cities and killed 50,000 of his countrymen, a "moderate authoritarian"). But according to the *New York Times* (13 October), "Mrs. Kirkpatrick said she too supports the peace accord...."

Simultaneously, Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd is in the Nicaraguan capital talking with the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) about their compliance with the pact signed by the five Central American presidents at the Guatemala regional summit last August. While Costa Rican president Oscar Arias just got the Nobel Peace Prize for authoring it, the deal was worked out in consultation with the Democratic Party of Yankee imperialism. But the Democrats have only tactical differences with Reagan over how to stop the spread of revolution in Central America. Although the Arias plan is predicated on an end to U.S. contra "aid," last month the Democratic-controlled Congress quietly voted another $3.5 million for Reagan's mercenary army. And it was Democrat Mondale who proposed *quarantining* Nicaragua, just as John F. Kennedy put a naval blockade around Castro's Cuba.

Sandinista army is mopping up Reagan's contra terrorists.

Liberals are saying that "now the Reagan administration finds itself at odds with all the constituted governments of Central America—not only its enemies in Nicaragua but its supposed friends in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and perhaps even Honduras" (Baltimore *Sun*, 12 October). Right after the Guatemala "peace" pact was

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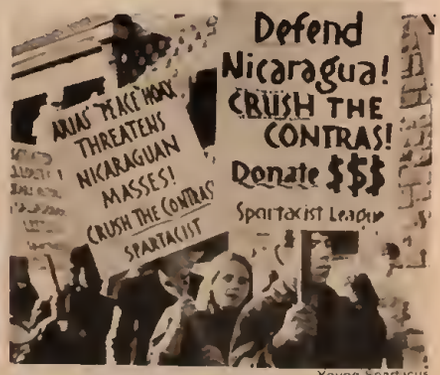
Protesters Drive Out Contra Calero

Harvard

CAMBRIDGE—When contra criminal Adolfo Calero arrived at Harvard October 2 to make a pitch for his CIA-backed mercenaries before the Ollie North glee club of the Law School Republicans, over 100 outraged students, leftists and community activists assembled outside Ames Courtroom to protest this murderer. Participants in the demonstration called by the Central American Solidarity Association, the Harvard Committee on Central America and an ad hoc committee of Law School students were determined to give Calero the reception he deserved. The Spartacist League and Harvard Spartacus Youth Club participated, chanting "Defend Nicaragua! Calero off campus!" Much of the crowd picked up our chant, "No negotiated sellout! Crush the contras now!"



Militant student charges contra honcho Calero. Defend Joshua Laub! Spartacists call for mass, labor-centered actions against Reagan's war on Nicaragua.

The Harvard administration welcomed war criminal Calero with open arms. To prevent protesters from running this pig off campus 300 of the 350 tickets distributed for the event were reserved for Calero's camp followers from Conservative and Republican clubs in the Boston area. A massive force of cops checked ID's, searched bags and flanked the podium; plainclothesmen surveyed the audience with video cameras. Because of an alleged bomb threat, the forum was moved to

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 439 30 October 1987

Workers: You Produced America's Wealth—Take It!

Crash of '87

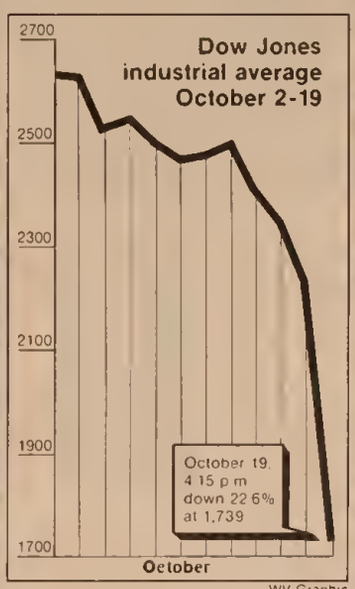
Meltdown, panic, hysteria, fear—these are the words used to deseribe Wall Street these days. And the fright is certainly not limited to Wall Street. People are scared. On Blaek Monday, October 19, the stock market lost half a trillion dollars, 23 pereent of its total value, and stoek prices continued to plummet. By comparisun, on Blaek Monday, 28 Oetober 1929, the market fell only 13 percent.

The *New York Times* (26 October) wrote fatuously, "Before last Monday, the possibility of a stoek market eollapse seemed implausihle." *No one* ean believe that any longer. "Blue chip" stocks like IBM, GM, AT&T took the higgest heating. And just as the '29 erash in New York led to financial collapse throughout the eapitalist world, so Wall Street's Black Monday quickly spread to the City of London, the Frankfurt Börse and the stock exehanges in Tokyo and Hong Kong.

The crash huried what little aothority was left of the Reagan presidency. A man watching the frenzied seene on Wall Street yelled: "The Reagan Revolution is over! Down with yuppies!" But the Demoerats have nu alternative to Reaganomies exeept higher taxes.

The people who run this eountry have run Amerieа into the ground. The U.S. has profoundly lost power in the world, eeonomieally as well as militarily. The American bourgeoisie invests in speeulation rather than produetion, then finanees their war drive by massive horrowing from the Japanese. In the meantime they have desperately immiserated the pour, gone after the unions, brutalized ghetto hlacks.

Der Spiegel



WV Graphic

Laffont-Sygma

Reaganomics con game goes bust. Panicked stock market (right) plunges record 23 percent on October 19.

Reagan Fiddles While Wall Street Burns

Black Monday is a historic watershed, the American economy will never be the same. Why? And why now? There was fear that Reagan's antics in the Persian Gulf would trigger a U.S. war with Iran. The week before the crash the U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker told the West Germans to go screw themselves. This hreakdown in the international agreement on exehange rate stahility (the Louvre accord) threatened a further fall in the dollar and flight of foreign capital. Rising interest rates were sucking money from stocks into the hond market.

The *Times* pointed to a clause in the new tax law, under which Wall Street operators could no longer deduet interest on funds borrowed for corporate takeovers, a major swindle fueling the stock market boom. Some analysts blame computerized investment programs for exaggerating (!) movements in the market. But none of this can 'explain why corporate America lost *one-third* of its market value in the week ending on Black Monday.

Two and a half years ago, we wrote: "The Reagan gang is living in a fool's paradise on borrowed time and money." ("Reagan's Dollar Boom Going Bust?" *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985). The five-year bull market on Wall Street has seen the *de*industrialization of America continue apace. Stock prices doubled and even tripled for companies whose actual productive capacity was shrinking. Paper wealth was rising sky-high, the real economy was stagnating. A crash was long overdue, long predicted, and when it came it came with a vengeance. And when the bourgeoisie devalues its wealth by a third, it is usually right.

As noted in the main document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuneture," adopted last month by the Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

> "The Reagan years have been marked by a *qualitative deterioration* in the international position of American capitalism, setting the stage for a major fiscal/financial crisis. By 'financing' the military buildup through tax cuts for the wealthy, the Reagan government has run up a budget deficit greater than the accumulated total in the previous almost 200 years of the American republic. This deficit has been heavily covered by foreign borrowing. Within the space of a few years the U.S. has gone from the world's leading creditor nation to the biggest debtor."

Wall Street finally collapsed under the weight of "the twin towers" of historic government budget deficits and international payments deficits.

It was Japanese moneymen, German bankers and Arab oil sheiks who paid for Star Wars and the other Pentagon boondoggles. Wall Street was sold as a "safe haven" for foreign capital. In Reagan's America, the rich would get a lot richer, the poor would be thrown off the welfare rolls and the workers would be kept in their plaee...down. But Reaganomics was a giant con game, and the capitalists' confidence just went up in smoke.

It was all hype. The U.S. economy has no savings, no taxes for the wealthy, no real eapital formation, and Reagan was spending like crazy. A few weeks before the crash, Wall Street Brahmin Peter G. Peterson summed it up: "America has let its infrastructure crumble, its foreign markets decline, its productivity dwindle, its savings evaporate, and its budget and borrowing burgeon" (*Atlantic Monthly*, October 1987). This kind of financial/political merry-go-round doesn't go around very long.

The collapse on Wall Street was foreshadowed by the collapse of the Reagan presidency. The Iran/Contra-gate affair crippled the would-be Rambo in the White House. But instead of lying low, Reagan's been running amok. He's playing chicken with Khomeini in the Persian Gulf. "Over my dead hody," he ehallenged the Demoerats in Congress to reject his nomination of racist fellow right-wing nut Robert Bork for Supreme Court justice. They did. "The Bork defeat showed markets very clearly that President Reagan is a total lame duck who doesn't have the power to control events," a White House aide admitted (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 October).

Reagan is a political corpse but he's still making sounds. The exeeutive arm of the American ruling class is now both dangerously erratic and paralyzed, a state of affairs nicely captured by liberal columnist James Reston:

> "At the time of the crash, the Secretaries of State and the Treasury were out of the country, and the President, as usual, was out to lunch. He didn't take to the television to quell the shouting, but merely shouted over the din of a helicopter that all was well with the economy."
>
> —*New York Times*, 21 October

Even the *Times*' resident right-winger, William Safire, was distressed by Reagan's "what me worry?" attitude, like Herbert Hoover in 1929. On the Street they're already calling him Herbert Reagan.

Black Monday for Star Wars

Behind the Wall Street erash is the counterrevolutionary drive of American imperialism, from a *weakened* economie base, to roll back Soviet power and ultimately topple the Soviet workers state. At the end of World War II in 1945, the U.S. had about 50 percent of the "Free World's" total production; now it's down to about half of that. Since the Korean War boom in the '50s, industrial investment stagnated in the U.S. while Japan and West Germany rapidly rebuilt their economies. The Vietnam War marked the end of the short-lived "American century" as Lyndon Johnson tried to have both guns and "Great Society" butter at the same time. Nixon's New Economic Policy of August 1971—combining an end to the dollar standard, trade protectionism and the imposition of state wage eontrols—signaled the loss of American hegemony in the capitalist world, reducing the U.S. to the strongest of a number of rival imperialist powers.

For the past 15 years the United States' international competitiveness and its solvency have deteriorated, especially vis-à-vis Japan. American capitalists continue to manufacture industrial goods but no longer that much within

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Remember the Haymarket Martyrs!

Wide World Photo

Widow of August Spies beside monument to Haymarket martyrs at Chicago's Waldheim Cemetery in 1929. Workers around the world commemorate their revolutionary tradition every May Day—the international workers holiday.

One hundred years ago, on 11 November 1887, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fisher and George Engel, leaders of the eight-hour movement, were murdered by the capitalist courts. Their fellow militant Louis Lingg was killed or committed suicide in his prison cell. Along with three others they were framed up on conspiracy to kill a cop in the infamous police riot at Chicago's Haymarket Square. As the prosecutor told the jury, these men were selected "because they were leaders...no more guilty than the thousands who follow them...convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

Hundreds of thousands of workers had marched through the streets of U.S. cities on 1 May 1886—80,000 in Chicago alone—calling for the eight-hour workday. Two days later Chicago's scabherding cops fired on McCormick Harvester strikers, killing six in cold blood. On May 4, a provocateur threw a bomb into a workers' rally at Haymarket Square, setting off another cop riot. Seven cops died. The bosses and capitalist press screamed for workers' blood: police smashed union offices, wrecked presses of foreign-language newspapers and filled the jails with foreign-born workers. Hanging judge Gary and his hand-selected jury of admittedly biased foremen and superintendents sent the Haymarket martyrs to the gallows. Each year workers from San Salvador to Johannesburg pay their tributes to the Haymarket martyrs by braving state and death squad terror to celebrate May Day.

Thirty years later the Russian workers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky, threw out their capitalist oppressors, inspiring workers and oppressed the world over. In 1922 the Comintern established the International Red Aid to defend and aid revolutionary opponents of capitalism in every land without regard to party or political belief. Conversations in Moscow in 1925 between exiled Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leader Bill Haywood and James P. Cannon gave birth to the International Labor Defense (ILD)—an independent American defense organization which acted as a section of the International Red Aid. The ILD combined the internationalism of the Russian Revolution with the non-sectarian defense tradition of the IWW. On the eve of its Third Annual Conference on 11 November 1927, ILD secretary and founder James P. Cannon commemorated these great revolutionary traditions:

> "A red stream runs through the month of November, marking in its course many struggles of the working class of this country, here with defeat there with victory, always with inspiring record of working class courage, exemplary in its noble devotion to the cause of the oppressed, magnificent incidents of solidarity and self-sacrifice, instructive milestones along the difficult road to liberation. It is a record to sharpen the hatred of labor to jailors and assassins, to increase the respect and pride we have for our fighters.
>
> "On the eleventh day of November 1887, Albert R. Parson[s], August Spies, Adolph Fisher and George Engel were hung on the scaffold of Cook County. Louis Lingg was either murdered or committed suicide in the death cell. Other of their comrades were sent to serve long terms in prison. They were heroes of an early day. They were the pioneers of the eight-hour day movement, and their crime was so heinous in the eyes of the master class that nothing but their blood would satisfy the vampires whose profits and power they menaced....
>
> "November 7, 1917! The rising of tens of millions, the liberation of all the Russias! The opening of a new epoch for all the exploited and oppressed is marked by this day of the seizure of power by the Russian workers and peasants. Who but the working class could maintain its power for ten years in the face of such obstacles and poisonous opposition! The brush of revolution has covered one sixth of the earth with the red of freedom, and it sweeps on inexorably over the rest of the world....
>
> "Let the working class of America ring with our fighting slogan: Build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system!...
>
> "Red November is for our heroes and martyrs, for our battles and for our victories! On with the glorious struggle for liberation, for the freedom of the workers from the prisons of capitalism and from the greater prison which is capitalism!"
>
> —"The Red Month of November," *Labor Defender*, November 1927

In the tradition of the ILD's early years, the PDC seeks to build a mass movement of working-class defense. One hundred years after the Haymarket executions the capitalist cops and courts continue their official state terror. For the past 17 years former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been kept in California's dungeons for a crime he did not commit. As the sole adult survivor of the 13 May 1985 Philadelphia cop bombing of the Osage Avenue MOVE house, Ramona Africa is confined in Muncy Prison. MOVE members are scattered in prisons throughout Pennsylvania for defending themselves against earlier cop assaults on their homes. And for his outspoken defense of MOVE, black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981. In Israel, nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu faces the death penalty for warning the world of the extent of Israel's deadly nuclear arsenal.

The fight to defend these and all victims of racist capitalist oppression is the fight to defend the working class. We seek to build a defense organization that can wield the powerful fist of a united workers movement and defend those hard-won victories of our class. Remember the Haymarket! As Lucy Parsons said of her murdered husband and comrades:

> "Those who so foully murdered you, under the forms of law—lynch law—in a court of supposed justice, are forgotten.
>
> "Rest, comrades, rest. All the tomorrows are yours!"

• • •

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Long Live the October Revolution!

Seventy years ago as Bolshevik-led soldiers and sailors stormed the Winter Palace, the October Revolution was announced at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on 7 November 1917 (October 25 by the old Russian calendar). After declaring "Long live the world socialist revolution!" Bolshevik leader Lenin presented the following resolution, which became the proclamation of the first victorious proletarian revolution in history. Today this internationalist policy—directly counterposed to the Stalinist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"—is more urgent than ever in order to achieve world victory for the proletariat and defend the homeland of the October Revolution. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies hails the victorious revolution of the proletariat and the garrison of Petrograd. The Soviet particularly emphasises the solidarity, organisation, discipline and complete unanimity displayed by the masses in this unusually bloodless and unusually successful uprising.

It is the unshakable conviction of the Soviet that the workers' and peasants' government which will be created by the revolution, as a Soviet government, and which will ensure the urban proletariat the support of the whole mass of the poor peasantry, will firmly advance towards socialism, the only means of saving the country from the untold miseries and horrors of war.

The new workers' and peasants' government will immediately propose a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations.

It will immediately abolish landed proprietorship and hand over the land to the peasants. It will institute workers' control over the production and distribution of goods and establish national control over the banks, at the same time transforming them into a single state enterprise.

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies calls on all workers and all peasants to support the workers' and peasants' revolution devotedly and with all their energy. The Soviet expresses the conviction that the urban workers, in alliance with the poor peasants, will display strict, comradely discipline and establish the strictest revolutionary order, which is essential for the victory of socialism.

The Soviet is convinced that the proletariat of the West-European countries will help us to achieve a complete and lasting victory for the cause of socialism.

—V.I. Lenin, Resolution of the Petrograd Soviet (7 November 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 439 **30 October 1987**

A Very Successful Sub Drive

Congratulations to all participants in the 1987 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. For six weeks this fall, from before Labor Day to mid-October, members and sympathizers of the Spartacist League conducted an intensive drive to broaden the readership of the communist press among students and working people. In addition to selling subs to *WV*, our biweekly newspaper, the drive also brought in 1,400 new and renewal subs to *Women and Revolution* as well as 164 subs to *Spartacist* in Spanish. (All *WV* subscribers receive the English-language edition of *Spartacist* as part of their *WV* subscriptions.)

We welcome our new subscribers, and congratulate you on picking our excellent newspaper. *WV* is not just a commentator on events; we are the voice of an organized revolutionary movement which seeks to provide leadership to the class and social struggles taking place here and throughout the world. Because we are uncompromisingly Marxist and internationalist in our political orientation, we expect that we must sometimes shock the sensibilities of American youth and workers familiar only with those timid and cynical "left" papers which seek under a spurious façade of "objectivity" to slither their views past the unwary reader. *WV* aims to be hard-hitting and controversial, to tell the truth squarely as we see it.

While the "responsible" media, paramount among them the *New York Times*, had to be dragged kicking and screaming to report the truth behind Reagan's KAL 007 spy flight, an anti-Russia provocation which cost the lives of over 200 innocent airline passengers, *WV* readers got the real story from the get-go. The U.S. government's cover-up began unraveling immediately but it has taken years for the "free" press here to admit what just about everybody else in the world knows. But *WV*'s enquiring reporters, working from available sources like the *Navy Times* and *Aviation Week*, had the real story for our readers. Even the recent exposés that have appeared—whose sincere liberal authors start out by assuming, as an article of faith, that the threadbare cover-up had nothing worse to cover up than some kind of incomprehensible tragic accident—show unmistakably that their authors have carefully followed *WV*'s articles on the subject, without acknowledging our existence or the obvious questions we have raised which they cannot answer.

Two years ago, when WBAI radio in New York did an "awards" show on the American leftist press, giving out a lot of "horrible mention" tongue-in-cheek awards for unreadability to a number of our competitors, *WV* dominated the show, receiving commendations from the host, social-democratic journalist Dennis King, who called *WV* "the craziest, most lively, most humorous, most nasty, most intelligent and most pig-headed of the left sectarian organs." He added: "It is an amazing little publication. I know even people who violently disagree with everything it says, read it with fascination." Just before the beginning of the sub drive, we received a friendly letter from Gore Vidal complimenting us on an article in *Spartacist* which discussed the effort emanating from the Zionist Cold Warriors of the *Commentary/Dissent* crowd to frame Vidal up as an "anti-Semite." Vidal, whose most recent bestseller, *Empire*, has defenders of the "American empire" squirming, wrote us that he is "wary of ideology" but praised our article as "the clearest and most detailed so far—not to mention informatory: I learned a good deal."

We are proud of our consistent political history and consider our press as a journal of record available to political activists and students of Marxism; bound volumes of *WV* from its inception in 1971 through the present are available in many major libraries, and we are also pleased to offer back issues of our paper for sale (to obtain a copy of any back article referred to in our press, please send 25 cents to our mailing address).

Cambridge Common: Selling subscriptions and raising funds for defense of Nicaraguan Revolution.

WV Meets the Post-Reagan Years

In the past period in Reagan's America, despite the visible predominance of rightist moods taking their cue from the rightward shift of both capitalist political parties, we have not had any trouble meeting the generally modest sub drive quotas we have set. Certainly, the social climate of Reagan's America has not tended to encourage labor and the oppressed to stick their necks out in action against this country's vicious rulers, but we found a real receptivity to our press among those who know they have an enemy in the White House. This year, with the Iran/Contragate scandal intersecting the pervasive suspicion that the funding of the Nicaraguan contras is a direct step toward another dirty, losing military adventure like the Vietnam War, we set our quota at 3,580 points nationally (last year's quota was 3,000 points).

In the sequel, we must admit that we were insufficiently optimistic: the sub drive ended at 5,515-1/2 points, or 154 percent of the quota. (Last year's drive brought in 4,182-1/2.) Now, the ball is in our court to produce a relevant and readable newspaper for those of you who lurk behind these dry numbers.

An unusually high proportion of subscribers chose our $7 combination sub—a full year of *WV*, four issues of *W&R* and a free packet of *WV* back issues. The packets chosen provide a rough indication of our readers' interests: 178 people selected our Nicaragua packet, which features reports and speeches from some of the SL comrades who have visited Nicaragua; 187 readers took our packet on "Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" (some of these articles will also appear in the next issue of *Spartacist*). Our "general" packet, highlighting particularly the struggles for black freedom, from the Civil War to South Africa and the U.S. today, was chosen by 230 subscribers, while 232 took one of our popular pamphlets from the *Black History and the Class Struggle* series. And 84 readers selected "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," the document prepared for our recent national conference, offered to combination subscribers at half price. (Any of these packets may be ordered for $1; the conference document is $5 by mail order.)

Our sub drive took us to campuses, neighborhoods and union halls all over the country, giving us a sense of what's going on and providing a detailed sampling of what students and working people are concerned about. We'd like to share with you some of the observations of the comrades who did the work. The local sub drive director in Boston noted in his report:

> "There is an openness to our politics and our paper that we haven't seen in a while. But if the pendulum is starting to swing, it wasn't particularly clear which direction it's headed. Battered or benumbed by years of Reagan reaction, college students and black workers who were happy to see the wind go out of the administration's sails picked up subscriptions quite readily. Many students thought that it was time to take a look at what genuine Marxists had to say about the world. But a lot of the students we sold subs to were very cautious about doing much more than reading our press.
>
> "At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the College Republicans and Campus Crusade for Christ, formerly ascendant, were nowhere to be seen. At UMass Amherst, the frenzied conservatives whose 'Oliver North Slide Show' was canceled due to lack of interest tried to shut down our forum on 'Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?' which drew over 30 people."

Another comrade's report on our initial trip to Amherst said: "The campus is polarized in the wake of the racist mob attack on black students following last year's baseball World Series. The *Minuteman* (a right-wing newspaper, very professional) came out with an article hailing the death of Ben Linder. Many students were very disgusted with this and were glad to get our paper—a socialist alternative taking the side of the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution."

Comrades noted that at the large state-supported universities as well as the "elite" private campuses, black student enrollment was visibly down. Many black and minority students we spoke to expressed their feelings of isolation and told us about chilling incidents of racist harassment they had experienced or heard about from other students. At UC Santa Barbara, for example, one young woman told us that Confederate flags were rampant in the dorms and that last Halloween some students had dressed up in Klan outfits which, she said, "didn't look store-bought—they seemed like they'd been

continued on page 11

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Atlanta	160	210½	132	Oakland	700	1,048½	150
Boston	300	427½	143	San Francisco	320	554½	173
Chicago	500	633½	127	Washington, D.C.	150	196	131
Cleveland	200	298½	149	At-large	—	263½	—
Los Angeles	150	280	187				
New York	1,100	1,603	146	**National Total**	**3,580**	**5,515½**	**154**

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San Francisco, Chicago:

Protesters Demand: Free Moses Mayekiso!

WV Photos

San Francisco (left) and Chicago (above): Spartacists demand freedom for jailed South African workers leader Moses Mayekiso.

As the date approached for the trial in Johannesburg of imprisoned black South Africa trade-union leader Moses Mayekiso, demonstrations were held in San Francisco and Chicago in support of the courageous anti-apartheid fighter. Mayekiso, secretary-general of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and four other activists are charged with high treason, subversion and sedition. If convicted, they face execution by the murderous apartheid state. Arrested as Botha decreed a state of emergency last year, they were targeted for leading the Alexandra Action Committee which organized street committees and people's courts in that black township in 1986.

On October 19, the opening day of the trial in South Africa, some 80 protesters gathered in San Francisco outside the Diamond Exchange. The demo was called by a "Committee to Free Moses Mayekiso," initiated by the anti-Spartacist Bolshevik Tendency. Nevertheless, over half the demonstrators who turned up were supporters of the Spartacist League. A Spartacist contingent of 45 including Partisan Defense Committee representatives and Labor Black League members marched in formation behind our banner calling to "Free Moses Mayekiso" and "For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government in South Africa!" Spartacist chants were picked up by the protesters: "Smash apartheid! For workers revolution!" "For labor action now to smash apartheid terror!" "Black unions are the key, expropriate the bourgeoisie!" and "Smash Reagan/Botha anti-Soviet axis!"

Four days earlier, in Chicago on October 15, about 75 people participated in a demonstration outside the South African consulate called by both the News and Letters group and a local Anti-Apartheid Solidarity Committee. The SL contingent chanted "Smash racist terror from Chicago to Soweto!" and "Free Mayekiso! Free Mandela! For workers revolution!" One Spartacist placard read, "Hail Cuban Troops Defending Black Angola!" Our slogans stood for revolution, versus the anti-Soviet "third campism" of the rally's organizers who seek to pressure the Democrats and the U.S. imperialist state to "check" its junior partners in South Africa. SL spokesman Bernard Vance denounced liberal divestment schemes that appeal to the U.S. to be the "good cop" of the world, and called for "the expropriation of the capitalist class in South Africa by the black proletariat and around the world."

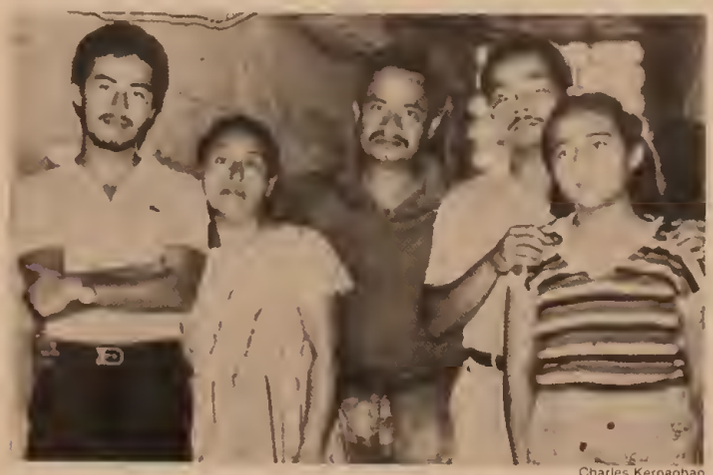
The Mayekiso treason trial has sparked protest campaigns both in South Africa and abroad. Pacifica Radio correspondent Subri Govender noted last week that "if Mayekiso and his colleagues are found guilty and sentenced to long terms in jail, the prospects for the early release of some 4,000 political detainees around the country could be very gloomy." The Partisan Defense Committee has called for an international campaign to free Mayekiso and his fellow prisoners. Messages of support and contributions can be sent to: NUMSA (MAWU), A P Hing Building, 397 Kempston Road, Port Elizabeth 6001, South Africa. ■

Salvadoran Class-War Prisoners

Save the Centeno Brothers!

While Reagan's puppet president of El Salvador José Napoleón Duarte grandstands as a "peacemaker," the Salvadoran masses suffer the brutal terror of his death squad "democracy." In the early morning hours of August 28, units of the kill-crazed National Guard and Army opened fire on defenseless political prisoners at Mariona prison. Three were wounded: Fermin Rauda, José Antonio Cerrón and most critically José Centeno, son of telephone workers union (ASTTEL) leader Humberto Centeno.

This is the kind of "free world democracy" the Democrats' Central American "peace accords" are supposed to promote. In El Salvador it's known as "Reaganomics with machine guns." In July, Salvadoran police opened fire on striking hospital workers, wounding 17. Six weeks earlier teachers union leader Julio César Portillo was shot in the back during a workers' demonstration outside Mariona. Since the Guatemala accords were signed August 7, more than a dozen unionists have been kidnapped and jailed, joining the hundreds already imprisoned.



Charles Kernaghan

Union leader Humberto Centeno (center) pictured with family before his son José (second from right) was seriously wounded in prison.

José Centeno and his brother Jaime were kidnapped in their home by plainclothes cops in November 1985, tortured with electric shocks, submerged in excrement and drugged in order to force "confessions" to the FMLN guerrillas' seizure of the military head of civil aviation. The brutal treatment of the Centeno brothers was seen as an attack on the militant ASTTEL, which struck for 19 days demanding their release (see "Free José and Jaime Centeno!" *WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986).

In the August assault, José was seriously wounded by a grenade while attending to a fallen comrade. Criminally, he was denied medical care for 20 hours and taken to a clinic only after the intervention of the Catholic church and the International Red Cross. The Partisan Defense Committee sent an urgent telegram denouncing the murderous attack, holding Duarte "directly responsible for life of José Centeno" and demanding immediate freedom for the Centeno brothers, Rauda and Cerrón.

On September 8, the Christian Democratic regime ordered José returned to prison and refused to release him for urgent follow-up surgical care, in an effort to prevent the press from reporting his case. He requires delicate surgery for more than a dozen shrapnel fragments embedded in his face and is in danger of losing an eye. With no medical facilities in the prison, José must rely on his comrades for care, and infections of his wounds have set back his recovery.

Class-conscious workers and all defenders of democratic rights must demand freedom and safe passage from El Salvador for José and Jaime Centeno, and the unconditional release of the hundreds of jailed unionists and other opponents of the U.S.-backed Duarte regime. ■

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Howard Beach Trial Replays Night of Racist Terror

"He ran to a fence by the Belt Parkway and tried to get over it. They pulled him down and started beating him. A crowbar was being used and a tree stump. One of the boys swung a baseball bat. After they hit him, he fell to the floor and they kicked and punched him. I was standing outside on the stoop and he got up and ran toward me. He said 'Please help me. They're trying to kill me'."

Teresa Fisher, a white woman, was courageously testifying about the attack on Cedric Sandiford, one of three black men set upon by a lynch mob in the Howard Beach section of Queens, New York last December 20. Sandiford survived, as did Timothy Grimes, but not Sandiford's stepson, 23-year-old construction worker Michael Griffith. Moments earlier, members of the mob hounded Griffith down streets and alleys and over a barricade onto the Belt Parkway where he was struck and killed by a car, hurled 12 feet in the air, his broken body landing in a crumpled heap on the side of the road.

MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

UPI

Salter/Newsday

Racist capitalist "justice": victim of Howard Beach attack, Timothy Grimes (above) is now persecuted in bosses' courts.

Now four of the killers sit in the dock in Queens Supreme Court. Jon Lester and Scott Kern, both 18, are charged with second degree murder. Michael Pirone, 17, and Jason Ladone, 16, are charged with manslaughter. Seven other whites, facing lesser charges, will be tried later. But it is the victims who have been put on trial here, as day after day the horror of that night of racist terror is played out again.

The defense attorneys, like their clients, are gutter racists. The peremptory challenges of prospective black jurors were so blatant that Supreme Court Justice Thomas Demakos finally had to stop it. Defense lawyer Ronald Rubenstein snarled: "If you were Eichmann, would you want a Jew on the jury?" (*New York Times*, 16 September). After Sandiford and the black lawyers' refusal to cooperate with the city's whitewash "investigation" last winter, liberal governor Mario Cuomo appointed special prosecutor Charles Hynes, elbowing out D.A. John Santucci, a Queens machine pol who's up to his eyeballs in Mob cases. Now Hynes and the judge are letting the killers' lawyers get away with murder in the court as they go on a binge of vile racist character assassination.

They're trying to pass racist murder off as a turf fight, portraying the black victims as criminals and the white killers as innocent "youngsters." When Timothy Grimes was due to testify, one of the racists' lawyers, Stephen Murphy, bragged that he intended to make him crack, "undress him." Murphy grilled Grimes about his arrest record, drug use, did he love his mother: "Are you the type of person who walks down the street, sees a poor victim and commits a robbery?" Objections from the prosecution were repeatedly sustained, but they just let Murphy go on with the attempt to humiliate and degrade the black victim. Grimes finally exploded and stormed off the stand. Michael Griffith's brother was among those who persuaded Grimes to return and finish his testimony. "They were laughing at him," Christopher Griffith said, "and in Timothy's eyes he sees they're going to get away with it" (*Newsday*, 20 October).

The Queens courtroom has become a battleground in the fight against racist terror. When the trial opened, whites supporting the racist punks filled the seats. But after the outrageous treatment of Timothy Grimes on the stand, black radio station WBLS/WLIB put out a call for the black community to turn out in support. The Spartacist League and Labor Black League are mobilizing their supporters to be present in court in solidarity with the black victims.

In the midst of the impacted racist enclave of Howard Beach, there was a woman of human decency and courage. Teresa Fisher watched in horror from the window of her sister's house as the mob surrounded Sandiford, beating him with a crowbar and a tree stump. She called "911" and gave them the address but the cop refused to do anything, telling her that they couldn't find the location in the computer. She was so upset she got in her car and drove around trying to find the black men and rescue them. But in court the judge barred jurors from hearing portions of her phone call to the "911" operator when the defense lawyers said it was too "inflammatory."

On October 22, Robert Riley took the stand. Riley, 18, is as despicable as the rest of the racist punks, but he turned state's evidence to cop a plea. Riley testified he was there at the birthday party when Jon Lester burst in shouting, "There's some niggers on the boulevard. Let's go kill them." Riley and eleven others then swarmed into their cars and raced to the pizzeria where they spotted their prey. The whites stood in a semicircle facing the three blacks, pounding the bat rhythmically on the pavement and yelling "Get the nigger!" It was then that Timothy Grimes reached into his pocket and pulled out a knife. The white punks froze and Grimes ran for his life.

The mob chased them across the boulevard, through a parking lot and toward the Belt Parkway. Grimes managed to escape, but they chased Griffith to the edge of the parkway, stood there and watched him climb the barrier and run to his death. Then, as prosecutor Hynes described in his opening statement, "Without missing a beat, [they] turned on their heels and raced to join the others in beating and pummeling Cedric Sandiford." After leaving Sandiford for dead, the racists returned to their party. Lester still carrying the bat.

Nobody will be surprised if the racist punks walk. The Howard Beach killers were taking their cue from the top. In 1983, Koch's cops beat black artist Michael Stewart to death in Union Square in the sight of dozens of witnesses. The next year black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs was gunned down in her Bronx apartment by SWAT cops in an "eviction by murder." Last year alone, the NYPD gunned down 24 people, all but three of them black or Hispanic. In the six-month period after Howard Beach, there were 113 reported racist attacks against blacks including assaults, a cross-burning, property damage, burglaries and arson.

As Jimmy Breslin wrote, Howard Beach-style terror

> "...is exactly what can be expected, someplace, on any night, in a city with a mayor who for years now has gone around and with every smirk, shrug, leer and whining phrase told the whites that he would keep the blacks away, that they exaggerated their needs and he wasn't going to stand for it. The more Ed Koch brayed, the louder the whites cheered and the crazier Koch got. At the end Koch becomes Lester Maddox with a larceny problem."

The "larceny problem" is the "Bess mess," the former Miss America and Koch's crony Bess Meyerson having been busted on charges of bribing a judge. As Hizzoner's pals are hauled off to the slammer in the mushrooming corruption scandal, the city just passed a new ruling saying handcuffs were no longer required for "white collar" perpetrators. Meanwhile, it's not just the murderous bat-wielding punks and fascists like David Duke who are trying to preserve "ethnic purity." The all-sided official racist oppression in Reagan's America and Koch's New York *breeds* the Howard Beach killers. The *Washington Post* (19 October) reported that some 1,500 black students have been refused admission to high schools in southeastern Queens because of "tipping point" racial quotas to keep designated "neighborhood" schools "50 percent white"!

At the Howard Beach pizzeria, Timothy Grimes' life may have been saved because he had a utility knife. Now they're trying to crucify him with it in court and in the media. But as Christopher Griffith said, "I wish he [Grimes] had had a gun, then my brother would be alive today" (*Daily News*, 20 October). We wholeheartedly agree. Gun control kills blacks! The right of armed self-defense in this deeply racist violent society is an urgent necessity. For its part, the capitalist state seeks to preserve its monopoly on armed force. That is why "subway shooter" Bernhard Goetz was sentenced to six months for gun possession—the "crime of crimes" for the ruling class.

As we have insisted, a massive show of power by organized labor at the head of the black and Hispanic population is urgently needed to make the streets of New York City safe for everyone. For labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to stop the racists in their tracks! For the courageous Griffith family and the surviving victims, capitalist "justice" has meant uninterrupted suffering and humiliation. Michael Griffith's murder will be avenged by a socialist revolution that will sweep the racist lynchers off the streets for good ■

WV Photo

The working class will not forget its martyrs—or their murderers. SL protests outside Eleanor Bumpurs trial, January 1987.

Sri Lanka:

Indian Troops Out of Eelam!

Workers to Power!

OCTOBER 27—Less than three months after Sri Lankan president J.R. Jayewardene and Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi signed their much-vaunted "peace accord," the blood-soaked Jaffna Peninsula in northern Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has again become a scene of untold horror. After years of being ravaged and terrorized by Jayewardene's Sinhalese-chauvinist, officially Buddhist regime, the oppressed and long-suffering Tamil people (who are mainly Hindu) are now getting it from those whom they looked to as their saviors. For two weeks upwards of 20,000 Indian troops backed by heavy battle tanks, artillery and helicopter gunships have battled the nationalist guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). An estimated 700 civilians were slaughtered, in addition to Tiger guerrillas; up to a half million of the peninsula's 700,000 people are now refugees in their own land.

One week after the J.R./Gandhi accord was signed, we wrote:

> "...we have repeatedly warned that the Tamils' illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie are deadly dangerous.... Now they are getting what they wanted... and they won't like it.
>
> "If the Tamil Tigers refuse to come to terms, they are likely to find the Indian army a far more formidable proposition than the Sri Lankan forces.
>
> "But it is not just the Tigers' blood that will run. The Eastern Province is heavily interpenetrated, more or less evenly among Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims.... This arrangement is a recipe for massive communal bloodletting and forced population transfers as the different communities fight to control the province."
>
> —*WV* No. 434, 7 August

The "Indian Peacekeeping Force" is now waging war on the entire people of the Northern Province, while in the Eastern Province the accord triggered a spree of indiscriminate communalist atrocities by the Tigers against Sinhalese civilians.

For years Tamil militants have desperately beseeched "Mother India," with 60 million Tamils just across the Palk Strait, to save their people from Sinhalese-chauvinist terror and aid their struggle for an independent state of Tamil Eelam. Now Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran laments that the Tamils are "the victims of India's geopolitical interests." When capitalist India finally moved, it was only to be expected that it would assert its own interests. Capitalist India, that prison house of peoples, can play no progressive role in the region. We demand: Indian Army Out of Eelam!

Reuters

Indian troops lay siege to Jaffna, slaughtering hundreds in drive to crush Tamil nationalist "Tiger" guerrillas.

The government-instigated anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983 created a *de facto* partition of the island. But what Eelam constitutes may well be determined—tragically, as so often in the past in cases of interpenetrated populations—through a massive communalist bloodletting. The peoples of Lanka may well relive the horrors of the 1947 partition of India. The Tamil nationalists have come to mirror the bloodiest aspects of Sinhala chauvinism with their own murderous logic of racialism. Even in the best of circumstances, an isolated, impoverished Eelam offers a bleak prospect for the Tamil masses, while leaving untouched the hideous oppression of the Tamil plantation workers of the hill country tea estates. The superexploitation of these low-caste Tamil laborers, many of whom are women, is the material basis on which the island's economy rests. Only workers rule can end the communalist hell on the island and bring the emancipation of all toilers of South Asia. Down with murderous nationalism! For the right to Tamil Eelam! For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka—For a socialist federation of South Asia!

The "Accord" Unravels

Mindful of anger among Tamils in India at the Sri Lankan slaughter and fearing a United States-brokered encirclement as Pakistan and other U.S. allies aided Jayewardene's UNP regime, India staged a relief airlift operation in the face of a major Sri Lankan offensive against the Tamils in June, signaling Jayewardene that it would not remain passive much longer. The July 29 accord between Gandhi and Jayewardene represented nothing less than overt Indian overlordship of the island. The U.S. has long had particular designs on the Eastern Province, site of the strategic Trincomalee harbor, and this agreement was thus a setback for American anti-Soviet interests in the region.

Gandhi also promised to disarm the Tamil guerrillas in exchange for Jayewardene's grudging agreement to establish a federated administrative unit in the North and East, effectively under Indian suzerainty. The day after the accord was signed Indian troops disembarked in the north while Indian air force transports ferried Sri Lankan soldiers south. The Tigers and other Tamil groups went along with the accord very reluctantly, turning in a small fraction of their arms. The Sri Lankan government procrastinated on releasing Tamil detainees (by mid-September only about one-quarter of the 5,700 had been released) and on disarming its Sinhala-communalist Home Guard rabble. At the end of September, Tiger militia leader Thileepan died after a hunger strike to demand the expulsion of Sinhalese colonists and Lankan army and police installations from the occupied areas.

Wide sections of the Tamil population at first welcomed the false promise of peace that came with the arrival of Indian troops. With the lifting of the siege on Jaffna it could be seen that the damage and destruction wrought by the Sri Lankan army was much more extensive than previously revealed. As one visitor to Jaffna observed, the Tamils liked the peace but not the peace accord. For the first time in years the Colombo/Jaffna train was running again, allowing Tamils in the south to visit their families. Fish and onions from Jaffna soon started turning up in the Colombo market as Tamil and Sinhala merchants re-established trade.

Meanwhile, other Tamil militant groups, who are mostly more favorable to the Indians than the Tigers, tried to re-establish themselves. But in mid-September Tigers carried out attacks in 20 different villages near Batticaloa, killing more than a hundred supporters of rival groups, including people just recently released from the Sri Lankan concentration camps. Then Prabhakaran started quibbling over exactly how much "power" LTTE leaders would get,

continued on page 12

Reuters Photos

AP/Wide World

Jaffna, August 4: At huge rally (left), Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran calls on reluctant Tamil youth to accede to Jayewardene/Gandhi deal. Indian troops (right) collect Tamil arms.

Young Spartacus

The Freedmen's Fight for Education

Library of Congress

New England schoolteachers stand behind their pupils—black troops, shown here with spelling books. Literacy was prized weapon of former slaves in struggle for their freedom.

Breaking the Chains of Slavery

The fight for knowledge and culture has always been a hallmark of struggles by the oppressed for social emancipation, for one must know the world in order to change it. In the pre-Civil War South, black chattel slaves who dared to learn to read met the lash of their masters' whips; those who dared to teach them suffered imprisonment or worse at the hands of lynch mobs. Before the 19th century, only South Carolina and Georgia forbade the teaching of blacks. But when the lessons of the slave uprisings in the Western Hemisphere sank in—particularly the successful Haitian revolution which achieved independence in 1804, the Gabriel Prosser (1800) and Denmark Vesey (1822) insurrectionary conspiracies, and the Nat Turner revolt (1831), all of which were led by literate blacks—the American slaveowners passed laws in all states south of the Mason-Dixon line making it a crime to teach a slave to read or write. For Frederick Douglass, who fought his way out of slavery and became a political leader of the radical left wing of the abolitionist movement, there was no greater motivation to educate himself, no matter what the cost:

> "'Very well,' thought I, 'Knowledge unfits a child to be a slave.' I instinctively assented to the proposition, and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."
>
> —*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1962)

One of the most profound gains resulting from the defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War was the establishment of a system of public education for all. It's an indictment of this decaying capitalist society that America's rulers have let public education go completely to hell. Particularly for black youth, the reactionary climate of the Reagan years has meant a dramatic rise in racist attacks—including "Up North" at traditionally liberal college campuses—and an enforced *resegregation* of education at every level. More than 20 years after the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision overturned *separate and unequal* education, busing for school integration is a dead letter—killed by liberal politicians in Congress abetted by racist mobs in the streets.

In the last decade, federal grants and scholarships have dropped *62 percent*, resulting in a huge drop in black enrollment in colleges even while the number of black high school graduates is rising. At so-called integrated colleges, blacks are fast becoming missing persons: the more fortunate enrolling in historically inferior black colleges, the less fortunate facing a "life" of unemployment on the mean streets or serving as imperialism's cannon fodder in the military. Even the most basic democratic struggle like integrating the schools in this country requires a revolutionary fight—a fight to fulfill the promise of black freedom by *finishing the Civil War*.

The Cartridge Box and the Spelling Book

When the Civil War began in 1861, the federal government was initially uncommitted on the status of blacks behind Union lines, and hence made no provisions for the education of blacks they degradingly called the "contraband of war." But radical abolitionists and private freedmen's aid societies took up this fight, sending thousands of teachers south to plant schools wherever they could in Union-occupied territory. The freedmen's schools educated an estimated 200,000 blacks *during the war* with a staff of brave New England schoolteachers and freed blacks, who comprised some 20 percent of the teachers in the 1860s. Anywhere blacks could find a place to meet and someone to teach them, they went. In Savannah, the Bryant Slave Mart became a school; the whips and handcuffs found on the premises became museum pieces. A slave pen in New Orleans became the Frederick Douglass school, with the auction block converted to use as a globe stand.

In 1863, the vacillating Lincoln administration finally recognized the need to use black troops and unleash what Douglass called the "Black Phalanx" to win the war against the slaveholders. Freedmen were recruited to the Union Army by the tens of thousands. The commanders of these black regiments, many of them dedicated abolitionists like Robert Shaw and Thomas Higginson, recognized the importance of helping their troops break out of a condition of enforced ignorance. Military necessity also dictated that at least some black soldiers be taught to read and write, facilitating efficient running of the regiments. In some cases, the fight for literacy was put on a par with military training. The commander of a Kentucky black regiment issued the following order:

> "Instead of drills, a school will be held in each company: The company commanders will find the men of their companies who are sufficiently instructed to teach their comrades, and will see that lessons are properly taught, and that the men give their attention.... The best

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NY Public Library

Black First South Carolina Volunteers fight Confederate dogs of war, the hated bloodhounds sent to search out and attack escaped slaves.

Finish the Civil War!

Freedmen's Fight...

(continued from page 7)

> way to win the respect of all, and to render themselves worthy of the right which Freedom confers, is for every man to acquire the best Education he can. Let it be deemed a disgrace for any man, in this Regiment, to leave the service without, at least knowing how to read. Every facility will be given in carrying out this important work."
>
> —*Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867* (1982)

The black troops learned their lessons with the same alacrity as they learned to load and fire their weapons. As the chaplain of a Louisiana black regiment wrote to his division commander:

> "The attendance of the men has been as regular as was consistent with the performance of their military duties, and they have made rapid progress in learning to read and write.
>
> "I am sure that I never witnessed greater eagerness for study; and all, who have examined the writing books and listened to the recitations in the schools, have expressed their astonishment and admiration. A majority of the men seem to regard their books as an indispensable portion of their equipments, and the cartridge box and spelling book are attached to the same belt."

Blood, Iron and Freedom

The victory of the Union Army in the Civil War opened the road for education—North as well as South. The South had no public school system, not even for whites. The slavocracy itself barely knew the "three R's" and opposed educating white laborers for fear it would make their exploitation more difficult. This is just another indication of the extreme social backwardness of the antebellum South and how the yoke of slavery oppressed all the working masses.

Beginning in 1865, when General Oliver O. Howard (who had marched with Sherman from Atlanta to the sea) took charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, some semblance of order was established out of the fast-growing educational system in the South under joint private and public sponsorship. The Bureau provided funds for the construction of schools, while various other religious and benevolent societies were encouraged to pay the salaries of the teachers. Of the new battle against the defeated slaveholders, General Howard wrote:

> "Yet the ruling classes among the Southern whites were deeply offended. They said at first, 'If the Yankees are allowed to educate the negroes, as they are now doing, the next thing will be to let them vote.' No one can describe the odium that awaited the excellent, self-denying teachers of freedmen in those days. Our first official summary of these schools declared that 'doubtless the treatment to which they, the teachers, have been subjected is due in part to the feelings engendered by the war, but it is mostly attributable to prejudice against educating the blacks, and the belief that the teachers are fostering social equality'."

Alexei Radakov

1917 October Revolution brought literacy to Russian masses. Bolshevik poster reads: "He who is illiterate is like a blind man."

The New England schoolmarms who came south faced deadly terror from the terrorist Ku Klux Klan. The Klan operated as the armed auxiliary of the Democratic Party, the so-called "Redeemers" who sought unchallenged white-supremacist rule and viewed black schools as a particular threat to their aims. Scores of schoolhouses were burned to the ground, teachers were ostracized, maimed and even murdered. A New Orleans newspaper summed up the trials of these courageous teachers saying, "The record of the teachers of the first colored schools in Louisiana will be one of honor and blood."

The passage of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 by Congress mandated the military occupation of the ex-Confederate states and provided for universal common-school education. Blacks who served in the Union Army were among the principal leaders of Reconstruction governments and fought tenaciously against segregation. Robert Smalls, who earned fame for seizing the *Planter*, the Confederate flagship he delivered to the Union Navy, was elected to South Carolina's new government and won legislation mandating desegregated schools in the state. But when the first black student entered the University of South Carolina, the teachers resigned and the entire student body left the school! When the collection of a general tax for schools was suspended in Louisiana, blacks responded with a *30-foot-long* petition representing 10,000 signatures, yet received no redress. The widespread and violent opposition to "race-mixing" ensured that the majority of Southern schools were segregated, and without exception the black schools were inferior.

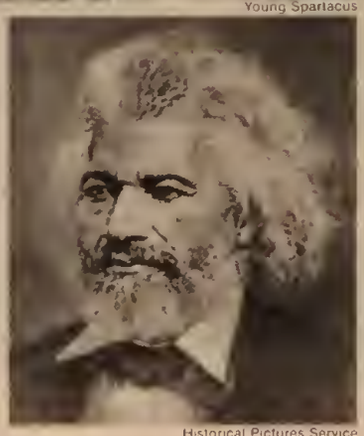
Though abolitionists opposed the heinous institution of slavery, securing full equality for blacks was seen by many as another matter entirely. William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* denounced those radical egalitarians who would "inflame the minds of our working classes against the more opulent." Already prior to the Civil War systematic segregation of blacks had evolved in the North, where the fight against the color line was waged as well. Radical abolitionist Charles Sumner fought in every Congressional session from 1870 until his death against Jim Crow, what he termed "the last tinge of slavery." Civil War hero Colonel Higginson was unceremoniously ejected from a local school board in 1869 for demanding an end to segregated schools in Rhode Island.

In 1872, Frederick Douglass argued the case for integration powerfully, citing the basis for unity of poor whites and blacks against their common enemy, the white ruling class:

> "Throughout the South all the schools should be mixed. From our observations during a trip to the South we are convinced that the interests of the poor whites and the colored people are identical. Both are ignorant, and both are the tools of designing educated white men; and the poor whites are more particularly used to further schemes opposed to their own best interests. In that section everything that will bring the poor white man and the colored man closer together should be done; they should be taught to make common cause against the rich land-holders of the South who never regarded a poor white man of as much importance as they did slaves. Now in the South the poor white man is taught that he is better than the black man, and not as good as the 250,000 slaveholders of former days, the result is that the slaveholders command the poor white man to murder the black man, to burn down his school-houses, and to in every conceivable manner maltreat him, and the command is obeyed. This tends to make the ex-slaveholder more powerful, and is of no good to the poor white who is really as much despised as the Negro. The cunning ex-slaveholder sets those who should be his enemies to fighting each other and thus diverts attention from himself. Educate the colored children and white children together in your day and night schools throughout the South, and they will learn to know each other better, and be better able to cooperate for mutual benefit."

Young Spartacus

Library of Congress



Historical Pictures Service

Top: Spartacists protest attack on black students at Columbia U., spring 1987. Our Civil War heroes: John Brown (left), whose Harpers Ferry raid was opening shot of war against slavery; Frederick Douglass (right), leading black abolitionist.

Betrayal of Black Freedom Struggle

The withdrawal of Union troops with the Compromise of 1877 made clear that Northern capital was interested in consolidating the economic advantages of their victory over the Confederacy, not in black rights. Left defenseless before their former owners, blacks were driven out of government and off their land as Reconstruction regimes were smashed by racist terror. In this period of dark reaction, Booker T. Washington emerged as the voice of accommodation and acceptance of the rising tide of racist violence and Jim Crow institutions. The ideological granddaddy of today's peddlers of bogus "black capitalism" and "self-help" schemes like Jesse Jackson (and Louis Farrakhan), Washington decried Reconstruction, *blaming black people for their own oppression*—and the Redeemers loved him for it.

Booker T. Washington's influence ascended in direct proportion to segregation and disfranchisement of blacks and the decline in Northern philanthropy for education. Deeming his own people "unfit" for "high-minded" professions, Washington founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881 to teach blacks only manual and domestic trades. His program for menial "schooling" for a "subordinate" race coincided exactly with the period in which black workers were forced out of the skilled trades. Many graduates of Tuskegee Institute could find employment only as teachers in Washington's school. Embracing racist segregation, Washington believed that "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers." He groveled that the "wisest among my race

NY Public Library

Democratic Party/Klan terror: ex-Confederate soldiers burn down black school in Memphis, 1866.

WV Photo

Norfolk 1983: Union power marched in defense of busing. Jesse Jackson, black shill for Dixiecrats, told marchers: "I'm not marching for busing, I'm marching for voter registration." Racist Supreme Court axed Norfolk busing in 1986.

understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly." However, Washington made damn sure that *he* moved with ease in white circles and that *his* children got a decent liberal arts education!

Finish the Civil War!

Booker T. Washington's political heirs are the product of the *defeat* of Reconstruction—and the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement which attempted to fulfill the promise of black equality a century after the Civil War. With the dead-end strategy of appealing to the capitalist courts and troops to strike down formal, *de jure* inequality in the Jim Crow South, the civil rights movement of the 1960s was defeated when it came north, unable to address the *de facto* segregation of blacks trapped in the ghettos. Here there were no laws forbidding blacks to eat at the same lunch counters with whites—except the laws of capitalist exploitation which keep blacks as a "last hired, first fired" doubly oppressed race-color caste.

The grinding poverty, mass unemployment and rampant cop terror endemic to Northern ghettos could not be solved with a new "civil rights" bill but required an integrated, labor-centered struggle against the capitalist system. In the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, the Spartacist League fights for working-class rule, to *finish the Civil War* and achieve black emancipation through *revolutionary integration* into a socialist society. November 27, 1982 provided a taste of this power, when black and red came together in a 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League and stopped the KKK terrorists from marching through the nation's capital. As we wrote then (*WV* No. 319, 10 December 1982):

> "Today, unlike the period of Reconstruction, the material conditions for posing the question of political power in class terms have fully matured. Blacks are still segregated at the bottom of American society, but are integrated into its economy, especially in the strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat. The key to social revolution in this country is the united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. And there is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than through the working-class conquest of power." ■

John Reed...

(continued from page 10)

language federations out of touch with the pulse and immediate felt needs of the American working class.

As one of the foremost American Communists, Reed was a delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, where he was elected to the Comintern's Executive Committee. He spoke powerfully to the congress on the condition of American blacks, their importance for the labor movement and the need for proletarian revolution to liberate them from capitalist slavery:

> "The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negros. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people."
>
> —quoted in "Blacks and Reds," *WV* No. 348, 17 February 1984

Today, the Spartacus Youth Clubs are looking for a few good communists like John Reed. His break with the bourgeoisie and fight for the cause of the working masses of the world should inspire today's youth, facing the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, racism and repression, to take the side of the workers and to fight for a socialist future. Join us! ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Noontime Forums

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Wednesday, November 4

From Protest to Power: Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

Wednesday, November 11

Extend the Gains of the Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Wednesday, November 18

BERKELEY Chinquapin Room, ASUC Building, UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

Spartacist Forums

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

CHICAGO
Saturday, Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m.
Kent 107
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

Eyewitness Report—
Slides of Leningrad and Moscow
Speaker:
Martha Phillips
Member, Spartacist League
Just returned from the Soviet Union

Defend Nicaragua! Smash U.S. Imperialism!

BINGHAMTON
Wednesday, Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m.
Lecture Hall 10
SUNY Binghamton

Speaker:
Alison Spencer
SL Central Committee
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

BERKELEY
Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.
November 3, 10, 17, 24
179 Dwinelle, UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

- Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!
- Trotsky's Struggle Against Stalinism
- Unconditional Military Defense of the Soviet Union!

Principles of Communism

MADISON
Alternate Saturdays, 1:30 p.m.
October 31, November 14
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information (608) 251-6431

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

ITHACA
Alternate Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
October 31, November 14
Goldwin Smith Hall, Room 124
Cornell University
For more information (607) 277-1834

Spartacus Youth Club EXCO Class Series

Marxism and World Revolution

OBERLIN
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
November 4, 18, December 2
Wilder, Room 110
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 881-3700

Spartacist Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

NEW YORK
Saturdays, 5:00 p.m.
Nov. 7, 21, Dec. 5, 12
41 Warren Street
(one block below Chambers St. near Church Street)
For more information (212) 267-1025

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Behind the Stock Market Crash: A Marxist Analysis

SAN FRANCISCO
Monday, Nov. 2, 5:00 p.m.
Room to be announced
San Francisco State University

Speaker:
Joseph Seymour
SL Central Committee
For more information (415) 863-6963

Young Spartacus

Madison: 200 Protest CIA Recruiters

MADISON—About 200 students rallied at the University of Wisconsin September 29 against CIA recruitment. The Spartacus Youth Club built a sizable and spirited revolutionary contingent for the demonstration, with help from friends and new subscribers who made placards and collected donations for our "Nicabucks" campaign for the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Attempts by the demonstration's sponsors, the liberal Progressive Student Network and the reformist International Socialist Organization, to exclude the SYC from the protest and deny us a speaker, backfired. In contrast to the PSN's reformist appeals to the university administration to ban the CIA as an "illegitimate employer," a Spartacist spokesman addressed the rally, stating, "The CIA is an integral component of racist capitalist imperialism. Workers, blacks and students must break from the racist, union-busting Democratic Party and build a workers party to fight for a workers government and socialism." One student militant, questioned by fretting ISOers as to why he joined our contingent, responded in writing. He noted that "the I.S.O.'s reformist politics left me little choice but to march in the Spartacist League contingent":

> "During the largest war drive in history and resulting anti-Soviet hysteria it's easier for reformist parties to label the Soviet Union 'state-capitalist' instead of defending it. The Soviet 'state-capitalist' argument is both a capitulation to, and a result of, the anti-Soviet war drive.
>
> "There may, or may not be, several parties that can unite on a Marxist-Leninist program. If there are, the I.S.O. is certainly not one of them. The I.S.O. has compromised Marxist politics to recruit more members during these conservative years. The international working class needs a socialist revolution in the United States to stab internal capital in its heart, and the I.S.O does not have the political program to bring such a revolution."

Madison Spartacus Youth Club contingent in anti-CIA protest, September 29.

Young Spartacus

The ISO holds that the work of *brigadistas* in Nicaragua—like that of the courageous Ben Linder, shot by Reagan's contras while working to bring electricity to rural villages—is a waste of time. They spat in the faces of all the "internacionalistas" when they stated in their press that "the best way to support the Nicaraguan revolution against American imperialism is not ... by traveling to Nicaragua to help with the harvests" (*Socialist Worker*, June 1985). While Trotskyists call on the Soviet Union to give *more* aid to Nicaragua in the interests of smashing the U.S.-backed contras, the ISO counsels the Sandinistas to forswear Soviet aid and instead to seek help from Cold Warrior Mitterrand's France "to undercut the 'Soviet menace' argument" (*Socialist Worker*, December 1984). Like Reagan, the ISO fears that Nicaragua will become an outpost of the "Evil Empire"!

Consistent opposition to the CIA means opposition to U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, whose front line today is drawn in Nicaragua. While pro-imperialist "third camp" socialists duck the Russian question over Nicaragua, our Nicabucks campaign has won students to take a side in defense of the revolution. Donate dollars to crush the contras! Make your check or money order payable/send to: Student Committee to Defend Nicaragua, c/o Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. ■

Tamiment Institute

John Reed. His account of Russian Revolution was unreservedly recommended by Lenin to workers of the world.

American Bolshevik

Honor John Reed!

Young Spartacus

Protesting 350 years of filthy Harvard, Spartacists uphold Reed, a traitor to his class who fought for the oppressed.

October 20 is the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Reed, who took part in and chronicled the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and was a founding American Communist, part of our own revolutionary tradition. Reed broke decisively from his bourgeois background to dedicate his life to the struggle for world socialist revolution. After graduating from Harvard in 1910, he became a partisan of the struggles of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), participating in Western miners strikes and the militant Paterson silk workers strike in 1913. His eyewitness account *Insurgent Mexico* captured the pathos and heroism of the Mexican Revolution.

In 1917 Reed traveled to Russia, where in February a workers uprising had overthrown the hated tsarist autocracy. Reed saw that Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks were the only party that could lead a successful revolution to establish working-class rule. Alongside the Bolsheviks, Reed participated in most of the major events leading up to the November 7 insurrection including the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets where Lenin announced the triumph of the first proletarian revolution in history. Reed recounted this moment vividly in his stirring book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*:

> "It was just 8:40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the presidium with Lenin—great Lenin—among them.... Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been....
>
> "Now Lenin, gripping the edge of the reading stand, letting his little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there waiting, apparently oblivious to the long-rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, 'We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!' Again that overwhelming human roar."

After the Bolshevik Revolution Reed returned to the United States, where he did more than perhaps anyone else to popularize the revolution among American workers. He played a leading part in the vital task of forging a Leninist, Communist vanguard party of the American working class, fighting for the "Americanization" of a faction-ridden party dominated by insular foreign-

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Sub Drive...

(continued from page 3)

handed down for generations." Aware of the risks of being black and red in racist America, some students and black workers who said they were interested refused to buy subs for fear of "getting my name on a list." At the same time, at one New York-area community college where the black student group got a sub to our press during last year's drive, *WV* has been used as the basis of study by the group's members, who share the paper and then discuss some of the articles.

The Boston comrades sold 30 points door-to-door in black neighborhoods:

> "Several of these subs were sold to Haitians, many of whom were as interested in our coverage of the black question in the U.S. as in our internationalist perspective on Haiti and South Africa. We sold eleven points at two Haiti demonstrations, one of which was a very moving funeral for Antoine Thurel, a Haitian man who immolated himself to protest repression by the 'CIA junta.' "A lot of people at the various Central America demonstrations wanted to know why we were opposed to the Arias 'peace' plan. Several subs were sold to people who had had some misgivings about the plan and were glad to see them articulated in *WV*. At these demonstrations and elsewhere, we got the sense that people weren't too 'fired up' about Jesse Jackson and the dwarfs of the Democratic Party. Members of the school bus drivers union, USWA Local 8751, were aware that Superintendent of Schools Laval Wilson, a black Democrat, was hell-bent on busting their union."

Special Workers Vanguard packets were popular items in this year's subscription drive.

WV Photo

Fruitful Regional Trips

The sub drive was a chance for us to see friends of the party and *WV* readers in areas where we don't have a regular party presence. Comrades from the Cleveland and Chicago branches sold 71-1/2 points in Detroit and 154 in Ann Arbor. On the Texas trip, 168 points were sold, including 68-1/2 at the U of Houston and 73 points at U of T in Austin.

Southern regional trips enabled us to revisit some of the East Coast (ILA) port cities and talk with people whom we'd last seen a year ago during the brief ILA strike, when we were distributing our special supplement, "Let's Win This One!", to longshoremen and other working people throughout the country. Workers in this important industry respect us for our solidarity with their strike, and there is also a continuing recognition of our role in organizing the labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. It was the endorsement of that action by several ILA branches throughout the South, as well as the support of Washington-area unions with a high proportion of black members, posing the implicit threat of labor action in defense of the civil rights of anti-Klan demonstrators, which allowed the will of the militant protesters to prevail, dealing a blow to the KKK and the Reagan government.

A comrade who visited Southern ILA ports during the sub drive summarized that "Our appeal seems to be that we offer a broader and socialist worldview; we defend black rights and link that fight to union power; and our paper is an ally in the Jim Crow anti-labor South, an environment these guys are acutely aware of being in and alien to." The comrade reported that our back-page article in defense of the rights of homosexuals and AIDS victims sparked some thoughtful conversations with workers who recognized the "mob mentality" of the anti-gay hysteria.

A regional trip to North Carolina campuses sold 195 points, nearly double our total from last year. At Chapel Hill:

> "A lot of students who are active in the two divestment groups on campus bought papers and subscriptions. I found that many people weren't too eager to defend divestment as a central strategy.
> "There was a lot of interest in the article on the Chapel Hill anti-Klan action. Almost all of the black students I talked with had heard about it and were happy *somebody* thought it was a good thing that the Klan had been forced to hightail it out of town."

On the "Northern Tour," a team of California comrades who hit the campuses of the Pacific Northwest, 317 points were sold. "Interest in a communist paper and skepticism in the bourgeois press ran high." A total of 105 points was sold at the U of Oregon in Eugene, 93 at Evergreen in Olympia, Washington and 41 at the University of Washington in Seattle. A man whose son is in the Workers League resubscribed, saying that the only way he can find out what's happening in his son's organization is through our press. One young woman we talked to in Seattle told us: "You guys are really interesting, the rest of the left are like potatoes."

Local Highlights

At Cal Berkeley, 166-1/2 points were sold; at Santa Barbara, 152; at Stanford, 138. At Santa Cruz, where 223 points were sold, our forum and slide show in commemoration of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was invaded by over a dozen right-wing Vietnamese students. Their spokesman ludicrously claimed to be against U.S. imperialism, while spewing out anti-Communist horror stories including that his father was in a "concentration camp" for five years. It turned out that the father was an ex-officer of the ARVN (the U.S. puppet army in South Vietnam). At S.F. State, where 92-1/2 points were sold this year, one resubscriber had written a rap song about the massacre of Philly MOVE using *WV* articles for material for the lyrics. L.A.'s best campus was UCLA, where 104 points were sold.

Comrades from the Bay Area made trips to Salinas, where we participated in a march supporting striking cannery workers, and Watsonville, where a long, hard-fought strike beat back a vicious union-busting drive; 64 points were sold, many of them being subs to *Spanish Spartacist*.

New York comrades should be congratulated for selling 1,603 points in addition to hosting the party's Eighth National Conference here during September. Despite a heavy publishing schedule this fall, members of the *WV* composition crew sold 244 points. Transit workers purchased 149 points, most of which were resubscriptions. Door-to-door sub-selling in an integrated neighborhood in Queens brought in 120 points. Campus sales included 86-1/2 points at Princeton, 110-1/2 at Rutgers, 122 at Cornell where a new Spartacus Youth Club is active. At Binghamton, where 98 points were sold:

> "We set up our table in the main lobby of the Student Union and had a steady stream of students around our table, selling 35 points. One student even wanted to buy the red flag off our table. The administration didn't get around to kicking us out until we were essentially done for the day (the Zionists most likely brought us to their attention).
> "The Vanunu case sparked a lot of interest at our lit table. We had a poster of Vanunu prominently displayed as well as the petition. This drove the Zionists crazy, who from time to time verbally harassed us but didn't go further. There was a small number of pro-Vanunu students, though, and some that wanted to know more about the case. One student marched up to the table to sign the petition, saying that Vanunu is a real hero of Israel.
> "The day before we arrived on campus there was an anti-contra aid demo sponsored by the Latin American Student Coalition. We spoke to a couple of LASC members—they are a hodge-podge group. One new subscriber had been around the DSA and hopes we will debate them on campus. Another person said he was sick of the DSA after their telling him that he should vote for Gary Hart if he ran for president!"

Washington, D.C. comrades sold 76 points on the Howard University campus. An unanticipated highlight of the local's work was selling our literature at a militant rally of thousands of unionists in support of the football strike. In addition to distributing thousands of our *WV* supplements headlined "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!", comrades sold 126 copies of *WV*. Many of the supplements and papers will be carefully saved—people were having the literature autographed by striking football players.

Another special event was the massive gay rights demonstration in Washington on October 11. Spartacist comrades from all over the East Coast participated, selling 71-1/2 points in subs as well as 1,809 copies of *WV* and 661 copies of *WV&R*. Nearly $300 was collected for "Nicabucks," the Spartacus Youth Clubs' campaign to raise hard currency for the defense of Nicaragua. During the sub drive, we collected "Nicabucks" at numerous SL public events and through appeals in our press, raising a total of $2,847 for Nicaragua during the course of the six-week sub drive.

In Atlanta, where the comrades report that "South Africa, not Nicaragua, continues to be the burning issue" on campus, 74 points were sold at Atlanta University, as well as 30 points in Savannah. Chicago's most productive campus was the U of Wisconsin at Madison (117-1/2 points), where the Spartacus Youth Club is active. At the U of Indiana at Bloomington, 78 points were sold although the campus was plastered with posters for a pro-contra forum and we had a run-in with a self-proclaimed Nazi ten minutes after we set up our first lit table.

The Chicago comrades had spectacular success in securing resubscriptions. Renewals accounted for 44 out of the 69 points sold to transit workers, and 61 points in renewals came in from following up subs sold through door-to-door work in previous years. In addition, 40 points in new subscriptions were sold by comrades going door-to-door building for our forum on labor/black defense against racist terror. Chicago comrades also sold 20 subs to *Spanish Spartacist*.

The comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada participated in the SL/U.S. sub drive, selling 232-1/2 points in subscriptions to SL/U.S. publications (as well as 72 subs to their own paper, *Spartacist Canada*). Highlights for the Canadian comrades were working the Cornell campus along with New York comrades early this fall and the regional trip made in October by three comrades to Sudbury, Ontario, a historic center of the metal mining industry, where 18-1/2 sub points and 149 pieces of literature were sold.

The comradely competition for most points sold was won (again) by comrade Paula from San Francisco, who racked up 177 points. Emma (New York) was second with 145-1/2. Honorable mentions to Cathie (SF) with 121, Stefan (Oakland) with 102, Xandra (Oakland) with 96-1/2, Steve M. (New York) with 91-1/2, Tim (L.A.) with 91 and Tom D (Boston) with 90-1/2. We extend our thanks as well to sympathizers of the organization who worked alongside us during the sub campaign. In Cleveland, 107 points were sold by non-members, including the highest point-scorer in the branch, in Oakland, 84-1/2 points were sold by sympathizers, and 80 in New York. Everyone who participated can take pride in having made this our best sub drive ever.

We welcome our new readers! ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

demanding domination of the new interim administration. The Indians granted them seven out of twelve seats on the ruling body of this paper "Eelam," which in any case was to be an impoverished capitalist puppet regime totally subordinate to India. But the nationalist militants remained unreconciled, and continued to hury their weapons.

On October 5, the lid completely blew off this uneasy truce. Seventeen Tigers intercepted in the Palk Strait swallowed cyanide suicide capsules after J.R.'s National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali, a hardliner unhappy with the accord, ordered that they be shipped to Colombo for interrogation. Most of them died immediately. The next day the Tigers shot dead eight Sri Lankan soldiers whom they had been holding prisoner for months, dumping their bodies at Jaffna central bus station.

That night Tamil nationalists went on a rampage of indiscriminate slaughter, murdering more than 200 Sinhalese, mostly civilians—men, women and children—in the Eastern Province. The Colombo/Batticaloa train was stopped, Sinhalese and Muslims were separated out and 40 shot. In the southeast 20 bus passengers were massacred and near Trincomalee 27 others killed in two fishing villages. In one fishing village an old Sinhalese woman described how laughing Tamils blew her husband's head off with machine guns. These widespread and calculated acts of indefensible terrorism sent thousands of Sinhalese fleeing their homes in the heavily interpenetrated Eastern and North Central Provinces. At this point, Indian High Commissioner J.N. Dixit announced that India would turn its guns on the Tamils, shoot-to-kill orders were issued and Tiger strongholds would be wiped out. The drive on Jaffna began.

But if the Indians thought they would get a quick victory they were mistaken. The Tigers have waged a fierce and fanatical resistance, at times halting the Indian advance completely. The original schedule to take control of Jaffna in five days was revised to ten, and fresh troops and weapons have been rushed in to bolster the Indian forces. At Jaffna University, the Tigers caught an elite helicopter force in the open and machine-gunned 30 soldiers.

India insists that it will stop at nothing short of unconditional surrender by the Tigers. But the Tigers are a guerrilla army. There are now reports of attacks on the advancing Indian troops from behind, and the fighting may well continue "behind the lines" long after the Indians capture the area. On October 13, an American State Department spokesman commended this "firm and effective action against these militant groups" (*India Abroad*, 23 October). On October 26, Jaffna was taken.

Echoing Reagan's State Department, the president of the Eelam Tamil Association of America whitewashed the Indian campaign as "a disciplinary action" justifiably aimed at bringing the Tamil militants "into line in getting the peace accord going" (*India Abroad*, 23 October). It is notable that as soon as Rajiv Gandhi moved against them, the Tigers lost much of their traditional support among bourgeois politicians of south India's Tamil Nadu state. In fact one of the largest contingents of the Indian force in Jaffna is drawn from the Madras regiment from Tamil Nadu.

The Indian onslaught has wreaked unparalleled destruction and devastation in the Jaffna area. A doctor at the Jaffna Teachers Hospital reported that "the situation in Jaffna town is worse than anyone can imagine." Seventy-six bodies had been brought to the hospital just in the first four days of the fighting and he was certain of at least another 100 civilian dead. The desperation of Jaffna Tamils in the face of this is expressed in an appeal by 14 Jaffna civil servants, pointing to "indescribable bombing and shelling and aerial strafing" in which "almost 700 innocent civilians have died" and pathetically pleading that the butcher *Jayewardene* intervene with India in behalf of the Tamils (*New York Times*, 20 October)!

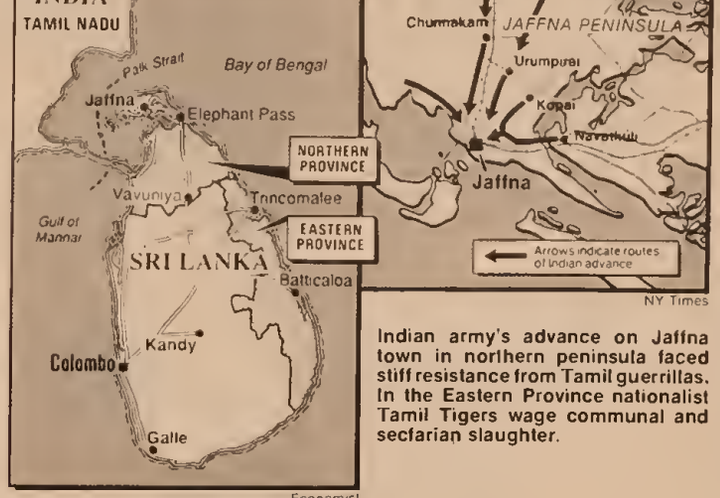
Lanka Spartacist

Rubble of buildings in Thondamanaru: Sri Lankan army offensive in June devastated Jaffna Peninsula.

For Workers Internationalism!

The international Spartacist tendency discussed the looming crisis in Lanka last month at a meeting of the International Secretariat held in conjunction with the Spartacist League/U.S. National Conference. The discussion was prompted by a thoughtful written contribution submitted by an SL/U.S. comrade to our pre-conference discussion and resulted in a decision to propose to our tendency the slogan "Indian troops out of Eelam!" The slogan was to address the likelihood of a bloodbath by the Indian army and to reassert the right of Tamil Eelam, for which the Spartacist League/Lanka (sympathizing section of the iSt) has fought, against the vicious backlash of Sinhalese racism.

From July 1983 and before, in our press and in demonstrations and marches around the globe we put forward slogans advising against illusions in the Gandhis. We warned, "Remember the fate of the Mukti Bahini"—the Bangladeshi liberation fighters who were put down by Mrs. Gandhi—and pointed to the Golden Temple massacre of Sikhs in Amritsar in 1984. Our warnings were met with hostility by the various Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalists, whose "armed struggle strategy" was fundamentally aimed at provoking a bloody



Indian army's advance on Jaffna town in northern peninsula faced stiff resistance from Tamil guerrillas. In the Eastern Province nationalist Tamil Tigers wage communal and sectarian slaughter.

Economist

response by the Lankan regime in order to force India to act. Even after the Indian army had been slaughtering Tamils for a week, a Tiger-dominated demonstration in London on October 18 still appealed to Gandhi's India! A leaflet for the demonstration denounced India's "hasty genocidal military action" which "even surpasses Sinhalese state atrocities"—only to conclude with the pathetic plea: "India, land of Gandhian pacifism and leader among world's democracies, come to your senses, stop the slaughter."

The Tigers et al. were not ignorant of the fate of the Sikhs and the Bangladeshis at the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie. The truth is, as with all nationalists, they didn't give a damn as long as "their nation" was not on the receiving end. One disillusioned Tamil nationalist interviewed in the *Lanka Guardian* (1 October) observed:

> "...we were pawns in a larger chess game, though we thought we were going to liberate Thamil Eelam... We thought we were the most intelligent, hard-working, educated group of people in the whole country. And we couldn't see something that should have been obvious to a little child."

With their perspective of carving out Eelam, they were profoundly unconcerned with the plight of the island's "Indian Tamils" (so called because they were imported from India by the British over the last century and more to work the tea estates) in the highlands of Sri Lanka. Yet an alliance with the strategic Indian Tamil estate workers could have been a critical component in uniting all sectors of the oppressed in Lanka as well as the toilers of India in a struggle for social emancipation.

While the Tamil guerrillas in the early '80s rigorously limited their attacks to Lankan state targets, their nationalist strategy ineluctably led to indiscriminate terror against Sinhalese civilians. The massacre of 150 unarmed Sinhalese civilians at the holy city of Anuradhapura in May 1985 marked a watershed. Today, the Tigers adopt Zionist methods in the Eastern Province, driving out the Sinhalese and Muslims to ensure a Tamil majority. The government has for years colonized the province with Sinhalese to successfully overturn the pre-existing Tamil majority. The Tigers in turn demand that all Sinhalese colonized since 1982 be expelled, and their gunmen make no distinction.

Not surprisingly, given their perspective to become the new rulers of their own statelet, the various nationalist groups have also engaged in bloody internecine warfare aimed at securing a monopoly of political power, with the Tigers gaining the upper hand over the years. In 1985 they murdered two former MPs from the moderate bourgeois parliamentarist TULF. In 1986 they wiped out more than 150 militants of the TELO group, and delivered bloody body blows to the rival EPRLF and PLOTE groups.

Now, in the Sinhala-dominated south of Lanka, the UNP government is under assault from the same communalist forces that it itself fomented. Even as Gandhi arrived in Colombo to sign the accord, a member of J.R.'s honor guard attacked the Indian prime minister with a rifle butt. In the subsequent anti-accord riots, state property, nationalized services and cooperatives were the particular targets of the enraged communalist mobs. In the forefront of this opposition is the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike, who smashed the 1971 New Left JVP insurrection. Today that same JVP, now rabidly communalist, is allied with Mrs. B and the Buddhist monks are once again the shock troops of Sinhalese-communalist reaction.

In addition there is a shadowy and sinister terrorist organization, the People's Patriotic Movement. The "PPM" claimed responsibility for the August 18 grenade attack on a government caucus meeting which killed two and left both Prime Minister Premadasa and Athulathmudali wounded. Yet the assailant has not been caught. Last week a PPM bomb placed in the offices of the JSS, the government's strikebreaking "trade union," killed three. A former Communist Party MP in the southern town of Matara was shot and seriously wounded. And the newspaper offices of both the CP and the social-democratic LSSP have been attacked with grenades and dynamite.

At the heart of the decline of the once-strong workers organizations of Lanka was their capitulation to Sinhalese chauvinism in the form of popular-front alliances with bourgeois forces they falsely promoted as "anti-imperialist," like the SLFP, architects of the "Sinhala Only" language policy. To this day the CP and LSSP (and its offspring, the NSSP) refuse to fight for the right of Tamil self-determination.

And the "left" tail of these popular-frontist parties is veteran leftist Edmund Samarakkody's "Revolutionary Marxists," who issued a statement demanding "Indian Troops Out of Sri Lanka" at a time when this was the rallying cry of frenzied Sinhalese reaction. Significantly, it did not even mention the Tamil people's right to self-determination! Samarakkody wants to fight to the last Tamil, urging "Tamil Militants Resist the Indian Troops with All Your Might!" Meanwhile, his statement made no appeal to the Sinhala workers to come to the aid of the embattled Tamils. Instead it prettified the Sinhalese-communalist opposition to Jayewardene, claiming that "the Sinhala bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition forces... are using the genuine class hatred of the working class and toilers among the Sinhala people, against the oppressive

Jayewardene regime to strengthen their Sinhala chauvinist forces."

With this sleight of hand, Samarakkody obscenely seeks to reach out to the same rabble that—in the name of combatting terrorism—hacked Tamils to death in the 1983 pogroms. What about the miserable unemployed workers in Weimar Germany in the 1930s who, in desperation, turned to the Nazi barbarians? They had genuine class hatred too—and became shock troops in genocide. And there were the mullah-led anti-shah forces in Iran in the late 1970s, which under the guise of "anti-imperialism" brought us the feudalist fanaticism of the Khomeini regime. Samarakkody, like many other leftists, supported them too. This populist tailism of the masses' most reactionary impulses amounts to nothing but gross betrayal.

Legacy of Imperialist Divide and Rule

Historically it is rather accidental that Ceylon did not become part of India. The boundaries that the imperialists drew, throughout Africa, Asia, etc., more often than not divided tribe, people and nation. It is the tinpot nationalists who are the most fervent defenders of these "sacred" borders. India is indeed a prison house of nations, religious minorities, oppressed castes and hundreds of millions of horribly exploited working people. At the same time, like Indian capitalism itself, Indian nationalism is attenuated and atrophied, trapped somewhere on the road to national consolidation, reflecting the combined and uneven development of a giant backward country deformed by imperialist exploitation.

What is being played out in Sri Lanka today is the tragic reactionary logic of nationalism and communalism, the continuing horror of British imperialism's divide-and-rule strategy, which exploited traditional communal divisions to set entire peoples against each other in bloody slaughter, reaching its nadir in the 1947 partition of India. Well over five million people fled in both directions across the partition lines as refugee routes became vast open graveyards and trains arrived filled with corpses. Today the Indian capitalist butchers of the Sikhs and Mukti Bahini are butchering Tamils, while in Tamil Nadu thousands have been arrested for protesting. At the time of the anti-Tamil pogroms in 1983 we wrote:

> "While Marxists unconditionally defend the Tamils' right to form a separate state, we are less than enthusiastic about the prospects for an independent capitalist state in Jaffna. It would inevitably slide under the suzerainty of the oppressive Indian regime."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 35, Autumn 1983

Had they broken from their narrow nationalist perspective, the Tamil militants who are today either dead or embittered racialists could have provided an important element for an internationalist proletarian party in Lanka, turning the struggle against the oppression of the Tamil people into a springboard for revolution throughout the subcontinent. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the workers and peasants of the old tsarist empire—a vast prison house of peoples—to power through a program which transcended national particularities and forged unity against the common class enemy.

Today Bolshevik parties are needed in Lanka and India which can unite the rail workers of Calcutta, the Tamil estate workers, the Sinhalese women workers of the "free trade zones," in a struggle to bring down this vile system of racialist horror and grinding exploitation. This is the task to which our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are dedicated. Indian army out of Eelam! For the right of Tamil Eelam! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! Workers must rule! ■

Crash of '87...

(continued from page 1)

the United States. They've increasingly moved off-shore to South Korea, Taiwan, Mexico, etc. And especially since the last Carter years, billions of dollars have been diverted from research and development, education and industrial investment into the Pentagon's drive to restore nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Reagan added a new twist—he "financed" the biggest peace-time military buildup in U.S. history with tax cuts for the wealthy.

"Supply-side economics" added up to no lunches for ghetto kids and a free lunch for big business. Of course, no one believed that Star Wars, the MX missiles and Trident submarines could be paid for by taking school lunches away from black schoolchildren and food stamps away from welfare mothers. Under Reagan the Pentagon's arsenal has floated on a sea of foreign borrowing. At some Treasury auctions, Japanese investors bought as much as *two-thirds* of long-term U.S. government bonds.

To help attract foreign money, the U.S. rulers waged a one-sided class war against the labor movement, the black and Hispanic and poor, the sick and the aged. Unions were broken, strikes crushed, millions of workers had give-back contracts rammed down their throats. The black ghettos were starved and terrorized. Old people were left to freeze to death or rot in wretched nursing homes. New York—the financial capital of the world—became a city of yuppies in gentrified co-ops and homeless sleeping in the streets. Reagan, abetted by the Democrats in Congress and the Democratic big-city mayors, sought to make America a safe investment for the Bank of Tokyo and the Deutsche Bank.

And foreign money poured in—a net sum of *half a trillion* dollars from 1981 to the end of 1986. But precious little of this was spent on improving the nation's productive capacity. In this six-year period the output of capital equipment in the U.S. increased a measly 7 percent. Where did all that money go? Much of it into the Pentagon, whose purchases of military hardware rose an incredible *55 percent* between 1981 and '86!

At the same time, hundreds of billions fueled the speculative boom on Wall Street and also the real estate market. A major factor fueling the stock market boom was corporate takeovers financed almost entirely by borrowed funds, using so-called junk bonds. These bitter faction fights within the bourgeoisie reflect the loss of essential viability of whole units of the American corporate life. Yet the smart money pulled out before the crash—not only real estate mogul Donald Trump but also takeover artist Carl Icahn. A lot of "little guys" who bought the "Bullish on America" propaganda were left holding the bag.

Now the American bourgeoisie is faced with a financial crash because savaging vast sections of the population was not enough to pay for the multi-trillion dollar arms buildup. But the Japanese are not going to pay for Star Wars out of pocket, and one didn't have to be clairvoyant to see the crash coming. Japanese investors had already taken a dive over the last year by going increasingly out of the securities market and into U.S. real estate. A day or so before the crash, a New York-based economist for Deutsche Bank, Mieczyslaw Karczmar, noted "the reason for the higher bond yields [interest rates] is the impaired inflow of foreign capital to the United States." And after the crash Tokyo financial consultant Noboru Kagami stated: "This decline on Wall Street came as a major shock. For a while Japanese investors will feel jittery about being outside Japan" (London *Financial Times*, 22 October).

Wall Street to America: "Pain and Sacrifice"

So who is going to pay? The most immediate victims of the Wall Street crash are older people whose savings, pension funds and IRAs are tied up in the stock market. And they are now voicing bitter resentment toward the millionaire yuppies of Wall Street. "All those guys with 65 credit cards and Porsches who think they are all geniuses at 25—now see what's happened," was the sarcastic reaction of an 80-year-old retiree. A 53-year-old Social Security clerk in Miami, facing margin calls that would have wiped him out, shot his Merrill Lynch stockbroker and then himself.

But it is not just the aged who are going to pay for the crimes of Wall Street and Washington. Whatever their other differences, New York yuppie financial operators and staid Middle America businessmen, Reaganite Republicans and liberal Democrats, all agree on one thing: the American people are going to suffer before investor confidence is restored. Wall Street biggie Peterson, former commerce secretary under Nixon, declares:

> "...the need for economic adjustment is going to be given a new kind of urgent meaning. There is going to be pain and sacrifice of some sort, and part of that sacrifice is going to be changing our previous patterns of consumption."
>
> —*New York Times*, 19 October

To put this statement in perspective, note that a few years ago Peterson sold out his co-chairmanship of Lehman Brothers for a mere $6 million—some "sacrifice."

The main response to the crash in Washington is a *bipartisan* consensus to further slash social spending. The day after Black Monday, the House Budget Committee voted additional cuts for student loans, farm programs and Medicare for the elderly. And the Democrats are mounting a renewed push for higher taxes, which has become their *main issue* against Reagan, who's now wavering. In fact, for the past several years Reagan has carried out a perversion of liberal Keynesian economic policy of deficit spending with a vengeance, while reducing taxes on the rich, and the Democrats have become the balance-the-budget, raise-taxes party.

Even before the crash, influential sections of the U.S. ruling class saw Reaganomics as too indulgent and argued what's needed is the kind of austerity program the IMF (International Monetary Fund) imposes on Latin American debtor nations. *Wall Street Journal* economics editor Alfred Malabre projects that only something like cold fascism could restore financial discipline in the United States:

> "All banks, indeed all thrift institutions, could wind up being nationalized. Foreign trade and capital transactions most likely would be government managed. Wages and prices would largely be set by people in Washington. Tax rates would be far higher than now and enforcement far stricter. Corporate managers would be under rigid governmental supervision that would make today's regulations seem blissfully relaxed."
>
> —*Beyond Our Means* (1987)

This is the economic program of a corporate state like Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy—regimes which came to power as the result of profound economic devastation and the rulers' fear of workers revolution. Meanwhile some top U.S. business executives are determined to "get real wage levels down to those of the Brazils and Koreas" (*New York Times*, 4 June).

While preaching austerity at home, the U.S. ruling class will use its state power to *shift* the economic crisis to its neocolonies and imperialist rivals, centrally Japan. Mexico, Brazil and the other big Third World debtors are screwed because they owe money in dollars, not pesos or cruzados, so they can't get out of it by running their printing presses. The U.S., however, owes dollars to Japan: they could screw Tokyo by taking those container ships that bring cars over here and loading them up with (greatly devalued) greenbacks. Washington isn't going to go that far, but they could impose exchange controls, in effect appropriating a share of

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UPI

Last flight out of Saigon, April 1975. So-called "American century" was buried in the jungles of Vietnam when heroic Vietnamese beat U.S. imperialism.

U.S. goes from world's biggest creditor to world's biggest debtor. Now Japan Inc. props up U.S. economy.

Crash of '87...

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foreign money capital.

In an October 27 interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Keynesian economist Robert Heilbroner said that "after the crash is over and the body count is in," in terms of the functioning of the system:

> "The real wild card, something that really nobody knows, is whether or not there'll be a flight from the dollar. If foreign investors in the United States pull out the literally tens and maybe hundreds of billions that are now in dollar securities and bonds, it would probably have to be met by closing the international exchanges, or more likely by throwing up exchange controls."

An even more fundamental question, added Heilbroner, is what is going to be the U.S.' position in the future international division of labor:

> "I suspect that's going to give rise in the end to some kind of new regionalism of trade, a kind of protectionism. I don't think it's going to be beggar-thy-neighbor and mutual tariff wars, but some kind of regionalization. North America and its South American periphery, Europe and its Near Eastern-African periphery, and the Japanese and their China periphery or Southeast Asian periphery, and the Soviet Union and its own Eastern European periphery."

AP

Lame duck Reagan's "empire" strikes in the Persian Gulf. Neither Wall Street nor the ayatollahs were impressed.

Already Reagan is trying to negotiate a "Greater North American Co-Prosperity Sphere" in trade talks with Canada and next Mexico. But in a deepening financial crash, as Wall Street faced the alternatives of hyperinflation or a chain of bank failures, Washington could resort to bonapartism at home and war abroad to shore up tottering American capitalism.

Capitalism and Crises

Over a century ago Karl Marx pointed in the *Communist Manifesto* (1847) to "the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly." Typically every 40 or 50 years there is a big crash. For decades the American people have been brainwashed that it can't happen again. Marxists were ridiculed for maintaining that an economic crisis on the scale of the 19th century or 1929 could hit present-day capitalism. Well, one just hit.

Will the crash of '87 lead to a new depression? A *New York Times* (20 October) editorial reassures readers that the stock market collapse "should have little direct effect on the day-to-day economy. Kansas farmers will be able to grow as much wheat and Ford will be able to churn out as many station wagons as before." The *Times* is here expressing what bourgeois economists call Say's Law of Markets, that what is produced can always be sold. Or "supply creates its own demand."

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Lord Keynes built his whole reputation on observing that Say's Law doesn't work, and then calling for a benevolent capitalist state to make it work. But Marx already said it more fundamentally: Say assumed products were exchanged for products, as in a primitive barter economy. This leaves out the essence of the industrial capitalist system and, for that matter, of mercantilist capitalism which preceded it.

Capitalism does not produce wheat or cars in order to meet people's needs. Capitalism produces for *profits*, for accumulation of wealth in the form of stocks, bonds, bank accounts, property and gold. What happened on Wall Street last Monday was once described by Marx as "a slaughtering of the *values* of capitals." Why does this happen? Because stocks (and bonds) are nothing more than claims to future profits. Their value falls when profits fall or are expected to fall. Why should such a depreciation lead to a fall in real production and output? After all, it's only paper. Because capitalists incur debt and other obligations based on the *market value* of their wealth. When this falls, they cannot pay. Marx explained:

> "The chain of payments due at certain times is broken in a hundred places, and the disaster is intensified by the collapse of the credit-system. Thus violent and acute crises are brought about, sudden and forcible depreciations, an actual stagnation and collapse of the process of reproduction, and finally a real falling off in reproduction."
>
> —*Capital*, Vol. 3 (1894)

NY Daily Graphic

"Panic of 1873." Cartoon from New York Daily Graphic was captioned, "Panic as a health officer sweeping the garbage out of Wall Street."

Violent and acute crises, often triggered by financial panics and followed by prolonged depressions, have been endemic to the capitalist system from its very beginning.

Economic historians usually date the first international capitalist crises in 1720 with the near-simultaneous collapse of the so-called Mississippi bubble in France and South Sea bubble in England. In 1717 a Scottish banker, John Law, sold the French monarchy on a scheme to raise revenue by selling shares in a company granted a monopoly to develop French territories in North America. The stocks of this company were then used as collateral for Law's bank to make loans which further drove up the stocks' prices. The result was hyperinflation followed by total financial collapse. Across the English Channel, speculation in the South Sea company, which had been granted a monopoly on trade with South America and the Pacific region, ran a parallel course.

With the onset of industrial capitalism the panic of 1837 was the first modern crash, and the world has not changed all that much since then. In the early 1830s British banks were for the first time allowed to sell stock to the general public. The large influx of new capital led to speculation in slave plantations, cotton textiles and railroads. Across the Atlantic wildcat banks, unleashed by Jacksonian democracy, speculated in cotton and land, especially land capable of producing cotton. When the inflationary boom inevitably popped, President Andrew Jackson lamented:

> "Two nations, the most commercial in the world, enjoying but recently the highest degree of apparent prosperity, are suddenly, without any great national calamity, arrested in that career, and plunged into embarrassment and distress. In both countries have we witnessed the same redundancy of paper money, and other facilities of credit, the same spirit of speculation, the same partial success, the same difficulties and reverses, and, at length, the same overwhelming catastrophe."

Jackson, at any rate, was a lot franker than Reagan.

The financial panics of the 18th and 19th centuries may seem to the ignorant remote from the present Wall Street crash. But the similarity to 1929 is all too apparent, as the London *Financial Times* (21 October) pointed out: "After the fall of 22.6 per cent in the Dow Jones index on Monday, the crash of 1929 inevitably comes to mind. There are parallels too: the euphoria that preceded the decline; the overhang of deadweight sovereign debt; the threat of a major increase in protection in the United States; and, more seriously, the inability of the principal economic powers to follow policies conducive to international economic stability."

During 1928-29 capital from the U.S. and around the world flowed into Wall Street's call-money market. These were funds that bankers lent to stockbrokers, who in turn lent them to their clients thereby fueling the stock market boom. Soon the explosion of paper wealth lost all connection to the real economy. Production had been running smoothly but there was a squeeze on profits because, with or without trade unionism, workers were getting higher wages. Business activity actually peaked in June 1929 and was turning down while stock market speculation was ever more frenzied. After a while it dawned on investors their stocks weren't worth that much since profits were falling.

When the bubble popped, investors could not repay their brokers' loans. The brokers could not repay their bankers. A chain of defaults soon engulfed the entire financial system. Firms which had counted on ready access to the stock and bond market were suddenly short of money capital, and cut their spending. Output fell sharply, inventories were run off. Industrial production fell almost 10 percent between the Wall Street crash in October and the end of the year. By the spring of 1930 a full-scale depression had set in. Something like this can certainly happen in today's debt-laden American economy.

Death Agony of Capitalism

Whoever loses from the stock market crash, the Democrats believe they will gain by exploiting reawakened fears of depression. A few days before Black Monday, Richard Nixon observed that if the economy went down the Democrats could elect a jackass to the White House, which seems in fact to be their program. Writing on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* (22 October) liberal economist Hyman Minsky now trumpets that "a period of conservative Republican dominance leads to a failed capitalism, while a period of liberal Democratic dominance creates and sustains the conditions for successful capitalism." The Democrats are happily preparing to run, once again, against Herbert Hoover.

But today the Democratic Party isn't harking back to FDR—instead they're united with the Republicans in pushing a "raw deal" for workers, making the exploited and oppressed pay for capitalism's crimes. Even Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal did *not* lead to an effective recovery. It was, however, suc-

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cessful in heading off a proletarian socialist movement to bury the bankrupt capitalism of the 1930s. The impact of the Great Depression propelled the American working class to organize itself for the first time in mass industrial unions. However, thanks in large part to the Stalinists and social democrats at the head of those unions, the incipient radicalization of American labor was diverted into FDR's Democratic Party.

It is a *liberal myth* that Roosevelt's New Deal and Keynesian economic policies pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. In 1937, at the height of the New Deal, the U.S. suffered another major economic crisis in which industrial production fell by *one-third* and factory employment by a quarter. The American economy did not recover its pre-1929 level until the imperialist slaughter of World War II set the war industries running in high gear.

That war, especially against Japan in the Far East, originated in interimperialist trade wars intensified by the Depression. After 1929 a wave of protectionism swept Western capitalism. Japan, its traditional export markets cut off, moved to create an isolated economic empire in the Far East, the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. To maintain their East Asian colonies and semi-colonies (e.g., China), the Western imperialist powers first resorted to economic warfare against Japan. In July 1941 the Americans, British and Dutch cut off all oil shipments to Japan, which struck back six months later with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

U.S. imperialism ended the war by carrying out a nuclear holocaust: the A-bombing of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ordered by liberal Democrat Harry Truman. Japan was already beaten and its leaders suing for peace. The U.S. dropped the bomb on Japanese civilian populations out of a combination of racist vindictiveness toward the Japanese, to see if it would work (after they'd spent a couple of billion on it), and not least in order to intimidate the Soviet Union. The irradiated corpses of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were, in a sense, the first victims of the Cold War with Russia.

The insane drive of the U.S. rulers to destroy the Soviet Union has now bankrupted the American economy and triggered a financial crash on the scale of 1929. Today the world is again riven by economic crisis as it lurches toward another imperialist war, this time a nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the state issuing out of the world proletariat's greatest victory—the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917.

Communism Is America's Last, Best Hope

At home the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive is directed against the unions, blacks and everyone else the labor-hating, race-baiting ruling class despises. Reagan ripped up the white-collar air controllers (who endorsed him in '80!) as a message to labor. His black Democratic front man in Philly bombed the black MOVE commune and allowed the neighborhood to burn down to intimidate blacks. And the U.S. invaded tiny black Grenada, kind of an out-of-town tryout against the Russians and all those (like Nicaragua) Reagan thinks are Communists. Today, every index shows that the ordinary people of the U.S. have had their standard of living steadily eroded for the last 15 years, and the further down you are on the economic totem pole the worse off you are. So that now there are 20 million Americans who go to bed hungry at night, and millions more homeless.

And black people get the worst of it. A recent study by black sociologist William Julius Wilson on *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) has shown that despite civil rights laws and "Great Society" programs, life has grown more and more miserable for a black "underclass" locked in the ghettos. Unemployment for black men has averaged 17 percent during the 1980s, and double that for black youth. And as the number of employed black men nosedived, the number of households headed by single black women has shot up. Meanwhile in Washington they rant against "misdirected" welfare programs.

The neo-conservatives in the White House and the neo-liberals in Congress slash every program that reflects a human impulse not to see masses of starving, crazed, homeless people in the streets. And to justify that they show that the myriad poverty programs don't work. So like the "social Darwinians" of the 19th century, they preach that something must be wrong with the poor, survival of the fittest, and the devil take the hindmost. But the problem of poor people is that they are poor. You *can* solve that problem by throwing money at it. But first you have to *get* the money, and governmental taxing authority is not above classes. To really soak the rich the working class has to *take power*.

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator

Youngstown, Ohio steel plant being leveled. U.S. bosses have driven industrial plant into the ground.

Reformists like CIA social democrat Michael Harrington (who designed LBJ's "war on poverty") and the Communist Party routinely present wish lists of beneficial programs like massive federal programs to rebuild the cities: repair crumbling streets and bridges, improve mass transit, replace slum tenements with decent, affordable housing, roll back rents, eliminate taxes on low-income families, stop farm foreclosures, provide full medical care, day care, free college education, etc., not to mention banning racist attacks, scrapping missiles, slashing the military budget and so on. The CP's *People's Daily World* (22 October) article on the "Crash of '87" advertises a "Workers' Bill of Rights" full of good things. What they don't tell you is you can't legislate this under capitalism.

UPI

ILA longshore strikers stop scabs, October 1986. American workers need some hard class struggle to win!

To make reformism work you need a revolution. An old socialist noted some years back, on behalf of the working people, that everything the bourgeoisie doesn't have nailed down we are going to steal, and what is nailed down we are going to nationalize. Another, Sydney Hook, before he became a raving right-winger used to worry whether expropriation should be with or without compensation. Hell, the Emancipation Proclamation was a gigantic expropriation without compensation: by freeing black people from chattel slavery most of the capital of the rulers of the Confederacy was taken away from its owners. For that matter, prohibition wiped out a billion-dollar industry in one stroke.

It's a political question at bottom. You can solve a lot of problems with "domestic cash transfers"—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, jobless, homeless, welfare mothers, drug users, etc. And we communists intend to do so. But you have to first smash the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, *so take it*. And when we have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks. As for "compensation" to the people who have driven the United States to ruin, we can offer to those who don't get in our way that they will live to see their grandchildren prosper in a truly humane society.

We need a workers party to grab the vanishing wealth of America before the bourgeoisie squanders it all. Fight, don't starve—For class war in America! ■

Library of Congress

Civil War expropriated Southern slaveholders, freed the chattel slaves. For socialist revolution to free the wage slaves! Above: Sherman's march through Georgia.

Philly Election...

(continued from page 16)

Greensboro massacre! Similarly, they do the donkey work for the Democratic Party nationally by painting it in the hues of Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. (This is the same Jesse "the fireman" who came to Philly in June '85 to cool out black outrage and grotesquely asked Ramona Africa if MOVE had burned their own house down!)

From the Civil War to today, blacks have paid in blood for the right to vote. But to choose between Goode and Rizzo is picking your executioner. While Wilson Goode, Frank Rizzo and the Reagan gang of war criminals and sleazy crooks celebrate the Constitution, they don't celebrate the smashing of chattel slavery in the Civil War, because they seek through law and terror to maintain *wage slavery* and capitalist rule. We in the Spartacist League are fighting to finish the Civil War with a third American revolution, a socialist revolution. The decent people of Philadelphia and the rest of this country who are outraged by the Goode/Rizzo spectacle should mobilize in the fight to demand *freedom now* for Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners! ■

Telegrams and letters demanding immediate freedom without conditions for Ramona Johnson Africa should be sent to: Herman Tartler, Board Secretary, Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, 3103 N. Front St., Harrisburg, PA 17110.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Philly Election

Goode, Rizzo—Mayors of Murder

Free Ramona Africa and All MOVE Prisoners!

We won't forget: Mother's Day 1985, the day they bombed black Philadelphia. Eleven black people murdered, including five children, a black neighborhood burned to the ground. Now Philly faces an election with the obscene "choice" between two "mayors of murder": black Democrat Wilson Goode, who ordered the hideous firebombing of MOVE, and sadistic white racist Frank Rizzo, notorious for his stormtrooper attacks on the black ghetto. And as the rulers of this country celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution, they've torn up the Bill of Rights for Ramona Africa—imprisoned for the "crime" of surviving the MOVE massacre. The Spartacist League calls to protest the revolting Goode/Rizzo farce with a fight to free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!

The siege of Osage Avenue began as a cop bullhorn delivered the ultimatum: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Reagan's America, where mass murder of black people is officially sanctioned: the FBI supplies the explosives and approves the plans, and top cop Ed Meese praises this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow. The fiery holocaust in Philadelphia came just days after Reagan returned from saluting SS Nazi graves at Bitburg. For the crazed anti-Soviet crusaders in the White House bunker, the war against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates" from Nicaragua to Libya means war on blacks and labor at home. And black Democratic front men in City Hall do the dirty work for the White House.

What could be more obscene than the TV "debate" on October 7, with racist pig Rizzo and murderer Goode trading charges of police brutality and incinerating MOVE! As imprisoned Sue Africa cried out at the trial of Ramona, "The whole city of Philadelphia is trying to wash the blood of MOVE people off their hands." They want us to forget how Ramona Africa was railroaded on riot and conspiracy charges, denied parole and the right of appeal. They want us to forget the Africa family members and supporters in jail: Consuewella Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Alberta Wicker, Merle Austin, Janet Holloway, William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez, Michael Davis. Several of the women are mothers of children murdered in the cop firebombing of 6221 Osage Avenue.

They want us to forget Mumia Abu-Jamal, the MOVE sympathizer and former Black Panther who is *on death row* in Huntingdon state prison. A former president of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia, Abu-Jamal was widely known, and bitterly hated by the police, for his reporting of the kangaroo court trial of the 1978 MOVE prisoners. To counter the cops' lies, Abu-Jamal courageously went into the jails to tell the Africas' side of the story. So in 1981 he too was framed, accused of killing a Philadelphia cop. Today his life hangs in the balance following the U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the racist death penalty, opening the floodgate for hundreds of executions. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Free all the MOVE prisoners!

The cops' vendetta against MOVE began under big-mouth racist Rizzo. In 1970 as police commissioner he personally led a raid on Black Panther headquarters, dragging Panthers into the streets, stripping them naked and lining them up against the wall. It was Mayor Rizzo who laid siege to the MOVE commune in Powelton Village for a full year, culminating in August 1978 when 600 police moved in for the kill. Philadelphians watched in horror as Rizzo's cops brutally stomped on Delbert Africa in full view of TV cameras. Nine MOVE members were sent to prison on sentences up to 99 years because a cop died in that siege (most likely caught in the police crossfire). So whether it's Goode or Rizzo, blacks and other minorities rightly fear for their lives.

Viola Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Daily News

UPI

Frank Rizzo and Wilson Goode. Rizzo's cops brutally beat Delbert Africa in 1978 assault on MOVE commune (bottom left). Goode's 1985 firebombing of MOVE killed eleven blacks, incinerated entire black neighborhood.

There's a full-scale assault on democratic rights in Philly. In the months before and after the '85 MOVE massacre, hundreds were rounded up in repeated police sweeps that terrorized black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Last summer with the hoopla over the 200th birthday of the Constitution, the city labeled demonstrators "terrorists" and declared war on the First Amendment. Police infiltrated protest groups, banned buttons and placards, prevented literature from being handed out, and on Memorial Day weekend they sealed off 300 demonstrators protesting the U.S. war on Central America. From the carpet-bombing of Vietnam to CIA contra killers in Nicaragua to the mass murder at 6221 Osage Avenue, protesting the crimes of American capitalism is *verboten* in the "cradle of liberty."

Goode is still the preferred candidate of the Philadelphia bankers, insurance companies and Main Line bourgeoisie. The *Wall Street Journal* declared last year that by breaking the AFSCME city workers strike with threats of mass firings and fines, Goode had restored "Confidence in His Ability to Lead." Now Goode's out to break the power of the sanitationmen's union. Philadelphia's integrated unions have the muscle to win and a history of militancy, but they're tied to the racist union-busters of the bosses' parties. Philly transit and SEPTA rail workers, teachers, sanitationmen, ILA longshoremen should have *shut the city down* over the MOVE massacre. Break with the Democrats and Republicans—For a workers party that fights on behalf of all the oppressed!

The Spartacist League has sought to sear the bombing of MOVE into the memory of the working class. But the hulk of the left scandalously supported Goode, and will do so again now claiming the Philadelphia bomber is a "lesser evil." That's what they said about Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter, whose federal agents conspired in the hideous

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AP/Wide World

Ramona Africa, imprisoned because she lived to tell the truth about the massacre of Philly MOVE.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 440 | 13 November 1987

70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Seven decades ago there occurred the epochal event of our times, the Russian October Revolution of 1917. As the cruiser *Aurora* trained its guns on the Winter Palace, a new dawn broke for mankind. For the first time, the program of proletarian revolution was given flesh and blood. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, political power passed into the hands of the working class. In its first act, the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies decreed land to the peasants, and offered a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations, to put an end to the slaughter of the imperialist world war. As the delegates rose to sing the *Internationale*—"Arise ye prisoners of starvation! Arise ye wretched of the earth!"—it was a clarion call for world socialist revolution. Seventy years later, the Bolshevik Revolution remains the greatest victory for the working people of the world.

The Russian Revolution was the living confirmation of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution"—namely, that in the backward countries like Russia, the tasks associated historically with bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished by the weak bourgeoisie, but require the proletariat to take state power at the head of the oppressed masses. This understanding enabled Trotsky to stand with Lenin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev (and initially Stalin) who flinched in the face of the opportunity to take power, refusing to go beyond the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

L.Y. Leonidov

Moscow's Red Square, 7 November 1919: V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary.

However, lacking the expected support of victorious revolutions in West Europe, the fledgling Soviet state was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. Under these conditions—after several desperate years of engulfing civil war, loss of industry, decomposition of railways and starvation in the cities and countryside—there developed tendencies toward demoralization and depolitization among the toiling masses and toward bureaucratic commandism and loss of programmatic ideals and of revolutionary confidence among cadres of

continued on page 8

Crash Buries Reaganomics

Black Monday, October 19—the stock market crashes, wiping out a quarter of the market value of America's top corporations in a few hours. This was a watershed, and neither the U.S. nor world economy will be the same again. *Business Week* (2 November) recognized.

> "An incalculable amount of damage has been done, not only to the stock market and investors but also to the health of the economies in the U.S. and around the world. What happened on Oct. 19 was an earthquake, not simply a shock."

Reagan, of course, wouldn't recognize an earthquake if the ground opened up and swallowed him. A week after Black Monday the chief executive of American capitalism muttered: "I sometimes wonder if what happened in the market is not a case of maybe the market overpriced itself [so] that it's now making a corrective change." But it's not just the airhead in the White House who's saying the crash was nothing but a "healthy correction" in a healthy economy.

The prestigious *New York Times* has become a mouthpiece for fatuous optimism about Wall Street, playing up the partial recovery in stock prices since Black Monday. On October 30 its financial pages ran an article headlined "Dow Will Jump 400 Points Next Week, Strategist Predicts." The following day the *Times* quoted an upbeat stock analyst for Shearson Lehman Brothers: "The smiles were out this morning. We've come from complacency, to apprehension, to fear, to relief, and now to hope over the last four weeks."

We recall that after the crash of October 1929 stock prices also edged up for a number of months. In the spring of 1930 President Herbert Hoover declared that the worst was over and the economy was returning to normal. Almost immediately following this rosy assurance the economy slid into the abyss and did *not even begin to recover* for three years, until the spring of 1933.

Capitalism De-Industrializes America

Reagan's Star Wars budget deficit has gone hand in hand with the decay and dismantling of America's industrial plant. The "growth industries" of the '80s have been fast-food chains paying subminimum wages to black ghetto youth, Wall Street speculation for the yuppie MBAs and corporate raiding. But if a country doesn't *produce* things it will go under.

This point was trenchantly made by

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Shachtman Died a Stalinist?

"All the News That Fits, We Print"

The powers that be at the *New York Times Book Review* evidently thought it necessary to censor a letter to the editor by Diana Kartsen of the Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League. We print below Kartsen's letter and the bowdlerized version printed by the 18 October *Book Review*.

Gus Tyler was billed by the *Book Review* as assistant president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, but in 1937 he was a leader of the centrist "Clarity" caucus of the American Socialist Party (SP). In this capacity he aided and abetted the expulsion of the Trotskyist-led left wing and felt the sting of Max Shachtman's pen. This experience should at least have taught him to recognize the misspelling of Shachtman's name which occurs throughout his printed review.

Max Shachtman was a revolutionary Trotskyist leader in 1937, but since 1940 his name has been virtually synonymous with Stalinophobia in the revolutionary movement. Shachtman succumbed to the anti-Soviet hysteria which followed the signing of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. He abandoned the program of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, leading a sizable faction out of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which was at that time the Trotskyist organization in this country.

Max Shachtman joined the communist movement in 1921 at the age of 17 and was one of the founding American Trotskyists in 1928. By 1958, however, carrying through the logic of his split from the SWP, he had abandoned all pretense to revolutionary Marxism, liquidating what was left of his organization into the reformist SP. By 1961 he was supporting U.S. imperialism's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (provoking even the SP youth group at Berkeley to disinvite him from a scheduled campus talk). He died in 1974, a leader of the far right wing of American social democracy.

So it was quite a shock to read, in Constance Ashton Myers' book, the following quotes attributed to Shachtman in a 1972 oral interview:

> "The Communist party was fundamentally, essentially wisest, playing for time, maneuvering. It was ridiculous for us to call Stalin a reactionary, a fascist, a national socialist. He and the Communist party knew revolution would inevitably come—in a year, ten years, 100 years, but inevitably.
> "Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the permanent revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time."

Can it be true that Max Shachtman ended his years as a closet Stalinist? We have searched for independent verification and found none. Those who have relevant information are invited to write to the Prometheus Research Library, Box 185, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

The Prometheus Research Library has extensive archival holdings of documentation of the history of the Communist International and the Trotskyist movement, particularly but by no means exclusively of their American organizations, as well as substantial internal materials from the Shachtman organization of the 1940s and 1950s. The library was opened in 1985 to qualified scholars needing its special collections. Requests to use the library should be sent to the address given above. ■

PROMETHEUS RESEARCH LIBRARY

James M. Robertson, Director
Diana B. Kartsen, Librarian
Emily P. Turnbull, Archivist

Editor
New York Times Book Review
229 West 43 Street
New York, NY 10036

28 September 1987

Dear Sir:

With regard to Gus Tyler's review in the 27 September 1987 *New York Times Book Review* of Maurice Isserman's *If I Had A Hammer...*, I would like to draw your attention to an article written by Max Shachtman 50 years ago, entitled "The Politics of Gus Tyler—A Genuine Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party," published in the Trotskyist *Socialist Appeal* (weekly organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches), Vol. 1, No. 3, August 28, 1937. In light of this fact it may have been improper for Mr. Tyler to have reviewed this book. By the way, the name is spelled Shachtman.

It would be extremely interesting for historians of the area covered by Mr. Isserman's recent book to obtain independent verification that Shachtman's final political testament was a going-over to Stalinism as reported in Constance Ashton Myers' *The Prophet's Army, Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941* (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1977). We refer to the following section on page 199:

> "In 1972 an officer in the Socialist party, he had come to hold an abiding respect for Stalin and for what he viewed as an essential wisdom in the Communist party, an opinion he had not as yet adopted in 1962 and 1963 when interviewed for the Oral History Collection at Columbia University."

Sincerely,
Diana B. Kartsen
Librarian
Prometheus Research Library

TROTSKY

LENIN

To the Workers of the USSR

In April 1940, in the shadow of World War II and two years after the Great Purge in which almost all of Lenin's collaborators—the entire Old Guard of Bolshevism—were vilified and murdered by Stalin, Trotsky addressed the tasks of the Soviet proletariat in his "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," from which the following excerpt is taken. The Fourth International was founded to defend the Bolshevik program—to extend the October Revolution internationally and to purge the Stalinist usurpers through proletarian political revolution. Four months after this letter was written, on 21 August 1940, Trotsky died at the hands of Stalinist GPU assassin Ramón Mercader.

The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik Party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of workers and peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate commissars, secretaries, and GPU agents.

But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October Revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the czarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie.

—Leon Trotsky, "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" (April 1940)

Letter sent (above); New York Times version (right).

The New York Times Book Review —18 October 1987

Struggles of Socialism

To the Editor:

With regard to Gus Tyler's review of Maurice Isserman's "If I Had a Hammer ..." (Sept. 27), I would like to draw your attention to an article written by Max Shachtman 50 years ago, entitled "The Politics of Gus Tyler — A Genuine Case of Rotten Liberalism in the Party," published in the Trotskyist paper Socialist Appeal (the weekly organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches), Volume One, No. 3, Aug. 28, 1937. In light of this fact it may have been improper for Mr. Tyler to have reviewed this book. By the way, the name is spelled Shachtman, not Schachtman.

DIANA B. KARTSEN
New York

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 440 **13 November 1987**

Partisan Defense Committee Benefits

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Saturday, December 5
7:30-11:30 p.m.
Szechuan Empire
119 Court Street, Brooklyn
Co-sponsor: New York Labor Black League for Social Defense

NEW YORK
For more information (212) 267-1025

Sunday, December 6
4:00-8:00 p.m.
1212 South Michigan, Party Room
Food, entertainment and bar (Childcare provided)

CHICAGO
For more information (312) 663-0719

Tickets: $5 advance, $8 at door, $10 contributing

Young Spartacus

No Popular-Front Illusions—For Workers Revolution!

Resignations from Seattle YSA

Young Spartacus *is pleased to print a resignation statement forwarded to us by Steve B. and Julie N., former activists of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the reformist, anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Steve first joined the YSA chapter in Tucson, Arizona in 1983 and was a member of the local executive committee of their Seattle branch at the time of his resignation. Julie joined the YSA in Seattle in 1985. With the departure of these two comrades, the campus fraction of the Seattle YSA is reduced to one member.*

3 October 1987

Dear comrades,

We have been members of the Seattle YSA for nearly two years. After a period of examination of basic Marxist material, with particular emphasis on the early works of the Soviet Left Opposition, we have come to the conclusion that we are in the wrong organization. We consider ourselves to be communists, and therefore Trotskyists. The fundamental principles of Trotskyism are based on a fight against popular frontism and Stalinism, the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, and the struggle for international socialist revolution. What this means today is *not* the unquestioning political support of petit-bourgeois nationalist tendencies throughout the world (e.g. the Sandinistas) but a continuous struggle for socialism, whether by political revolutions in the deformed workers' states (e.g. Cuba) or by socialist revolution elsewhere (e.g. South Africa). Subordination of the independence of the working class to tendencies with any other class thrust is fatal to the working class of that country, and its support here is a gross deceit of the American working people. This has been demonstrated throughout history, and is currently being shown with the Arias peace plan. This plan is Made in America, and can only serve to reverse the Nicaraguan revolution, stifle the revolutionary movements in Central America, and stabilize capitalism in the region. Support to this peace hoax is a perfect example of the SWP's ongoing divergence from revolutionary Marxism, and just one of many we might add.

With my desire to forge a truly communist path, the one forged by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky and the Left Opposition, and James P. Cannon and the early SWP, I have found my politics to converge closely with that of the international Spartacist tendency. And it is with utmost sincerity and hope that I encourage others in the SWP/YSA who truly want to fight against popular frontism and for a socialist revolution in the U.S. to read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Cannon, and to join with their continuity—the Spartacist League.

Comradely,
Steven B.
Julie N.*

*I am in agreement with the political points raised in the first portion of this statement. However, I have not concluded political agreement with the Spartacist League, as I am not familiar enough with their program.

I realize the extreme importance of a revolutionary party. Unfortunately, due to the political points raised, I do not feel the SWP/YSA is that party. In addition, I see a serious problem with the SWP's lack of attention to the development of cadre, which, in my opinion, stems from the political program of the SWP.

New Jersey:

Stop Racist Attacks on Indian Community!

On September 23, Kaushal Saran, a 28-year-old Indian doctor, was found brutally beaten and unconscious on a busy street corner in Jersey City, victim of a racist attack. Four days later, another East Indian from Jersey City, Navroze Mody, was beaten to death outside a bar in Hoboken. This ominous escalation of racist terror and cold-blooded murder comes on the heels of a letter printed in the *Jersey Journal* (25 September) sinisterly warning: "We will go to any extreme to get Indians to move out of Jersey City." The vile death threat was signed "The Dotbusters"—referring to the small dot, the *bindi*, most Hindu women wear in the middle of their forehead.

The 9,000 Indian Americans and immigrants from the Indian subcontinent in Jersey City live in constant fear and terror. Trash, stones and obscenities are hurled daily at Indian homes and businesses. Leaders of the Indian community have received death threats. Spat upon and pelted with eggs, many Indian women have stopped wearing saris and fear walking the streets even in broad daylight. According to a spokesman for the Govinda Temple in Jersey City, on October 22 an East Indian woman was badly burned after her home in Hoboken was firebombed. Children are beaten and harassed on their way to and from school. At Dickinson High School in Jersey City "Dothuster" graffiti is sprayed on the walls, and these white punks even have a filthy jingle set to the tune of "Ghostbusters" to incite racist terror against the Indian community.

On October 11, over 500 East Indians marched in Jersey City demanding "We want justice!" and "No more racism!" Addressing the rally, Jersey City mayor Anthony Cucci promised increased police investigation and surveillance. Meanwhile the cops continue to claim they're not sure if the attacks are "racially motivated"! An East Indian man told *WV* that the cops "are as hostile as the youngsters" and that the Indian community is coming to understand that "we will have to learn the act of self-defense."

South Asian residents of Jersey City protest racist attacks.

Calaffo/Bergen Record

The reign of racist terror against the hard-working and relatively prosperous Indian community is part of the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the rulers of this country and chauvinist trade-union tops who scream that immigrants are stealing "American" jobs. It is not just Indians who are targeted. On October 18, more than 300 demonstrators from Koreans Against Anti-Asian Violence marched outside the 17th Police Precinct in Manhattan to protest a brutal attack by two precinct cops on Ou Young, a Korean man who was arrested for riding his bike against rush hour traffic. Several witnesses testified that the cops called Mr. Ou "scum," punched and kicked him and smashed his head on the pavement. The demonstrators recalled the brutal murder of Vincent Chin, a 23-year-old Chinese American who was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a white auto plant foreman and his stepson, who mistook Chin for a Japanese and blamed him for auto layoffs.

As one of the Korean demonstrators commented, "Minorities in the United States have always fought each for a piece of the pie. But we feel there are more commonalities, like brutality in our communities, than there are differences" (*New York Times*, 19 October). The rise of murderous racist attacks on the Indian community in Jersey City comes at the same time that the surviving victims of the racist lynch mob in Howard Beach which murdered 23-year-old black construction worker Michael Griffith last December, are reliving that night of terror in court. What is urgently needed is to forge a fighting unity of the oppressed minorities with the social power of organized labor to smash the rising tide of racist terror and reaction in Cold War America. ■

Spartacist Video Showing and Discussion

"We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"

Tuesday, Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Baldwin Lounge, Tubman Quadrangle
Howard University
For more information (202) 636-3537

Spartacist Class Series

The Fight for Socialism

Saturdays, 5:00 p.m. Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 12
NEW YORK CITY

41 Warren Street
For more information (212) 267-1025

Soviet Space Program: Up, Up and Away

For years American officials had scoffed at what they considered the "plodding," "low-tech" Russian space program. But since the space shuttle Challenger exploded almost two years ago, grounding the primary U.S. space launch vehicle, the laughing has stopped. American companies seeking to launch their expensive, high-tech satellites now drool over magazine ads from Moscow exhorting them to take the "Fast Track to the Stars": "Your payload just doesn't pay if it's on the ground waiting for launch system problems to be solved. You need a proven, reliable ticket to orbit. We have it: **Proton.**" Capable of lifting some 20 tons into orbit, the Soviets' Proton rocket is their space workhorse. Most important of all, it's "available now," and that's the bottom line.

Thirty years ago the Russians launched man's first artificial satellite, Sputnik I, and paranoid American capitalism responded with a "space race": high-tech "free enterprise" would supposedly crush the "backward" Communist system. So Eisenhower & Co. had millions of kids tracked into science programs, JFK invented the "missile gap" to justify an ICBM buildup and vowed the U.S. would put men on the moon first—and billions of dollars later, in 1969, the Apollo program planted the U.S. flag on the moon in the middle of the Vietnam War. Today, "CIA findings are that the Soviet Union leads and will maintain momentum in launch capabilities, manned flight and space station activities through 1995" (*Aviation Week*, 12 October).

The Soviet space program is "Surging Ahead," screamed a recent headline in *Time* (5 October), and they have overtaken the U.S. as "the No. 1 spacefaring nation." "America Grounded" moans *Newsweek* (17 August), noting such indexes as the number of space launches per year (so far this year it's 71 for the Soviets and 6 for the U.S.) and man-years in space (running about three to one in the Soviets' favor). In the eyes of the Pentagon and the White House, this is a race for *world domination*. Like the CIA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) recruited unrepentant Nazis in the anti-Communist crusade, such as Arthur Rudolph, who supervised the production of German rockets with slave labor during World War II and was notorious for making a point of being present at executions. (Rudolph was exposed in 1984 but was merely repatriated to West Germany.) But the much-ballyhooed system of unfettered "free enterprise" is losing.

New York Times

Russians offer Proton rockets to American capitalists who can't get their satellites off the ground.

"Star Wars" Can't Get It Up

Reagan & Co. were billed as the "high-tech" administration, based on places like Silicon Valley in California. They were smugly confident of rolling over the Soviet Union on all fronts by exploiting the U.S. technological edge and that famous "can-do" Yankee ingenuity. As General Daniel Graham bragged in his 1983 book on the *High Frontier*, precursor of Reagan's "Star Wars" vision, the U.S. would "look to space for the technological end-run on the Soviets." With the microchip and the Bible, American capitalism would beat the "evil empire" of the bureaucratized Soviet workers state by spending hundreds of billions of dollars on a space weapons system.

But last year this high-tech fantasy blew up in Reagan's face. The January 1986 Challenger shuttle explosion—a tragedy for its helpless occupants made horribly vivid for millions via television—was only the beginning. Three months later a Titan 34D rocket, the workhorse of the American satellite program after the shuttle, blew up in a spectacular fireworks display above Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, destroying a half-billion-dollar spy satellite as well. It was the second such loss of a Titan and a spy satellite in nine months, reportedly leaving the U.S. with only one aging photo reconnaissance satellite in orbit and no way to replace it. That same month a Nike-Orion rocket failed at White Sands, New Mexico. Then in May a NASA Delta rocket carrying a weather satellite lost power and spun out of control. In August an Aries rocket carrying an X-ray telescope was destroyed, and a test launching of a Minuteman III missile resulted in its "early termination" due to an "anomaly."

The U.S. space fleet was crippled, and that wasn't all. Also last year, a super-secret "Stealth" fighter, which the U.S. officially denies even having, crashed in the Sierra Nevada hills of California, and it was undeclared martial law as armed soldiers combed the area looking for the top-secret pieces. Another nonexistent "Stealth" fighter crashed last month, on the heels of September's crash of an operational B-1 bomber, which apparently had been practicing its terrain-hugging attack profile when it was downed by a flock of birds.

The space shuttle will not resume launches until June 1988 or later, and the bulk of its activity is hooked by the military. (Meanwhile, last month the Air Force managed to end an 18-month grounding by launching a patched-up Titan rocket to orbit a replacement spy satellite.) For those desperate businessmen and scientists who need launching capability *now*, the Soviet rocket marketing agency Glavcosmos offers a "getaway special," and has already scheduled the launching of an Indian satellite later this year, while Iran and Finland are seeking their services as well. The Soviets are also marketing space photos with resolution (a measure of the smallest objects discernible) down to five meters, compared with the commercial French SPOT satellite's ten meters, or the aging U.S. Landsat's thirty meters. And Roald Sagdeyev, the innovative director of the Soviet Space Research Institute, has generously offered to take the U.S. in on their projected Mars probes of the 1990s. In light of such events as the Soviets' Vega probes of Halley's comet last year in which many of the world's space scientists participated, a French space expert concluded, "The seminars that ten years ago would have been given at the [NASA] Goddard Space Flight Center are now given in Moscow."

"Free Enterprise" vs. Progress

The U.S., obsessed with the military uses of space and having a sophisticated but profit-hungry industrial base, practically hand-built their rockets with expensive super-thin metals to minimize weight and hard-to-handle exotic fuels like liquid hydrogen to maximize thrust. With less advanced technology, the Russians used heavy steel in their rockets but made them big, and used mundane fuels like kerosene. Today some U.S. experts are kicking themselves for having failed to develop what *Newsweek* called "Big Dumb Rockets" because they can be mass produced and so are vastly cheaper: launch cost per pound on a Titan rocket runs about $5,100, compared with $750 for the Soviets' Proton rocket. U.S. companies were blinded by profit—the government offered billions of dollars for "high-tech" boondoggles, so "any contractor with a pipeline to it would be crazy to cut the line by developing an inexpensive alternative to an existing expensive system" (*Newsweek*, 17 August). And the scam goes on: last year the Pentagon gave out half a billion dollars just for a *study* of the new "aerospace plane" which is to replace the shuttle for yet more billions.

Meanwhile, the latest Soviet space development—the successful launching of the huge Energia rocket which can carry 100 tons at about $300 per pound (compared with the U.S. shuttle's 24 tons at $6,800 per pound)—firmly puts the Soviets in the lead for years to come.

Desperate companies like General Electric and GM/Hughes Communications are now clamoring to use the Soviet launching capability for American commercial satellites "to be competitive" with Europe and Japan, as one Hughes vice president put it. But Reagan, the arch-advocate of "free enterprise" and "getting the government off the backs of business," suddenly clamped down with the government jackboot: "It's not in the U.S. national interest to issue export licenses for satellites," intoned a State Department official. Meanwhile, the State and Defense departments have claimed the "right" to censor space photos marketed by the Soviets or anybody else. While the U.S. space program, along with the stock market, goes down thanks to

continued on page 14

AP

U.S. Titan rocket blows up, producing half-billion-dollar fireworks display over Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, 1986.

Down with Sellout "Peace" Accords!

Nicaraguan Revolution in Danger

For over seven years the victorious radical-nationalist Sandinistas have successfully beaten back Reagan's imperialist attempts at military counterrevolution—the ragtag "contra" mercenary army has failed to hold even a single town or military target of value. But now the contras—aided by the U.S. Congress and Central American presidents like Oscar Arias of Costa Rica and his "peace" plan—have discovered that politics can be a continuation of war by other means. And the Sandinistas under Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega are falling into the trap.

Until last Thursday it had been a supposedly ironclad Sandinista vow to the people that they would never negotiate with the contra murderers or grant them amnesty. Sensing the just outrage of the masses who fought and died for the revolution and its subsequent defense (over 40,000 Nicaraguan casualties so far), Sandinista leader Bayardo Arce Castaño repeated the promise in late October: "We declare that in no manner, in no place and with no intermediary will we ever have a political dialogue directly or indirectly with the leaders of the contras," he said, adding that "We cannot concede amnesty while the mercenary forces continue assassinating our brothers" (*Boston Globe*, 30 October). Ortega was sitting behind Arce when he spoke these words. But the Sandinistas' acceptance of the phony "peace" plan impelled a reversal of these promises. At a November 5 rally in Managua called to announce the government's steps to abide by the accords, Ortega gave in to the imperialists' demands across the board.

Barricada

Nicaraguan masses fought and died for their revolution. Mothers display photos of their children murdered by CIA's dirty war.

AP

Sandinista leader Ortega (right) meets with contra cardinal Obando y Bravo, recipient of over $125,000 from Oliver North.

While Sandinista banners ironically proclaimed "No to Dialogue with the Contras" and "Total Amnesty Never, Never, Never," Ortega announced that "We are going to negotiate a ceasefire through an intermediary," and that the government will release almost one thousand prisoners from its jails. The next day the "intermediary" was revealed to be Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, the Roman Catholic Primate of Nicaragua and arch-apologist for the contra murderers, the contras' longtime first choice for the role and a recipient of more than $125,000 from anti-Communist crusader Oliver North.

But Ortega & Co.'s desire to conciliate the imperialists is counterbalanced by the determination of the Nicaraguan masses to defend their revolution—and these masses are armed. As one Sandinista militiaman commented about the "peace" plan to an ABC-TV reporter (5 November) after the contras murdered his neighbors and wounded his wife and baby daughter: "Supposedly they say we will see peace, but we don't see a future for it here. I plan to take vengeance for the bloodshed of my companions." No doubt because such militant attitudes are widespread, Ortega has not dared to release from jail the murderous National Guardsmen of the late dictator Somoza—such a blatant act of counterrevolution would precipitate an explosion from below.

The so-called "peace" plan's main goal is to resurrect by political means a "democratic" (read pro-U.S. imperialist) opposition apparatus in Nicaraguan cities, something the military/contra effort had failed to do since its primary political leaders were exposed as flunkeys of the ousted Somozaist dictatorship. The American media have dutifully cranked out oceans of propaganda attempting to pressure Nicaragua to "abide" by the accords. (In contrast, there is a pointed lack of chastisement of Honduras, which is in blatant violation of the accords by continuing to provide bases for the contras and their CIA suppliers.) The editors of the *Boston Globe* (24 October) gave away the game in an editorial endorsing the "peace" accords:

> "There is a reason to emphasize that Nicaragua is one country where the Arias plan could make a difference....
> "In the changing room of diplomatic imagery, the administration is trying to win for the contras what they have never earned on their own: credibility.
> "The idea is to maneuver the Sandinistas into legitimizing the Miami-Tegucigalpa-San Jose crowd who have served as administration front men."

Similarly the *New York Times* (6 November), the central organ of the American bourgeoisie, has praised "the plan's piecemeal cunning."

Thus after the Sandinistas allowed the CIA-financed "opposition" paper *La Prensa* to resume publishing and the pro-contra Catholic radio station to go back on the air, a flood of unofficial White House emissaries began "visiting" Nicaragua in order to slip money and expensive hardware to the counterrevolutionary apparatus. Thus in late September the congressionally financed National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—whose CIA connections were revealed during the Iran/Contragate scandal—pumped $20,000 into an obscure group allegedly fighting for the release of "political prisoners," and now the NED is sending *La Prensa* "$98,000 worth of ink and other supplies" (*New York Times*, 22 October). Last month a Republican Congressman brought $35,000 worth of electronic parts for the Catholic radio station. In the poverty-stricken economy of Nicaragua, these sums represent a tremendous boost for the forces of reaction.

This month New York's Mayor Koch arrived in Managua with some unspecified equipment "donated" by IBM for *La Prensa* and Radio Católica (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 28 October). It was practically admitted that Koch was a political policeman sent by the White House to check on the implementation of the accords: Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams had "decided that the Koch visit was very important, and we've been told to treat it that way," said one U.S. diplomat in Nicaragua (*New York Times*, 4 November). U.S embassies in Latin America have of course arranged many a coup. The embassy in Managua has now been instructed by Abrams to develop "closer ties" with "anti-Sandinista politicians." Groveling for bourgeois acceptance, Ortega even singled out Koch at the government rally as "a Yankee who is not an enemy of humanity"! Tell that to the relatives of the many black people, from Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs, who have been killed in cold blood by Koch's cops!

In short, the Arias "peace" plan is *working* in Nicaragua, and this represents a *mortal threat to the revolution*. Soon the counterrevolution will be organizing rioting mobs in the streets, aided by the propaganda of *La Prensa* and Radio Católica. And in the background stand the contras, waiting for an opportune moment and soon to be fortified by $3.2 million in "non-lethal" aid from the U.S. Congress. In fact there has been a "flurry of air-drops [to the contras] of U.S. supplies inside Sandinista cease-fire areas" (*Washington Post*, 5 November). In short, Ortega's concessions have only emboldened the right wing and undermined the defense of Nicaragua. This situation recalls the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, when subordination of the socialist workers organizations to the program of the bourgeois republicans allowed Franco's counterrevolution to win.

Ortega's actions, coming on the heels of his visit to Moscow, also indirectly exposed the reactionary side of Soviet leader Gorbachev's policies. As one contra leader, Alfredo Cesar, jubilantly explained, Ortega "went to Moscow, and there, I am sure, Gorbachev told him he had to negotiate" (*New York Times*, 6 November). The Soviet ambassador in Nicaragua underscored this by explicitly admitting that no Soviet fighter jets would be sent to Nicaragua, the focus should be on "peace," and—in a disgusting bow to the U.S. imperialist Monroe Doctrine—emphasizing that the Soviet Union has "no security or military interests in Nicaragua." This is a continuation of the treacherous Stalinist policy of trading away other people's revolutions for a handout from the imperialist table. But it should be crystal clear that the Reagan/Congress rollback of "Communism" in Nicaragua is only the beginning—from there it's on to Cuba and ultimately a nuclear blitzkrieg against the homeland of

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Reuters

San Salvador, October 28: massive protests over slaying of leader of Commission on Human Rights by right-wing death squads.

Gerry Healy & Co.

Would You Buy A New Party From This Man?

Workers Press

Gerry Healy in 1973—dwarfed by his own egomaniacal projection.

Adapted from Workers Hammer *No. 91, September 1987, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.*

As if to prove that an old dog can indeed learn new tricks, the internationally infamous Gerry Healy made a rare public appearance in London on Sunday, August 23. Healy's expulsion in 1985 from his Workers Revolutionary Party—amid charges of sexual abuse and physical violence against party members and spectacular revelations of the Healyites' squalid financial deals with Arab regimes—sparked an implosion of the British WRP and its international satellites. Healy is a political bandit with a flair for self-preservation. Now, having newly "broken" with the WRP minority who stuck with him in 1985, the former "founder-leader" and his followers Vanessa and Corin Redgrave announced the formation of "The Marxist Party" at the Riverside Studio theatre in London. Some 200 were in attendance. Aside from the aspiring starlets and veteran Healy-Healyites, there were at least a dozen opponent observers.

What was "new"? The paranoia so characteristic of any Healyite gathering was contained (i.e., the doors were left unlocked). Even so, there was a confrontation outside the meeting with the British followers of Healy's former American toady, David North, who now claims the banner of unadulterated Healyism. True to fashion the Healy-Healyites called the cops (*three times*) on the North-Healyites. Healy & Co. attributed the 1985 implosion, not surprisingly, to state penetration (the unnamed "mole" obviously being long-time Healyite lieutenant Cliff Slaughter). In short, as Corin Redgrave so aptly remarked in opening the meeting—this was not a new party, just a new name.

C. Redgrave and Healy both bragged about and promoted their old "Security and the Fourth International" campaign of slander against the leadership of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party as GPU and FBI agents. Centering on the ludicrous charge that SWP spokesman Joseph Hansen had been an "accomplice" in Stalin's murder of Trotsky, Healy's "Security" gambit revived the old Stalinist lie that Trotsky was murdered by "one of his own." While Slaughter's WRP has renounced this Healyite "excess," both Healy's Healyites and the Northites uphold "Security" religiously.

What *is* "new" is that Healy and his coterie of Redgraves have discovered the "highest political expression of the upsurge in the world socialist revolution" in Gorbachev's Soviet Union. A speaker from Healy's Potemkin Village "International Committee" proclaimed that conditions of Stalinist rule are no longer present in the Soviet Union! And Vanessa Redgrave took to the stage to declare that the Soviet masses "along with Gorbachev are fighting for socialist democracy" and that Gorbachev is leading the political revolution in the USSR. (Even for Healy/Redgrave, as shameless a pair as ever disgraced the ostensibly Marxist movement, Gorbachev's November 2 speech—which was far more cagey about Stalin's crimes than Khrushchev was in 1956—might be a bit embarrassing.) Announcing that Trotsky's works are widely circulated in the Soviet Union, Healy added, with characteristic egomania, "we have seen to that."

Healy's current infatuation with Mikhail Gorbachev has absolutely nothing to do with Trotskyism or proletarian political revolution in the USSR. But it has everything to do with the consummate cynicism and rank opportunism of the man who for over two decades has made a career out of building organizations that are simply for hire. So after years of virulently anti-Soviet positions—and without renouncing a single one—Healy and the Redgraves now present themselves as true friends of the Soviet Union. Hold on to your wallets and spare chervonets.

The bourgeois press had fun with Healy/Vanessa's "conversion" to "pro-Sovietism." (It even made the pages of the *New York Post* and *San Francisco Chronicle*.) Healy's ex-comrades, steeped in the Stalinophobic "method" of his WRP, thrilled with horror, denouncing him as an "apologist for Stalinism." The ostensibly pro-Moscow *Morning Star* Communists (one of the many splits in the British CP) noted the event with a short article titled "WRP splits 3 ways to mark Trotsky's end"—referring to the meetings by the various Healyite fragments commemorating the 47th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination by a GPU agent. Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (27 August) didn't bother with Healy's line on *glasnost*. Correctly calling the "new" Healy organization "a silly little personality cult around an old scoundrel," the article then proceeded to announce that "the mere name" of Trotskyism "has ceased to have any precise meaning—except as a historic reference point." Well, that's certainly true of Matgamna's outfit and the rest of the myriad fake-Trotskyists in Britain who cling to the coattails of Russia-hating scab Neil Kinnock of the Labour Party.

For those readers who have not kept their Healy scoreboards up to date, we supply the following brief recapitulation of the WRP implosion and subsequent fracturing. In October 1985 Healy was expelled and it was revealed that when the WRP hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime, it was but the tip of the iceberg of the organization's "unprincipled financial and political dependence on the Iraqi bourgeoisie" (Banda/Slaughter *News Line*, 20 November 1985). This included dispatching *News Line* photographers to a demonstration of Iraqi CPers in front of the Iraqi embassy and allegations that the pictures were then turned over to the Iraqi embassy.

The expelled Healy took a rump of the WRP Central Committee, including Sheila Torrance, Alex Mitchell and the Redgraves. Healy's former lieutenants Michael Banda and Cliff Slaughter parted ways themselves, with Banda soon denouncing Trotskyism to turn pimp for one of the "hard" Stalinist sects. Meanwhile, in the camp of the WRP majority, the American David North moved against Slaughter, taking a sizable minority in Britain and most of the Australian section. Then Torrance and Healy had a falling-out, and yet another grouping split with the Torrance WRP to boot. At present count there are now, excluding Banda, five groupings which have issued from the post-implosion Healyite mess: the Slaughter WRP (*Workers Press*), the Torrance WRP (*News Line*), the ex-Torranceite Workers International League (*Workers News*), the Northite International Communist Party (*International Worker*) and now the Healy-Healyite "Marxist Party."

Corrupt but never stupid, Healy may be aware that Gorbachev is a rather more attractive figure than the late Nahuel Moreno—whose followers are on a fusion course with the Slaughter WRP—or the dubious Michel Varga. With the nasty inconsistency that is a Healy hallmark, Alex Mitchell—once the golden boy of "Security and the Fourth International" along with North and Healy himself—has fallen into ill repute. Apparently Mitchell has fled to the greener pastures of bourgeois journalism, reportedly writing under his own byline for the *Sun Herald* in Sydney, Australia. Now Healy is using this as a club against the Torranceites. Well, what goes around, comes around. Who knows where David North might eventually turn up. To a creature, they're products of Healy. If he's paranoid about them, he should know best why he should be.

Many questions remain unanswered. Will, as it has been rumored, the split from the Torrance group seek unity with

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Ardently embracing the Gorbachev line, Vanessa Redgrave appears on cover of trendy Soviet magazine Ogonyok. Heading reads: "Film star Vanessa Redgrave."

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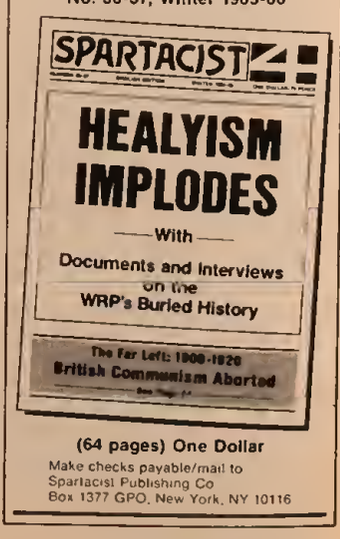

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ILWU Tops Sink Tugboat Strike

OAKLAND, California—After eight months on strike 400 West Coast tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU)—a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—were railroaded back to work October 16 under the draconian conditions imposed by Crowley Maritime's "final offer": a two-tier wage scale, longer hours, and cuts in overtime pay, manning scales, and medical benefits. Most ominously, Crowley asserts the right to interview and reject new workers dispatched from the *union hiring hall*—the cornerstone of unionism on the waterfront.

This strike could have been won—and early on! Six weeks into the IBU walkout, on March 20, a thousand ILWU longshoremen and clerks bloodied the giant Crowley Maritime conglomerate when they shut down all Bay Area ports and smashed a company strikebreaking operation in Redwood City. This massive display of union solidarity and labor power electrified the Bay Area labor movement, and shipyard workers struck a few days later. With the ILWU longshoremen's contract due to expire on June 30 the stage was set for large-scale class struggle that could have won big—inspiring workers across the country. As we wrote at the time, the port shutdown pointed the way forward to a labor counteroffensive on the waterfront:

> "Longshoremen must *extend* this action by shutting down the ports! For a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike! IBU, longshore, seamen, shipyard workers—all out together! Link up with Teamsters, railroad and airline workers—nothing moves!"
>
> —"1,000 Dockers Run Off Scabs," *WV* No. 425, 3 April

The raw power of the Redwood City action and port shutdown scared the waterfront bosses and their pro-company flunkeys in the bureaucracy of the maritime unions. Fearing a domino effect in the Bay Area labor movement, and especially a linkup with the strategic West Coast longshoremen, the labor traitors—from the ILWU and shipyard metal trades council to the San Francisco Central Labor Council—carried out a policy of containing and isolating the components of a potential labor upsurge. The shipyard strike was defeated by a series of separate sellouts that left the largest and most militant section of strikers, at Todd Shipyard, out in the cold. When the IBU workers of the Crowley-owned Red and White Ferry line threatened to strike on May 31, the union tops maneuvered a contract extension well past the expiration of the longshore contract.

Meanwhile the IBU tugboat strikers were kept isolated and worn down by ILWU International president Jimmy Herman and IBU national president Don Liddle, who systematically chipped away at the solidarity of the Redwood City action. Picket lines were ordered down and, one by one, scab barges were unloaded or moved out of San Francisco Bay to other ports up the coast, all with the acquiescence of the so-called "strike committee," which with all its hot-air posturing played the role of "left" cover for the sellout union tops. Throughout the IBU strike, Crowley tugboats were permitted to operate freely with scab crews. Finally, on September 8, one of the worst longshore contracts in ILWU history was rammed through by a paper-thin margin, and then only after two coastwise votes and in spite of heavy opposition from the S.F. and L.A. ports.

WV Photo

Waterfront unions rally in defense of Boatmen's strike, Port of Oakland, last February.

So when Crowley, emboldened by the craven behavior of the union bureaucrats, threatened to fire the striking tugboat workers and replace them with scabs unless they went back to work by October 15, the stage was set for the union tops to knife the strike. What followed was a cynical charade by the various labor fakers (and their small-fry hangers-on) to cover their respective asses at the IBU strikers' expense.

On October 6, the Executive Board of ILWU longshore Local 10 passed a motion calling for a one-day port shutdown, supposedly to take place on October 13. The motion came at the request of the phony IBU "strike committee," many of whom were present, including Jack Heyman, who had been one of the regular hot-air speechifiers preaching "solidarity" at the rallies of shipyard workers called by *their* phony "strike committee." The motion was put forward by Heyman's pal Howard Keylor without the provision for "executive action," which meant of course that nothing could be implemented until the membership meeting *on October 15*, the deadline Crowley had set for its ultimatum. In other words, nothing was supposed to happen. It was all "for the record," just a little cynical ass-covering so all parties could say how "militant" they were next time they run for election.

Herman wasn't taking any chances, though. He and IBU president Liddle opposed the Executive Board motion and then after it passed put the word out to the San Francisco Central Labor Council. The Council then instructed member locals to ignore possible strikes on the waterfront, which they said might be the work of an unauthorized minority in the ILWU.

Between the Executive Board meeting and the Local 10 meeting on October 15, the motion for a port shutdown was *suppressed* by all those who had advanced it and voted for it. Neither longshoremen nor clerks knew anything about it. Then, on October 15, just hours before the meeting of San Francisco longshoremen, a majority of whom had voted against their own rotten contract, IBU regional director Rick Estrada succeeded in pushing through the surrender at an IBU meeting and it was all over. Heyman, who happens to be running for union office himself, dashed to the Local 10 meeting—*not* to fight for a port shutdown, but to thank the local leadership for their efforts and shake a few hands. One black longshoreman who left the meeting in disgust termed the whole thing "window-dressing."

The reformist Communist Party, which still has a base of support in the ILWU, did its own version of window-dressing in the 14 October *People's Daily World*, one day *after* the ostensible port shutdown that never was. Acting as the mouthpiece for the ILWU/IBU union tops they wrote:

> "IBU leadership in the Bay Area, including Regional Director Richard Estrada, have requested ILWU Locals 10 and 34 to stop work. The request... has been sanctioned by IBU President Don Liddle."

This is not "sloppy reporting." It's a conscious lie to conceal the betrayals of the labor traitors and disorient the conscious workers. This is the CP program of class collaboration in practice.

Pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats like Herman and Liddle of the ILWU/IBU and Walter Johnson of the S.F. Central Labor Council have sold the shipyard workers, tugboat men, longshoremen and clerks down the river because they are the conscious agents of the bosses and the bosses' government within the labor movement. In every situation where class struggle breaks out they act as cops for the bosses to squelch labor militancy. These parasites and their hangers-on, who argue so passionately for the bosses' "right" to make a profit, are tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist Democratic Party of war and racism. Pledged in advance to operate within the limits permitted by the bosses' anti-union laws and courts, they and their slimy lawyers handcuff the workers to the bosses' rules. But these labor traitors are a very thin and brittle layer whose only authority derives from the favor of the employers they serve.

The series of defeats the union misleaders have engineered in the Bay Area will only encourage the maritime bosses to come back for more. But the grip of these bureaucrats on the labor movement can be broken by a wave of militant class struggle. Key to labor victories is the leadership of a revolutionary workers party—a party that knows how to *win* class battles and knows who the friends and enemies of the working class are. That is the kind of party the Spartacist League is fighting to build. ■

Fink/Times Tribune

ILWU strikers run off scabs at Port of Redwood City, March 20.

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(continued from page 1)

the new workers state. These tendencies culminated in a *political counterrevolution* which found its supreme leader in Joseph Stalin and its program in the dogma of "socialism in one country." The forces of revolutionary internationalism, personified by Trotsky after Lenin's death, were defeated and later physically exterminated.

Yet fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution have remained to this day, principally the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords. Ever since November 1917, the imperialists have sought to bring back capitalist exploitation to the USSR. Today, with a war-crazed maniac in the White House who dreams of "bombing [Russia] in five minutes," defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is more than ever a duty for every class-conscious worker.

Stalin's Heirs and Stalin's Crimes

To secure the rule of the bureaucratic caste, Stalin had to destroy the entire Bolshevik leadership. Fifty years ago, with the infamous Moscow Trials and the Great Purge, he instituted a reign of terror that wiped out the entire Central Committee which had made the Revolution—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and the others—and decapitated the Red Army on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

With Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the lid was partially lifted on these years of infamy, only to be clamped down again. Under Brezhnev the Kremlin sank into lethargy as the USSR was ruled by colorless gray old men, leading some to recall the Stalin years with nostalgia—at least the lights burned late in the Kremlin.

After a tentative start by Andropov and a retreat by Chernenko, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has vowed to get the country moving again. Suddenly there's great interest in the West in what's going on in Gorbachev's Russia. The words *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) have become so common in political discourse they're not even translated from the Russian.

A lot of the interest in Gorbachev's Russia reflects the visible difficulties of American imperialism. There is the phenomenon of "Gorby chic": kids in London and New York wearing T-shirts with Lenin's portrait, with "CCCP" (USSR in the Cyrillic alphabet) as a big "screw you" to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. Reagan is still going down in the aftermath of the Iran/Contragate fiasco, at loggerheads with the Democrats over domestic policy, outmaneuvered on the Central American "peace" plan, and threatening the Iranians and the world by his irrational adventure in the Persian Gulf. And to top it off, there's the stock market crash—a giant vote of capitalist no-confidence in the imperialist leadership. After "Black Monday," the *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Wall Street quip: "None of this would have happened if Reagan were still President." Hitler's Thousand Year Reich was finished in 12 years; the Reagan Revolution was over in half that.

Novosti

Red soldiers demonstrate for communism in Moscow, 1917.

To mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachev was slated to review the whole subsequent course of the Soviet Union. The editor of the weekly magazine *Ogonyok*, the flagship organ of *glasnost* in Moscow today, had said: "Gorbachev's speech will give us back our past, both the good and the bad, so we may create our future." In fact the speech, delivered on November 2, was a lot limper than most people expected. His denunciation of Stalin's "repressive measures against a number of party leaders and statesmen" was abstract and bloodless. Not a single victim of the Moscow Trial frame-ups was named in this speech as having been executed. And egregiously, Gorbachev actually *praised* Stalin's military leadership in World War II.

Gorbachev lauded Stalin and Bukharin for defeating Trotskyism—"it was essential to disprove Trotskyism before the whole people, and to lay bare its anti-socialist essence" (*Soviet Weekly*, 7 November). At the same time, he endorsed Stalin against the Bukharinite Right Opposition in the late 1920s. After all the speculation in the Western press that Gorbachev would officially "rehabilitate" Bukharin, Zinoviev and Kamenev (and, some said, even Trotsky), the speech denounced Zinoviev and Kamenev for allying themselves with Trotsky and stopped short of rehabilitating Bukharin, who was shot as an "enemy of the people" in 1938 after Stalin's show trial focusing on the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

But the re-examination of Soviet history which began under the slogan of *glasnost* has already turned into a political minefield which is ripping holes in the fabric binding together the bureaucracy. The discussions among the Kremlin tops were so intense, the *New York Times* (26 October) reported, that a heated Central Committee plenum was devoted to Gorbachev's speech before it was given. In the wake of this plenum—where Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin, known as a strong Gorbachev supporter, lashed out at the slow pace of "reform"—there are reports in the Western press that Yeltsin's threat to resign his post may have been accepted.

Last February Gorbachev declared: "There should be no forgotten names or blanks either in history or in literature." For Gorbachev, overcoming the alienation of wide sections of the intelligentsia from the administrative hacks is a key to building enthusiasm for *perestroika*. Many intellectuals are repelled by the drabness of official cultural life, while the systematic falsification of Soviet history—the treatment of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders as non-persons—is an embarrassment to Soviet scholars and even propagandists who want to deal with their Western counterparts without the burden of lies that no one believes and cover-ups that expose only their perpetrators.

Gorbachev's "no blank pages" has in effect sanctioned an intense debate on Stalin's role and on the fate of the Old Bolsheviks. Last spring the organ of the Soviet Writers Union published the novel *Children of the Arbat* by Anatoly Rybakov. This devastating portrayal of capricious cruelty and terror in Stalin's Moscow during the 1930s touched a raw nerve, producing a flood of letters. One such letter by playwright Mikhail Shatrov (whose father was shot on one bloody day in March 1937 when 6,200 were slaughtered in four different camps) stated that Stalin "objectively did more for its defeat—the [Russian revolutionary] movement's—than our class enemies all together did." About the same time, the June issue of *Naukai Zhizn* (Science and Life) published posthumously a 1965 lecture by well-known writer Konstantin Simonov bitterly attacking Stalin's 1937 purge of Marshal Tukhachevsky and the Red Army officers. "If there had been no 1937, there would have been no summer of 1941," he said, referring to the Soviet army's collapse when Hitler's Operation Barbarossa began.

Revolution and Truth

In his own way Gorbachev recognizes that Trotskyism is *the left opposition* to Stalin's heirs: "Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric." If the discredited whole-cloth slanders of Trotsky as an "agent of imperialism" have been replaced in the mouth of the present Soviet leaders by new distortions to serve Gorbachev's new purposes, at least the way has been opened for elements in the USSR who consider themselves leftist Communists to look into the political record of Trotsky's struggles against the bureaucracy.

This is *despite* the intentions of Gorbachev, whose 70th anniversary speech was far more mealy-mouthed about the crimes of Stalin than the Khrushchev "revelations" of three decades ago (at least Gorbachev did manage to put in a good word for Khrushchev). Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" was delivered at a closed session of the 20th Party Congress in 1956. When Stalin died in 1953—after exterminating all his opponents and building an apparatus of one-man rule hacked up by massive secret-police terror—a power fight was unleashed within the bureaucracy. The Kremlin tops—who had been accomplices in Stalin's crimes or at least had participated in covering them up—needed to dismantle some of the more onerous and bizarre aspects of Stalin's paranoid personal dictatorship. Thus, a few months after Stalin's death, his much-feared head of the secret police,

Publifoto

Nikita Khrushchev denounces crimes of Stalin at closed session of 20th Party Congress, 1956. His speech has still not been published in the Soviet Union.

Lavrenti Beria, was shot in the Kremlin and posthumously accused of having been a British spy since 1919!

Khrushchev's denunciation of the "cult of personality" was buttressed by the publication of Lenin's letter to the 12th Party Congress in January 1923 (known as Lenin's *Testament*), which was not presented to that Congress. It was verbally revealed secretly to the party tops at the 13th Congress and was subsequently suppressed by Stalin and his cohorts. In referring to Lenin's *Testament*, in his 2 November address Gorbachev carefully *omitted* Lenin's call that "the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post," namely, general secretary (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 596 [Moscow, 1966]). Gorbachev wanted to clearly signal the permissible limits of *glasnost*.

But it's not so easy. During the "Khrushchev thaw," an important layer of the Soviet political elite became aware of some salient aspects of Russian history. It is known that Lenin, in the last critical months of his active life, waged a fight against bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy won, and that fact is decisive in understanding the Soviet Union today.

Lenin formed a *political bloc* with Trotsky *against* the *troika* of Stalin and his then-allies Zinoviev and Kamenev. He sought Trotsky's active support in defense of the state monopoly of foreign trade and in curbing the abuses of the "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" (*Rabkrin*) which was headed by Stalin until the middle of 1922 and still closely associated with him thereafter. Particularly, Lenin sought to gear up Trotsky to lead a sharp struggle against Stalin's highhanded abuse of the nationalities, particularly the Georgians, who after enduring national oppression under the tsar wanted guarantees of the equality of nations in the union of Soviet republics. Lenin insisted that "exemplary punishment must be inflicted" on Grigory Orjonikidze, Stalin's chief lieutenant, for brutality and Great Russian chauvinism in the Georgian affair. And he added: "The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky" ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" [December 1922], *ibid.*, p. 610).

But Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged. He was unable to discern in advance where Stalin was going (Stalin probably didn't know either). And he was in some isolation: while now being the number two leader in the Soviet state, he had only joined the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution (despite having then personally led the October). He feared being thought personally self-seeking.

V V Loboda

V.I. Lenin in Gorki, 1922.

Trotsky was constrained to be too modest for too long when the necessities of maintaining a revolutionary policy required that he urgently push the Leninist policy which he espoused, and therefore push himself.

Under the conditions of the exhaustion and atomization of the Soviet proletariat by the civil war and the resultant devastation of the economy—and the demoralization engendered by the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution—the soviets ceased to function as governmental organs. But debate could still take place within the Bolshevik Party and in December 1923 the pages of *Pravda* were opened again one last time for the ventilation of party discussion.

Lenin was incapacitated by illness and died on 21 January 1924 at the age of 54. At the 13th Party Conference held in January 1924, Stalin and his allies in the "troika" (Zinoviev and Kamenev) gutted party democracy to seize the decisive ascendancy. In the fall of 1924 Stalin announced his new schema of "socialism in one country": the negation of the Leninist understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended upon its *extension* internationally, above all to the advanced capitalist countries.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936), Trotsky explained the social basis for the rise of the bureaucracy as rooted in scarcity: "When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy." "Socialism in one country" reflected in "theoretical" terms the nascent bureaucracy's acquisition of self-consciousness; henceforth, it would act deliberately to preserve its privileges.

To further consolidate his power, Stalin made and unmade a series of blocs with various party leaders, pursuing an impressionistic zigzag course. For example, once he had smashed the Left Oppositionists he was free to adopt sections of their program. Having opposed their proposals to check the disastrous consequences unleashed by the economic policies of the Right (led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky)—which turned its back on the necessity for a policy of socialist *industrialization*, while giving the rich peasants the upper hand in the countryside—Stalin then turned around and imposed *forced collectivization*. The wanton brutality and tremendous human cost of this policy is supposed to be a secret in the USSR today. In the course of this "left" turn, Stalin broke with and politically destroyed the Bukharinite Right.

To secure the rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, it was not sufficient for Stalin to smash and isolate his political opponents. He had even to destroy the Stalin faction itself, since many of its leading members were opposed to shooting Communist opponents of their faction.

At the 17th Congress of the already multiply-purged party in 1934, Stalin's re-election as general secretary was conducted by secret ballot—and some 20 percent voted against him. The 1934 assassination of Kirov—a long-time member of the Stalin faction who was seen as Stalin's potential rival—became the excuse for mass murder, including a bloody revenge on the 17th Congress participants. Because of the secret ballot, Stalin was unable to distinguish the "enemies" who had voted against him from the "loyal" 80 percent—so he essentially killed them all. Khrushchev's 1956 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee elected by the 17th Congress had been executed, along with an almost equal proportion of the Congress delegates.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was mirrored in Moscow's direction of the world Communist movement. In the mid-1920s the Communist International promoted revolution by bureaucratic means, sometimes (particularly associated with Zinoviev) engaging in lightminded insurrectionary adventures. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 found Stalin and his then-partner Bukharin totally disoriented, first groveling before the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, then staging an insurrectionary adventure: the Canton Commune. Whatever Stalin tried, nothing worked. During the so-called "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, the Comintern was given over to ultraleft and sectarian posturing—which in Germany allowed Nazism to triumph without a struggle by the powerful German proletariat.

Fearful of resurgent, rearming German imperialism under Hitler, Stalin then desperately sought an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist powers, France and Britain, under the rubric of the "Popular Front" adopted in 1935. Stalin's strangulation of revolutions abroad for the sake of the "Popular Front" went hand in hand with the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks inside the USSR. The Moscow Trials coincided with Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution in order to gain the confidence of the capitalist rulers in Paris and London. Successful proletarian revolution in Spain could have inspired the workers of the world—and given the Soviet workers the revolutionary confidence to sweep out the Kremlin oligarchy. Stalin, instead, sent in wave after wave of GPU agents and "commissars" to smash the advanced detachments of the insurgent workers movement who wanted to fight for socialist revolution; his "practical" policy was that the workers should uphold the Republic to "win the war" against General Franco. The result was the triumph of Franco, who ruled Spain for the next four decades. This was "socialism in one country" in action and at large. On the basis of such crimes against the international proletariat, Trotsky branded Stalin the "gravedigger of revolutions."

From the time of his exile from

continued on page 10

G P Goldshtein

State Fine Arts Publishers

Stalin school of falsification: in original photo (left), Lenin addresses troops headed for Polish front, 5 May 1920, as Red Army leader Trotsky stands on steps; in later versions, Trotsky was disappeared. Open the archives—they belong to the Soviet peoples!

Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 9)

Russia in 1929 until his death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in 1940, Trotsky carried forward the banner of the Left Opposition, the continuator of the authentic tradition of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. As against the obscene spectacle of the false "confessions" paraded at the Moscow Trials—confessions secured not only by terror but by the bewildered victims' belief that in going along with Stalin's monstrous accusations they were "serving the Revolution"—Trotsky and his comrades in Russia refused to "confess" or to recant their revolutionary views.

Years later, Leopold Trepper, who was not a Trotskyist (he was in fact a Polish Jewish Communist who created and ran the Soviet "Red Orchestra" espionage network in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe during World War II), paid tribute to their steadfastness. Excoriating "all those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine," he asked "who did protest at that time?" and then gave the answer:

> "The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor...they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did....
>
> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."
>
> —Leopold Trepper,
> *The Great Game*, 1977

Contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia

The contrast between the feverish debate leading up to Gorbachev's 70th anniversary speech and its cautious content highlights the contradictions of Gorbachev's Russia. The Gorbachev line is a response by the Kremlin oligarchy to the changed realities in the Soviet Union. The new general secretary seeks to maintain bureaucratic administrative rule in the presence of a sizable cultured petty bourgeoisie and the felt needs of the Soviet masses for a better life. The intellectual layer that Stalin pretty much destroyed during his reign is now a significant stratum in Soviet society, and it interpenetrates the bureaucracy. Gorbachev—a representative of the new generation of Stalinist bureaucrats who did not participate personally in Stalin's crimes—is also the first Soviet leader since Lenin with a university education. It's been a long time since the direct and open application of terror; no longer are there millions of people in forced labor camps; police-state repression has become more indirect. Under these conditions and with these constraints, Gorbachev needs to shake up the society as a means to overcome the sluggishness of the Soviet economy.

The Kremlin bureaucracy confronts a new generation which does not measure social and economic progress against the devastated condition of Russia after it defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Boris Kagarlitsky, a Soviet sociologist and a principal organizer of the newly-formed Federation of Socialist Clubs, notes:

> "The country which Gorbachev has inherited is already not the same as the one that came into Khrushchev's hands. It is an urbanized society with a large number of hereditary townspeople and skilled workers.. Young people have no memory of the poverty of the forties, but react acutely to any threat to lower their present standard of living."
>
> —*New Left Review*,
> July/August 1987

What is involved here is not simply a hankering after Western gadgetry and consumerism. There is a sense in Russia, unlike in the West, that the country is supposed to *belong* to the working people. In fact, according to official ideology, the USSR is supposedly "building socialism" and moving toward a classless society—the disappearance of social inequality on the basis of material plenty. The people are bound to wonder why an economy that can put satellites into space "can't" make a decent pair of sneakers.

Gorbachev thus confronts a very different political consciousness than in the capitalist West. Traveling to Murmansk, high above the Arctic Circle, the Soviet leader spoke of "revolutionary tasks" and gave the marching orders: "Work—this is what should be done now." That will certainly pose radical changes in a country where during the Brezhnev period the standard joke was: "we pretend to work, they pretend to pay us."

In moving to accelerate economic growth Gorbachev has more than exhortation in mind. Under the rubric of *perestroika* the present Kremlin leadership aims to minimalize centralized economic planning in favor of "market socialism" along the lines of Yugoslavia and Hungary. This program *if implemented*—and there is bound to be powerful resistance to *perestroika* not only among the working class but also from vested interests within the bureaucracy—will undermine collectivized property and strengthen the internal forces for capitalist restoration. In Yugoslavia four decades of "market socialism" in the name of "self-management" have produced the highest inflation rate in Europe, East or West, massive unemployment and intensified national conflicts which can rip the country apart. Gorbachev's Russia is a long way from present-day Yugoslavia, but *perestroika* is a first step down that road.

At the same time, the policy of *glasnost* has unleashed enormous political and intellectual ferment. A broad spectrum of heterogeneous socialist-oriented informal groups, the *neformaly*, is beginning to surface. According to *Ogonyok*, there are 1,000 of these *neformaly* groups in Moscow alone, another 200 in Leningrad, ranging from "Green" ecological groups to rock clubs and radical-socialist circles. The Gorbachev regime has tolerated these groups (and some elements of the regime have evidently been promoting them), but this is juridically reversible—the unofficial groups can suddenly become *really* unofficial. Already the top hacks of the Komsomol (Communist Youth) are mapping out a strategy to combat this proliferation of political groups outside the bureaucracy's direct control:

> "The document prepared by the Komsomol propaganda department says that many of the groups serve a valuable function, but it complained that others read the works of such politically unacceptable thinkers as Leon Trotsky, and that some seem to be setting themselves up in competition with state organizations."
>
> —*New York Times*, 8 November

With the lid of repression lifted after 60 years, some vile creatures are also crawling out of the political underground. The most sinister development under *glasnost* has been the more public emergence of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat (Memory), which demonstrated in front of the Kremlin last May. Railing against heavy metal rock music, alcoholism, drugs and the "loose morals" of Soviet youth, this group harks back to the anti-Semitism of the tsarist Black Hundreds. It is trying to fuse the worst excrescences of Stalinism—which used anti-Semitism against the Trotskyist Left Opposition—with the backwardness embodied in the old Russian Orthodox Church. But Pamyat has a problem—they are nativist Russian fascists who are, however, constrained to appeal to the patriotism of all the Soviet *peoples*—because half the population of the Soviet Union consists of non-Russian nationalities.

Pamyat is not some collection of churchgoing old people and right-wing nutcases on the fringe of Soviet society. Some of its leaders are drawn from elements of the bureaucracy and the organization reportedly has the protection of the Ministry of Aviation Industry as well as top-level elements of the Communist Party hierarchy. Trotsky observed in the Transitional Program that "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko)," with the Stalinist center playing a bonapartist role. The tendency toward such polarization exists because the bureaucracy is not a ruling *class* but a *caste* which has no ideological justification for its rule, claiming to stand for the revolutionary ideals which it betrays.

Even the mystical blood-and-soil rhetoric which is a hallmark of fascism

AP

Trotsky denounces Stalinist assassination attempt, 1940. He never capitulated to the bureaucratic usurpers! He was killed by a Stalinist assassin a few months later, in August 1940.

Basil Blackwell Inc

Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. The center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Wide World

Troika of Stalin, Leon Kamenev (second from right) and Gregory Zinoviev grabbed control of the party after Lenin's death. (Second from left is Alexei Rykov.)

can find an echo among some Stalinist *apparatchiks*. For example, in the mid-1960s a functionary of the Moscow Komsomol distributed a leaflet demanding:

> "Love for the motherland is a necessary and sufficient condition for citizenship. A cult of the ancestors must be set up. . .
>
> "At first, a long campaign must be conducted in favor of native, moral, and physiological values of virginal purity and honor, and to persuade young people of the criminal nature of premarital sexual intercourse. We must not stop even at promoting ancient peasant customs: painting gates with tar, public showing of the sheet after the wedding night, corporal punishment of women who give themselves to foreigners, branding and sterilization of them."
>
> —reproduced in Alexander Yanov, *The Russian New Right* (1978)

The strain of nativist Russian fascism represented by Pamyat has provoked widespread repulsion among the intelligentsia and political elite. A meeting last August in Moscow of 600 representatives from 50 unofficial groups was in large part a response to Pamyat. Out of this meeting came two associations. One was a Circle of Social Initiatives, with a loose membership and a broad social program along the lines of the West European Greens, whose declaration proclaimed the ideals of "socialism, democracy, humanism and progress." The second was the Federation of Socialist Clubs, including 16 groups who signed a manifesto. The Socialist Clubs, which seem to include a component of veterans of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, are also *extremely heterogeneous* politically. They include the Perestroika Club, sponsored by some of Gorbachev's closest economic advisers. Others are named the Che Guevara Brigade and Young Internationalist Communards.

The Federation's manifesto contains an implicit denunciation of Pamyat, a demand to "democratise the electoral system" and a call "to show support and solidarity to revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements in the capitalist world and in developing countries" (London *Guardian*, 12 September). At the same time, it declares that the "life and death of socialism in the USSR hang on whether perestroika succeeds" and demands "to switch the economy to self-management."

While there are many contradictory tendencies within the Socialist Clubs and other *nyeformaly*, the political and intellectual climate in Gorbachev's Russia is vastly different from the Poland of Solidarność in the early 1980s. Solidarność was a company "union" for the CIA, the Vatican and the Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. Its leaders and supporters hailed Ronald Reagan and were bankrolled by U.S. imperialism. They reviled Poland's greatest Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, and idolized Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland.

In Gorbachev's Russia some number of intellectuals and politically-minded workers are seeking the road back to Lenin. The conditions are ripe for the regeneration of Leninist-Trotskyist understanding. For as stated in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, written 50 years ago, the "indestructible force" of Trotskyism in the USSR "stems from the fact that it expresses not only revolutionary tradition but also today's actual opposition of the Russian working class." "A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR," Trotsky wrote, "will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against *social inequality* and *political oppression*."

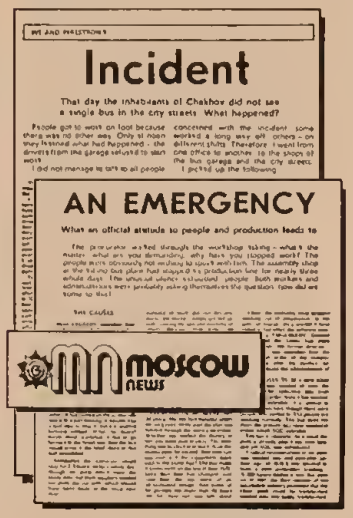
Today, a program for political revolution in the Soviet Union, to oust the privileged bureaucracy and defend the gains of October, can be elaborated beginning with the slogans: Stalin abused central planning—For central planning with Soviet democracy! Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—Open the history books! For unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! These can be the basis of a revolutionary program to return the Soviet Union to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.

TASS from Sovfoto

Gorbachev and wife Raisa visit textile mill in Tallinn, Estonia. Kremlin leader faces resistance to perestroika, speedup and layoffs from Soviet workers. For central planning based on soviet democracy!

For Central Planning with Soviet Democracy!

Under the slogan of *perestroika*, Gorbachev has called for "streamlin[ing] our bloated bureaucracy" of 18 million functionaries, roughly 15 percent of the working population. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, he argues that the lack of democracy has produced widespread alienation among the working class. A whole stratum, including young people, have become


Incident

That day the inhabitants of Chekhov did not see a single bus in the city streets. What happened?

AN EMERGENCY

What an official attitude to people and production leads to

moscow news

Recent Soviet workers' strikes challenge perestroika; Soviet press gags on calling a strike a strike.

"cynical," only interested in "material well-being and gain by any means," work discipline is breaking down, and there is an increase in alcoholism and drugs. And all these are obstacles to economic development.

Fifty years ago, Trotsky wrote of the limits of Stalinist industrialization:

> "It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."
>
> —*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Trotsky's Transitional Program presents a program for a way out of this impasse, for "a revision of *planned economy* from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers," for *workers control at the point of production* as the foundation of genuine workers democracy. But this program means the ouster of the Kremlin hureaucracy, which is a *parasitic caste* sitting atop the working class, analogous to the trade-union hureaucracy under Western capitalism.

As an alternative to workers democracy, the Gorbachev regime proposes market-oriented economic reforms. These were decreed at the June 1987 Central Committee meeting and enacted shortly after in the new Law on State Enterprises. According to Gorbachev's program for "Fundamentally Restructuring Management of the Economy," by the end of 1990 individual enterprises will determine what they produce and in what quantities, except for the military sector. Most subsidies of prices will eventually be eliminated. Enterprise managers will be able to cut wages and bonuses, and to sack "redundant" workers. If their revenues still don't cover costs, they'll be shut down.

Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The economic ills of the Soviet Union today are not the result of central planning. By ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords and overcoming the anarchy of the market, the Soviet Union was able to make the leap from a backward peasant country into a great industrial/military power in a few decades of brutal efforts. Centralized planning was a vital factor in this historic and progressive achievement. The Soviet Union has built an economy where there is a job for everyone who wants to work, free universal education, free health care. There may be infuriating shortages, but no hunger in contrast to the U.S. where there are 20 million chronically hungry. Housing is tight—many young couples live with their in-laws—but no one lives in the street, compared to hundreds of thousands of homeless in the U.S.

It is the Stalinists' *bureaucratic distortion* of the planned economy which has brought the Soviet Union to stagnation. And dismantling central planning while wooing imperialist giants to set up joint enterprises and generating a new class of petty capitalist entrepreneurs will necessarily produce unemployment and inflation, fueling the internal forces pushing toward the bloody restoration of capitalism.

The National Question in the USSR

Centralized planning has also been key to welding together the more than 100 nations and national groups which make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The centralized allocation of economic resources has contributed greatly to substantially *narrowing* the once vast gulf separating the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia—nomadic herdsmen only a few generations ago—from the peoples of European Russia. A factory worker in Bokhara and Tashkent receives a similar wage scale and social services as his fellow workers in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev. Contrast this with Yugoslavia where "market socialism" and enterprise self-management has *widened* national inequality and dangerously aggravated national antagonisms.

The imperialists lust to exploit national feeling within the Soviet Union as a battering ram for counterrevolution, notably through the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry" as well as through the CIA-led "captive nations" rightists. When the Red Army intervened in Afghanistan, the imperialists were salivating that Islamic fanaticism would insinuate its way among the Muslim peoples of Soviet Central Asia. (In fact, many of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan come from those areas and know very well that the October Revolution liberated their homelands from terrible backwardness.) Earlier this year, Radio Free Europe promoted a nationalist provocation in Estonia—which managed to attract all of a few hundred people.

But until political revolution restores Leninist internationalism to the Kremlin, the nationalities question will remain a time bomb. Thus last December, thousands of students staged a violent protest in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan after Gorbachev ousted Kazakh party leader Dinmukhamed Kunaev and replaced him with an ethnic Russian. In his speech to the Central Committee last January, Gorbachev addressed the concern that the Soviet Union could be destroyed by an escalation of conflicting national claims. In particular, his regime seems to be moving toward some sort of resolution of the Jewish question, mooting a two-pronged policy: to allow the emigration of those Jews (many of them Zionists) who wish to leave; and at the same time, to eliminate

continued on page 12

Lenin and Trotsky...

(continued from page 11)

the "nationality" category on internal passports, thereby facilitating the full assimilation as Soviet citizens of the vast majority of Soviet Jews who have no desire to become Israelis (or, more commonly, New Yorkers).

The Bolshevik Revolution created the basis for the full emancipation of all the nations of the former tsarist "prison house of peoples." But Stalin, with his nationalistic perspective, adapted to and revived Great Russian chauvinism. On the eve of World War II, as he was murdering the cream of the Red Army officer corps, Stalin rehabilitated the Russian Orthodox Church—a nest of anti-Semitism before the Revolution—as an instrument for propagating patriotism. When the war broke out, Stalin's policies had had such a catastrophic effect that large sections of the Ukrainian and some other non-Russian peoples actually welcomed the invading Nazis. By way of revenge, Stalin then deported *entire peoples* from their territories. To counter the growth of right-wing nationalism fueled by Stalin's policies, Trotsky in 1939 raised the recognition of the right of self-determination for a *Soviet Ukraine*. For Marxists, the democratic right of national self-determination, however justified, is subordinate to the class principle of defense of proletarian state power against capitalist restoration.

El Lissitzky/G P Putnam's Sons

Red Army high command, including Marshal Tukhachevsky (second from left, top). The cream of the Soviet officer corps was liquidated by Stalin on eve of Nazi German invasion.

Contradictions of Perestroika

When collective farm workers at a farm in Kazakhstan recently took advantage of the new law for election of managers by voting out a petty tyrant, the ousted director began a hunger strike at the regional Communist Party headquarters. He charged "crude violations of...existing rules of Nomenklatura," referring to the system whereby managerial posts are filled from lists of party-approved officials (*Financial Times*, 21 October).

But opposition to *perestroika* is not limited to fearful *apparatchiks*; *working-class* resistance is also being felt. *Moscow News* (No. 38, 27 September) reported a bus drivers strike in Chekhov, about 40 miles outside of Moscow, because of a change in the system of wage payment. This was so unusual they didn't know what to call it, so the article was headlined "Incident." The bureaucracy's response was also noteworthy: within 90 minutes they got high-ranking regional leaders down to the bus barns to cool things out, and the manager was hauled before the city party committee and reprimanded. A month later there was a report of a three-day strike at the Likino bus plant. This time *Moscow News* (No. 42, 25 October) headlined "An Emergency" and admitted to a work stoppage. Facing speedup, piece rates, "Stakhanovite" wage differentials, and the prospect of inflation and layoffs, some sections of the Soviet workers are getting "involved" over *perestroika* in a way that Gorbachev & Co. did not intend.

Already at the time of the "trade-union controversy" in the winter of 1920-21, Lenin pointed out that Soviet Russia "is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions" ("The Party Crisis," January 1921, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 48 [Moscow, 1965]). Therefore, he said, the Communists must "use these workers' organisations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state" ("The Trade Unions, the Present Situation and Trotsky's Mistakes" [December 1920], *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 25 [Moscow, 1965]). After more than 60 years of Stalinist political domination of the Soviet Union, the fight for unions independent of bureaucratic control, for factory committees to institute *workers control of production* at the base, is a cornerstone of the fight for soviet democracy, and must be based on defense of socialized property.

To dampen working-class distrust of *perestroika*, the Gorbachev regime is making a big to-do about "democratization" at the enterprise level. *Soviet Life* (August 1987) highlighted the election of a plant manager by a minibus factory in Riga (Latvia) where the winning candidate was favored by the administrative/technical staff and promised more efficiency rather than higher wages or better housing.

But there is a built-in contradiction: what happens when workers vote against speedup, layoffs and greater wage differentiation? And if they can vote for plant managers, pretty soon they will be demanding to vote for their higher-ups as well. By offering Soviet workers the *semblance* of democracy at the point of production, the Gorbachev regime has opened the door to the demand for *actual* workers democracy—the reconstruction of real soviets (workers councils) and the re-enfranchisement of the working people whose power was usurped by the Stalinists.

Soviet Archives Belong to the Soviet Peoples!

At the January 1987 Central Committee meeting where Gorbachev first laid out his policies for *perestroika*, he linked them closely to *glasnost*. He noted that the causes of "the period of stagnation" go "far back into the past and are rooted in that specific historical situation in which, by virtue of well-known circumstances, vigorous debate and creative ideas disappeared." Behind this euphemistic reference to Stalin, a furious debate has been raging over questions of Soviet history. Unlike the 1956 "de-Stalinization" campaign, which soon set carefully prescribed limits, today Soviet historians, writers, journalists and others are aggressively challenging taboo subjects. Already last winter, *Moscow News* (25 January) printed long excerpts from Lenin's Testament, including the statement that Stalin should be removed as general secretary.

Then in April the prominent literary journal *Novy Mir* (New World) published "The Brest Peace" by playwright Mikhail Shatrov. In this work, which was scheduled to open at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow on November 7, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev are presented more or less historically accurately in the debates in the Bolshevik Central Committee over signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk that took Soviet Russia out of the imperialist world war in 1918. (To buttress the case against Trotsky as an "ultraleftist," however, Lenin is ludicrously misrepresented as the father of "peaceful coexistence.") The production of this play in Moscow explodes the fabrications of the Moscow Trials, as Lenin's comrades-in-arms, vilified and slaughtered by Stalin, have ceased to be "non-persons."

Among the Old Bolsheviks, Bukharin is, as the Paris social-democratic *Libération* pointed out, the "most easily reintegrated." Bukharin's call on peasants to "enrich yourselves," is the message some market-oriented reformers want to send today, to encourage the growth of a layer of petty capitalists. His name is associated with the New Economic Policy of the 1920s. Bukharin did not author the NEP, Lenin did—and Trotsky anticipated Lenin in proposing the "tax in kind," re-establishing an economic basis for the *smychka*, the alliance of the workers and peasants. But Bukharin turned this policy, necessary to recover from the ruin of the civil war and the extremes of War Communism, into a program, opposing the necessary collectivization of agriculture and insisting that industrialization would have to proceed at a snail's pace. Trotsky pointed out that the Soviet Union did not have endless time; if the urgent tasks of economic construction were not addressed, the Soviet Union would not be able to withstand the economic and military pressures of world imperialism.

After being dumped as head of the Comintern and ousted from the Politburo in 1929, Bukharin submitted to Stalin, was later named editor of *Pravda* and even wrote the Stalin constitution two years before his execution. Thus at various points Bukharin served as the chief ideological apologist for the Stalin regime.

As far as Trotsky is concerned, however, the debate in Gorbachev's Russia is all over the map. In early July, *Moscow News* editor Yegor Yakoviev wrote a long article kicking off the series "Thus We Began" in *Izvestia* (12 July) on "The First Government" of the Soviet republic. Among those who were considered "heros and martyrs of the Revolution," he lists "Foreign Affairs—L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)." On 20 September another article in the same series, by *Izvestia*'s chief political commentator Aleksandr Bovin quoted at length the powerful speech by Trotsky when he walked out of the Brest peace negotiations:

> "We hope—said the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs—that shortly the exploited working masses of all countries will take power into their hands like the working people of Russia have. We are removing our armies and our people from the war....
> "At the same time we declare that the conditions as submitted to us by the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary are opposed in principle to the interests of all peoples."

Equally significant was the publication in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs daily bulletin *Vestnik* (Messenger) of a photocopy of instructions by Foreign Minister Trotsky to the Soviet envoy in Scandinavia. Along with exhortations to use armistice negotiations as an instrument of revolution, the letter insists on the Bolshevik opposition to secret diplomacy: "The openness [*glasnost*] of all negotiations is for us, of course, a question of principle" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 4 September).

Il Mondo

Nikolai Bukharin

All this was evidently too much for the "conservatives," and by the end of the month they counterattacked. On September 28, virulent anti-Trotskyist diatribes were published both in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, the newspaper of the Russian Republic, and the trade-union daily *Trud*.

Der Spiegel (27 July) reported on a meeting where pandemonium broke out when Yuri Afanassyev, rector of the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute, said he was in favor of the publica-

Explains why the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration, is the basis for socialist construction. Exposes the various Maoist, New Left and "Third Campist" theories of the USSR as anti-Marxist, ideologically reflecting the hostility of world imperialism to the Soviet Union.

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Novosti

WV Photo

Soviet soldiers leaving Afghanistan after Kremlin announced troop reductions (left). Spartacists (right) demonstrate against anti-Soviet war drive in Washington, D.C. March 1980. Defend the Soviet Union!

tion of Trotsky's works. An old-timer reportedly yelled out: "You have read Trotsky and are sitting here in comfort. Do you know how many people were sent to Siberia for that?" While some information on Stalin's crimes has "trickled down" to the Soviet people, the study of the real history of the Stalin years is permitted only to a relative handful of *apparatchiks*, propagandists and academics with privileged access to the official archives. Let the Soviet people know the truth—open the archives! Soviet publications now devote pages to discussing and denouncing Trotsky and Trotskyism. Let the Soviet people judge for themselves—publish Trotsky's writings in Russia!

Defend the Soviet Union—For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The third leg of Gorbachev's policy, in addition to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, is pushing even more for "détente" with U.S. imperialism. A summit meeting has been announced for December 7 in Washington between the Soviet leader and President Reagan, at which a treaty is to be signed eliminating medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The U.S. administration has repeatedly refused to place any limits on its scheme for space-based weapons to regain nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviets. After a couple of days of back-and-forth, the Kremlin announced its acceptance of a summit without any American commitments.

Pentagon officials, meanwhile, are selling the treaty on the basis that it is Reagan's original "zero option," made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, only eight minutes flying time from Moscow. This plan was so advantageous to the West, requiring that the Soviets give up many hundreds more missiles than the U.S. would, it was designed to be—and was—rejected by Moscow. Moreover, the U.S. plans to offset the removal of Pershings by adding bombers and other weapons. Once again, "arms control" in the mouth of the Americans is a hoax serving to foster the development of new weapons systems. *The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever arms are necessary to defend itself!*

The Kremlin bureaucracy is rightly frightened of the prospect of nuclear war, a fear shared by the mass of the Soviet peoples who saw their land devastated and millions killed during the civil war and again during World War II. But many in the Soviet Union understand that appeasement of the nuclear nuts in the White House is not the road to peace.

Only a very foolish person would take exception in principle to the USSR having to deal with the imperialists so long as they exist and possess important sections of this planet. But it is willful blindness—flowing from the conservative program of the Russian bureaucracy—to fail to recognize that the American imperialists are vicious, irreconcilable opponents of every revolution that has overthrown capitalist exploitation. The U.S. military program is aimed at breaking the will of the USSR. In this context the present efforts by Gorbachev & Co. to conciliate imperialism are doubly dangerous. The only road to peace lies through successful working-class revolutions that will narrow the imperialists' power base until they are finally rendered impotent. As Lenin stated in his report of the CC at the 8th Party Congress in March 1919: in the long run "it is inconceivable for the Soviet Repuhlic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 153 [Moscow, 1965]).

One thing the Democrats and the Reaganauts all agree on is that "Afghanistan is the test" of Moscow's good will. They want to force the withdrawal of Soviet forces from that strategically important country on the USSR's southern flank so that mullah-led reactionaries—who shoot down civilian airplanes with American Stinger missiles—can carry through their *jihad* against every form of social progress. Last January, Afghan leader Najibullah called for a government of "national reconciliation." Yet there never can or will be "reconciliation" with these CIA-financed feudalists who vow "death to Communism" and to all Communists.

The battle lines between social progress and medieval reaction have been drawn in blood in Afghanistan, notably over the status of women. A recent revealing article in the London *Independent* (10 October) noted that the attempt by the petty-bourgeois leftist regime in Kabul to stop the selling of girl brides, liberate women from the veil (an all-encompassing head-to-toe shroud) and introduce female literacy classes was "an important factor in fanning the rural rebellion." Now, "in keeping with the new policy of national reconciliation...aggressive campaigning for women's rights has been shelved." Yet the progress already made cannot be undone without bloodshed. Particularly in the towns, the number of women in schools and workplaces has dramatically increased; over half the students at Kabul University are women. If Gorbachev were to sacrifice Afghanistan to placate Washington, *the price would be a bloodbath of Afghan women* at the hands of the rabid Afghan fundamentalists.

Afghanistan became the centerpiece of Democrat Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign and the pretext for the American boycott of the Moscow Olympics. The international Spartacist tendency forthrightly proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" This sentiment is shared by many in the Soviet Union, including notably veterans of the Afghan war who are becoming increasingly assertive. An American librarian wrote to the *New York Times* (30 August) about having seen a spirited demonstration in Leningrad by Afghanistan war veterans, who laid a wreath at a memorial to those who died to defend the October Revolution during the civil war; and an unauthorized meeting of Afghan vets was reportedly held recently in Ashkabad in Soviet Central Asia.

In a recent article in *Pravda* reviewing readers' letters on Afghanistan one reader, the father of Sergeant Yuri Shevchenko who died fighting in Afghanistan, voiced a common complaint, asking that there be a recognition of his son's sacrifice on his gravestone: "Why can't it say that he died carrying out his international duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?" (*Pravda* monthly English edition, October 1987). What the Kremlin tops are ashamed of is anything that smacks of "exporting revolution," which Stalin forswore. In his speech to the 27th CPSU Congress last year, Gorbachev also denounced the "Trotskyite" heresy of "revolutionary war," adding: "Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New York Times*, 10 March 1986).

Contrary to those who today paint him as a "peaceful coexistence"-nik, Lenin authored the plank of the March 1919 party program denouncing disarmament under capitalism as "the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" and calling instead for "arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie" ("Preamble to the Military Section of the Programme," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 130 [Moscow, 1965]). The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was formally committed to achieving victory over capitalism "both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars." Today it can be no different, as from Central America to Indochina and Afghanistan the imperialists are *exporting counterrevolution* whose ultimate aim is to dismember the USSR and "roll back" the revolutionary gains of 1917.

The futility of appeasing the relentless imperialist foes of the Soviet Union was shown by the disastrous results of Stalin's faith in his pact with Hitler. The split between Stalinism and Bolshevism is fundamental: the line was drawn in blood, not only the blood of the Old Bolsheviks shed by Stalin's terror inside the USSR, but also the blood of aborted and betrayed proletarian struggles from China to Spain to Nicaragua or South Africa today, where the felt need of the oppressed masses for the revolutionary transformation of society cries out for intransigent *revolutionary leadership*.

Trotsky's conclusion, written in 1940, is valid today as imperialism prepares a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the homeland of the October Revolution: "Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." *Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!* ■

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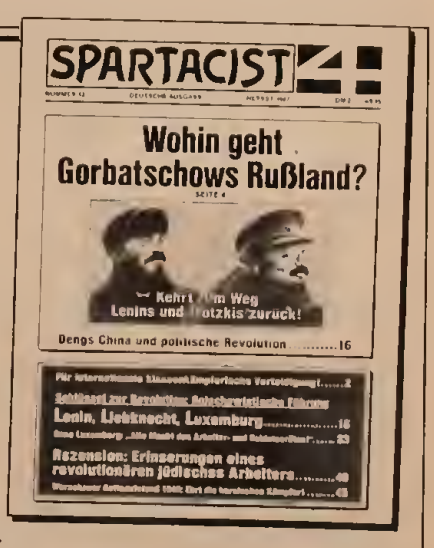

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Crash...

(continued from page 1)

British supermarket magnate David Sainsbury, reportedly the country's fourth wealthiest man and a scathing critic of capitalist devolution à la Thatcher and Reagan:

> "The key to his [Sainsbury's] policy recommendations is maintaining a competitive manufacturing sector. Manufacturing, he emphasizes, is the core that creates wealth in the economy. He notes that both Britain and America have allowed manufacturing to slide, while Japan and West Germany have gained ground...
>
> "'Manufacturing is not going to solve the unemployment problem by itself,' he said. 'But the manufacturing sector has to create the wealth that can then be spent on the labor-intensive areas of the economy like service industries'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 25 May

Along similar lines, right-wing American billionaire H. Ross Perot laments: "We are losing in international business competition. In 1986, we lost our position as the world's leading exporter and we had a trade deficit in high-tech products, supposedly the base for future growth" (*Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 9 November). In fact, the U.S. has become the ultimate *low-tech* exporter. The two main exports from the port of New York are scrap steel and waste paper to Japan. Japanese industry then turns the steel into automobiles and the paper into cardboard boxes containing sophisticated consumer electronics. The United States has become the world's biggest junk dealer.

Crash Bankrupts Reaganomics, Also Keynesianism

The Wall Street crash has not only buried Reaganomics but also Keynesianism and the general notion that the capitalist state can manipulate the capitalist market economy by government spending, monetary policies and so forth so as to iron out the boom-bust cycle of capitalism. Business executives, economists, and politicians now speculate if the expected coming recession will turn into a major depression, but nobody maintains that *any* government policy can prevent a sharp downturn.

By "financing" the biggest military buildup in U.S. peacetime history with a tax cut for the wealthy, Reagan carried out a perversion of Keynesian deficit spending with a vengeance. A bright piece in the 3 November *Village Voice* in the form of a historical comic strip noted: "Reaganauts rediscover the stimulative effects of war Keynesianism—running up an unprecedented deficit and calling it 'Peace Through Strength'." Since this right-wing yahoo was inaugurated in the beginning of 1981, the federal government has run up a larger budget deficit than the accumulated total of the previous almost 200 years of the American republic.

Much of this debt is held by Japanese and other foreign moneymen. Two liberal critics of Reaganomics, Karin Lissakers and Martin Mayer, wrote acerbically after the crash:

> "After seven years of asserting the might and majesty of the United States, Ronald Reagan leaves his country in the status of Tennessee Williams's Blanche Du Bois. We are dependent on the kindness of strangers."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 October

The only way to get out of this hapless situation, according to Lissakers and Mayer, is "to reduce domestic demand by diminishing the fiscal stimulus, raising taxes and slashing Government expenditures." This is the traditional right-wing remedy for overcoming an economic crisis. It was the program of Herbert Hoover, who in 1932 proclaimed that the "reduction of government expenditures and the stability of government finance is the most fundamental step" toward economic recovery. And, contrary to liberal mythology, balancing the budget was also the economic policy of Franklin Roosevelt when he first succeeded Hoover.

The experience of the Great Depression—not least the radicalization of the working class confronting the manifest bankruptcy of capitalism—brought about the so-called "Keynesian Revolution" in bourgeois economic thinking. Today, however, most leading Keynesians, such as Nobel laureate economists Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow, join hands with Wall Street bankers like David Rockefeller in demanding tax hikes and spending cuts to restore investor confidence. Only a handful of diehard Keynesians, such as Robert Eisner and Paul Davidson, are arguing against reducing the government deficit in the wake of the stock market crash. Such policies, Davidson warns, "can exacerbate current recessionary tendencies and can even create a second Great Depression in the 20th century."

Davidson apparently believes that Japanese and other foreign capitalists will happily continue to finance the American deficit to the tune of $150 billion a year. No way! Since Black Monday the flight of foreign capital has plunged the dollar to its lowest international value since World War II. Continued capital flight from Wall Street could threaten the solvency of a number of U.S. banks and other financial institutions. And an ever-greater devaluation of the dollar could trigger a wild inflationary spiral. *New York Times* economics columnist Leonard Silk points out that in allowing the dollar to slide the Reagan gang is "accepting the prospect that the monetary needs of the moment may feed the ancient enemy, inflation."

In any case, Keynesianism doesn't work because it leaves the means of production in capitalist hands. Its basic and false premise is that government spending has no negative effect on capitalist *investment* in new plant and equipment, the *key to productive economic expansion*. Under most circumstances this is not so. If the government finances its deficit by running the printing presses, the resulting inflation will reduce the real value of money capital held by industrialists and financiers. These will spend less because they have less to spend. If the government finances the deficit by selling bonds, it will drive up interest rates and crowd out private investment.

The efforts of the Roosevelt government in the mid-late '30s at Keynesian pump-priming, as it was then called, had no effect on the depressed state of the American economy. In fact, in 1937-38 the U.S. suffered another severe depression in which industrial output plunged even more sharply than in 1929-30.

The U.S. was finally pulled out of the Great Depression by World War II when the federal government *directly financed two-thirds of industrial construction* needed for the imperialist war effort. For the past four decades U.S. manufacturing has taken place in plants largely built in World War II (and supplemented by the Korean War boom a few years later). During World War II the government imposed rigid wage and price controls to keep down inflation. A capitalist regime will do these things only in a major war when its survival is at stake, and it can impose them on a population prepared to accept wartime sacrifices.

The people who run this country have run it into the ground! Why should the workers who built this country's wealth accept either bloody war or austerity in peacetime for the "health" of the capitalist economy? The Reagan "recovery" which was so good for the stock market left most of black America out of its "miracle." A workers party must be built to wrest the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the greedy, incompetent capitalist class and place in the hands of the working people the power to build a new society. ■

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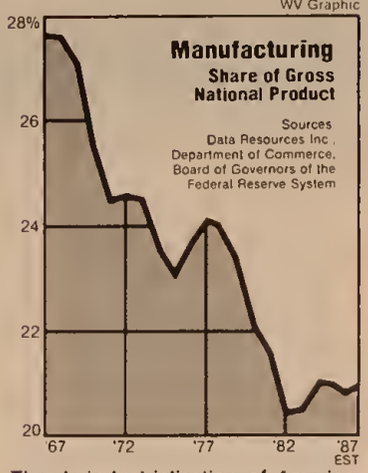

Schell/Youngstown Vindicator

The de-industrialization of America: A country that doesn't produce things can't have a "healthy" economy. Right: demolition of Youngstown, Ohio steel plant.

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Soviet Space Program...

(continued from page 4)

White House paralysis and a cash squeeze, some officials have decided to copy the Soviets: experts at the Goddard Space Center—frustrated by the $32 billion boondoggle space station plan which is still on the drawing boards—are circulating "an alternative station design that strongly resembles the Soviet Mir space station" (*Aviation Week*, 9 February), which is already in orbit and conducting scientific research.

Yet for all the billions that the capitalists throw away on these projects, in the mad scramble for maximum profits they won't even make the minimal expenditure of time and money to fix known problems, even those that are life-threatening. The long, sordid history of the fatally flawed O-rings on the Challenger's booster rockets is a case in point: explicit warnings from valiant NASA employee Richard Cook were repeatedly ignored because fixing the problem would be a "budget threat." The resulting disaster was a grim reminder of a quip by astronaut Gus Grissom (who died in a 1967 launch pad accident), that the whole thing is put together by "a crowd of lowest bidders."

To be sure, the Soviet space program, like the rest of the economy, remains burdened by a fatheaded and chauvinistic bureaucracy (it was only in the '70s, for instance, that Jewish scientists were hired at the Space Research Institute). When the Soviet working class retakes the political power usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy, these problems will be ironed out. But even now the planned collectivized economy proves its superiority over the anarchy of capitalism, which pisses away the fruits of labor in the pursuit of private profit. *Newsweek* gave a salient example from the Apollo moon program: "the tooling [for the giant Saturn rocket] was sold for scrap, and some of the detailed specs may have been lost."

To quote Karl Marx in a new light, capitalism is "its own gravedigger." ■

Chicago Labor...

(continued from page 16)

needed is a class-struggle workers party leading the fight against cop and Klan terror, forging an alliance of the multiracial labor movement and the ghetto masses.

It's no coincidence that the recent wave of police assaults is taking place at a time when labor struggle in Chicago has been smothered by the union tops. Last month the ATU bureaucracy surrendered yet another round of concessions without so much as a pretense of a fight—in order not to cause trouble for Washington. And the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) leadership called off a solid 17-day strike, in exchange for a rotten contract that sets up 1,700 union members for layoff! In the upcoming city workers negotiations, Harold Washington plans to follow the dictates of the La Salle St. bankers, who want to break the back of the city unions by farming out work to non-union firms. Transit workers are singled out for harassment by cops who hate their relatively decent jobs and their heavily black and Hispanic unions. It's high time the cops in "Segregation City" feared integrated workers *power*. There should be workers defense guards—built with union men and women, black, white and Hispanic—to defend the working people and their communities from cop and Klan attacks.

WV Photo

Militant Chicago transit workers protest layoffs, 1981. America needs a workers party!

To forge a fighting alliance of labor and the ghetto, a class-struggle labor leadership must act to break the rigid color line that excludes the black population from decent integrated housing, quality education and jobs. The union tops criminally stood aside on 28 June 1986, when the Ku Klux Klan mobilized 3,000 screaming bigots in a race-terror rally in Marquette Park. Mayor Washington sent hundreds of cops to provide "law and order"—by defending the Klan and arresting and beating the small group of leftist protesters. A wave of deadly racist firebombings and attacks followed Marquette Park—and some of the emboldened nightriders wear blue uniforms. The power of labor must be mobilized to stop this now.

Transit workers can turn it around! Remember when 800 ATU members mobilized to stop the vicious racist frame-up of David Johnson. Cook County Sheriff's deputies shackled Johnson to his hospital bed, state's attorney Richard Daley threw felony charges in his face and the leaders of Local 241 turned their backs on him—all because of a tragic and unavoidable accident on Lake Shore Drive. But a determined demonstration of labor/black power at Police Headquarters on South State Street won Johnson's freedom. Transit workers: Stand up for Cassandra Seay! Bring out Chicago labor! Take a stand on November 24—Stop the racist frame-up of Cassandra Seay and her family! Be there! ■

Healy...

(continued from page 6)

Hyland/North? What really happened to Alex Mitchell? Will we all have to read yet another Healyite "daily" to keep track?

As we wrote in 1985 when the WRP blew apart:

> "'Morality' for Marxists is inextricably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism—our genuine, concrete defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an *international* party of proletarian revolution—this has been our political compass."
>
> —"Healyism Implodes," *Spartacist* No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86

In contrast, from their early infatuation with the virulently anti-Soviet Cultural Revolution in Mao's China to their hailing of the ayatollah Khomeini, the mullahs in Afghanistan and Polish Solidarność, the Healyites stood for the hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union, backing every anti-Soviet force on the perimeter of the USSR. On stage in London, Healy, who modestly refers to himself as simply "the outstanding leader of the world Trotskyist movement in the post-war period," declared, "we are part of the Soviet Union"! But if you're waiting for a little self-criticism for two decades of anti-Soviet programmatic positions, don't hold your breath. Indeed, Healy still upholds the counterrevolutionary clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarność as a model for "political revolution" in the Soviet Union.

The guiding principle of Healyism is "anything goes." Healy has always been someone's running dog, but as we wrote in *Spartacist*: "...between working for [American Trotskyist leader James P.] Cannon and working for the Libyan government there is a class gulf. But in Healy's mind there probably wasn't much difference between seeking to ride the coattails of left-Labour politician Aneurin Bevan and becoming a political whore for Colonel Qaddafi." Now Healy and Vanessa take to the road like traveling snake oil salesmen in new outfits. If it weren't for the buckets of blood that were spilled while Healy and his well-heeled thespian were running dogs for oil-rich Near East despots, it might be amusing. ■

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Nicaraguan Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

the October Revolution. Defense of the Soviet Union begins in Central America—For full Soviet military aid to Nicaragua without political strings! No to the "peace" pact!

No "Peace" in El Salvador

At least the leftist rebels in El Salvador have enough sense of self-preservation to see that the "peace" accords won't protect them: the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) broke off peace talks following the cold-blooded murder on October 26 of the president of the Human Rights Commission, Herbert Anaya. Two days later thousands of angry demonstrators, in a tense confrontation with riot police and troops, marched in San Salvador on a day of "national indignation" to protest the death squad execution. In direct response to Anaya's assassination the FMLN guerrillas launched a new military campaign called "Justice and Punishment for the Country's Criminals." For a full week starting on November 3 the FMLN paralyzed transportation nationwide for the seventh time this year. Last Friday, on the day the "peace" accords were supposed to go into effect, San Salvador lost electrical power and reverberated with the shock waves of explosions as rebel sappers carried out the most devastating attacks yet on the nation's electrical system, destroying eleven major installations around the country.

While Salvadoran president Napoleón Duarte poses as the "peace-making democrat," his government's death machine targets all those who dare stand up for basic human justice. Anaya, the seventh human rights official killed or "disappeared" since 1978, was one of those fingered by a massive governmental propaganda campaign to label all left-wing opposition as "terrorist." Death squad killings are on the rise as the frustrated security forces and right wing seek to behead popular protest. And the day after Anaya's murder, the Salvadoran legislature unanimously approved an amnesty law which pardons the death squad killers, both in and out of uniform, who are responsible for the bloodbath which has claimed 65,000 civilian lives in the last seven years. Some 420 people who were "freed" from jail have been afraid to leave after one of them was killed on November 5. Only a leftist military victory can uproot the pathological killers who dominate this U.S.-backed "death squad democracy."

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Locked in by a parochial nationalist perspective, the Sandinistas foolishly proclaim they are not aiding the FMLN or any other "foreign" left-wing guerrilla movements; domestically they conciliate the "patriotic" bourgeoisie rather than expropriating their property. But now more urgently than ever, the Nicaraguan Revolution must break out of the bounds of Sandinista nationalism in favor of revolutionary class war: Eliminate the internal fifth-columnists, expropriate the bourgeoisie! Close *La Prensa* and Radio Católica! No amnesty for counterrevolutionaries! Defend, complete, extend the revolution! That's the kind of program which made the Bolshevik Revolution and is today carried forward by the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. Class war, not conciliating imperialism, is the only way to save the Nicaraguan Revolution from the counterrevolutionary slaughter now being prepared. ■

WV Photo

Spartacists at Chicago protest against contra war criminal Adolfo Calero, July 28.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Transit Union Calls for Mobilization at Cassandra Seay Trial

Chicago Labor Must Fight Racist Cop Terror!

CHICAGO, November 7—Transit unionists are building a mass labor protest at Cook County Circuit Court on November 24 to smash the racist frame-up of black bus driver Cassandra Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant. Last July 21 seven white cops invaded Seay's home where they savagely beat the two women. The stormtrooper assault left Seay so severely injured that she was hospitalized for over a week and missed three months of work. Now, in obscene perversion of justice, the *victims* of this cop brutality face up to *15 years in jail* on trumped-up charges, including assaulting a police officer!

On November 6, in response to a campaign by workers in Cassandra Seay's union, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241, the union executive board issued a call for Local 241 members to turn out for the trial. The 10,000 Chicago transit workers, joined by labor and blacks from across "Segregation City," must mobilize in a massive show of labor/black power to stop the wave of racist cop terror in Chicago!

November 10—As we go to press, the members of ATU rail Local 308 voted unanimously tonight to join Local 241 in mobilizing at the courthouse to defend Seay.

Drop All Charges Against Cassandra Seay and Her Family!

Bus driver Cassandra Seay. WV Photo

Be There!
Tuesday, November 24, 9:00 a.m.
Cook County Circuit Court
1340 S. Michigan

The July 21 attack began when the seven cops went to the Seay home to "investigate" the accidental breaking of a van window by some teenagers playing football, allegedly including one of Seay's sons. Arriving home from work, still in her transit uniform, Cassandra found the cops trying to intimidate her mother at the front door. Callie Bryant, in a 1 October interview with Lu Palmer on WVON radio, described what happened after Cassandra asked the police if they had a search warrant. "At that point the big plainclothesman said, 'We don't have to take this talk from this b----.' And he tried to pull me out of the door.... He slapped me and I almost went off of her porch. And at that time they rushed into the house." Meanwhile two cops broke down the back door and entered the house. Moments later Bryant saw the cops beating her daughter:

> "I saw the officer hit her and she fell down on the floor. And they started kicking her in the vagina. As she was lying there on the floor, two officers were holding her arms up over her head and letting this big man kick her."

As he kicked her and ground his knee into her side, the cop threatened, "B----, I have your a--, now I'm gonna get your job." Then they arrested every family member present—Cassandra, her mother and her two sons.

It didn't take long for the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bosses to team up with the cops. According to the arrest report, CTA "Supervisor Rodenski... stated that he would begin complaint proceedings against arrestee #1 [Seay] in the proper CTA channels." And Cassandra, in the hospital with neck and back injuries and internal bleeding, was *denied her insurance benefits* until she promised to repay the CTA if the cops' racist frame-up succeeds!

Militants in ATU bus Local 241 and rail Local 308 have organized to bring out the power of labor in defense of the Seay family. On October 27 three union members issued a leaflet, "Stop the Racist Frame-Up of Union Sister Cassandra Seay!", calling for labor/black action against cop terror:

> "The charges against Cassandra Seay and her family are deadly serious. Our union has the power to stop this racist railroad. We must act now! The cops have been on a rampage in Chicago. One week after the attack on Seay, Chicago cops murdered Larry Hawkins, a 28-year-old disabled black auto worker, in cold blood in the basement of his mother's South Side home. In the past two months, at least five black men have been gunned down by the killer-cops."

Within a week, more than 150 transit workers, including several executive board members, had endorsed the leaflet's motion for a November 24 demonstration. One bus driver after another told of his personal experience with the racist labor-hating cops who think they own the streets. Dozens of workers came to a Local 241 union meeting on November 2 to demand union action. In the midst of this campaign yet another driver, Ronald Washington, was beaten to the ground, kneed in the spine, handcuffed and hurled face first into the back of a paddy wagon. His "crime"? Allegedly "obstructing traffic" while stopping to repair his bus! *The cop that brutally assaulted Washington was James Bruce—triggerman in the murder of Larry Hawkins!* According to Local 241 officials, this same killer harassed a woman bus driver four months ago.

This racist, capitalist system breeds monsters like James Bruce. *Race-terror is police policy.* Nearly every day, the *Chicago Defender* carries a story on another brutal beating or killing by the nightriders in blue. The Chicago cops know they will be backed up by the bosses' courts and the police department's own whitewashing Office of Professional Standards. And it hasn't changed one iota under the Democratic Party "reform" administration of black mayor Harold Washington—in fact racist police terror is on the rise. Knowing capitalist "justice" is blind to racist cop terror, the cops often challenge their victims to "go tell Harold." Even though Washington is himself targeted by the bonapartist cops, his administration has done nothing to curb police terror. Racist and anti-labor violence is an essential prop of the rule of the capitalist class, the same class that Democrat Washington is pledged to serve. All over the U.S., cop terror and hideous killings go on unchecked and it makes no difference if the mayor is a white racist pig or somebody like Harold Washington or Atlanta's Andrew Young, black liberals installed to derail and suppress black anger.

Washington's single "reform" in the notoriously racist Chicago police department was to appoint a black superintendent, Fred Rice. Widely discredited in the black community after four years of police racism, strikebreaking and corruption, Rice resigned last month. In his place Washington appointed Leroy Martin, a 32-year police veteran supported by the white "law and order" City Council opposition. Martin recently threatened a pregnant doctor who refused to admit a cop to St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital, telling her he would "send a squadrol to pick you up and... put a firing squad to you" (*Chicago Defender*, 29 October).

Democratic Party black faces in high places don't make the streets safe for black working people in Chicago. Jesse Jackson is courting George Wallace and the Dixiecrats—his Rainbow Coalition won't fight to defend the victims of Chicago's killer cops. The Democratic Party politicians, black and white, are the *enemies* of integrated working-class struggle against racist terror. What's

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 441 | 27 November 1987

Democrats Prop Up American Empire

Reagan on the Ropes

For the American ruling class, 1987 has been the year of living dangerously. They're stuck with a basket case as commander in chief who "can't remember" whether or not he armed the ayatollah. As the financial structure of the empire is shaking loose at its foundations this "what me worry?" president declares that all's well with the economy. It truly is "Bedtime for Bonzo," but Ronald Reagan's not in Hollywood any longer and he can't reshoot the scene. What keeps the stock market moneymen biting their fingernails is that this bozo still has another 14 months left on his lease at the White House—more than enough time to get the U.S. into a shoot-out in the Persian Gulf or to blow away what's left of the Dow Jones.

The bourgeoisie has been shuddering all year over the absence of a captain at the helm of the American state. But when Wall Street crashed through a black hole, it was the last straw. American presidents are at least supposed to *look* serious and concerned in the midst of a crisis: the image of Reagan grinning idiotically before the television cameras as the American bourgeoisie lost a quarter of the paper value of its wealth must have flashed through many a financier's nightmare. A *Boston Globe* (2 November) columnist captured it when he wrote:

> "The trouble is that perhaps we could have afforded to be governed by a good-natured, doddering old gaffer when times were good. But now the stakes are simply too high and the issues too complex.... Maybe the only thing we have to fear is fear itself, but given the Reagan White House, we have every reason to be scared stiff."

Der Spiegel

Imperial president: cornered and crazed. KO Reagan and the Democrats with hard class struggle!

The Reagan presidency was effectively put on the shelf soon after the Iran/Contragate scandal blew up last year. The solution was to be "coalition government" between the White House and Congress, facilitated by the appointment of moderate Republican Howard Baker as chief of staff. But the Democrats have no alternative to Reaganism, and above all they want to control the damage to the imperial presidency. The Contragate "investigation" was such a blatant cover-up of a cover-up that the televised hearings became a platform for the contra cutthroats. Emboldened, the Reaganauts provoked a showdown with Congress over the Supreme Court—and lost, twice. Judge Bork went down in flames in the Senate, and Reagan's next nominee Ginsburg went up in smoke. The result has been paralysis in Washington on everything from the budget deficit to Central America.

Now comes the Congressional committees' final ho-hum report on Iran/Contragate, condemning "a cabal of the zealots" who were following "the path to dictatorship": "The common ingredients of the Iran and Contra policies were secrecy, deception and disdain for the law." Even worse, the White House bunglers had produced "one of the worst credibility crises of any administration in U.S. history." Chief counsel Arthur Liman noted that in a parliamentary system, the Reagan regime would have fallen. But talk of impeachment was taboo from the very beginning. Instead, the Democrats decided to simply ignore the administration as House speaker Jim Wright took over negotiations with Nicaragua. Today the Democratic Party is the main prop of the American empire.

Contra-in-chief Reagan vowed that he would stand by his terrorists to his last

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Butcher of the Belgrano Hits King's Cross

London: Thatcher's Subway Inferno

LONDON—King's Cross station is the busiest rail and underground (subway) junction in this city of eight million, serving some 250,000 people daily: working people, shoppers, schoolchildren, tourists. Those unfortunate enough to be there at 7:30 on the evening of Wednesday, November 18 found themselves caught in a blazing inferno. At King's Cross, as at most other tube stations, there are *no* smoke detectors, *no* automatic sprinkling system, *no* fire alarms, *no* illuminated exit signs. And so they died.

Ceramic tiles exploded off the ceiling, concrete walls cracked, metal ticketing machines melted. In a matter of minutes, 30 people were burned alive as a sheet of flame and smoke emanating from an antiquated wooden escalator engulfed the station's huge ticket concourse. Another 50 were hospitalised, several of them still fighting for their

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Dobney/Independent

London tube station, the day after. Thirty people were trapped and burned alive November 18.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

We must not forget the class-war prisoners—those in prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—whose freedom is in the interest of the whole of the working people. As International Labor Defense (ILD) founder and first secretary (1925-1928) James P. Cannon expressed, "The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem" (*Labor Defender*, September 1926).

The ILD sent monthly stipends and also raised additional funds at Christmas for the imprisoned worker-militants and their families. The Partisan Defense Committee has revived both traditions and is now initiating our second holiday appeal to raise funds for monthly stipends and holiday gifts for the 21 class-war prisoners and their families. Let them know that they are not forgotten!

The response of the capitalists, Republicans and Democrats alike, to the "Crash of '87" is more pain and suffering for America's poor and working people. The cops and courts seek to assure that those who fight the poverty and racism endemic to capitalism are "housed" in prison hellholes or their graves. While their jailers glut on roast goose, many of the class-war prisoners have spent more than a decade of Christmases behind bars. Former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt has been behind bars for 18 years framed up for a crime he did not and could not have committed, as part of the FBI's racist COINTELPRO conspiracy to "neutralize" black activists. Former Nebraska Panther leaders Ed Poindexter and David Rice (now known as Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa), Hugo Pinell, one of the San Quentin Six, and Ruchell Magee also remain in prison hellholes for fighting racist oppression.

Ramona Africa is the sole adult survivor of the 13 May 1985 bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE commune—a government message to blacks who dare to challenge America's racist status quo. We send stipends to Africa family members scattered in prisons throughout Pennsylvania for defending their homes from earlier cop assaults in 1977 and 1978—Janet Holloway, Consuewella Dotson, Janine Phillips, Charles Sims, William Phillips, Delbert Orr, Alberta Wicker, Susan Leon, Michael Davis, Merle Austin, Debbie Sims. They saw their babies and most of their loved ones murdered in the savage police bombing of their Osage Avenue home. For his outspoken support of MOVE, journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal is on Pennsylvania's death row, framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981.

Across the seas, Mordechai Vanunu faces the death penalty in Israel for exposing the extent of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal. And in Britain, miners Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock have spent three years of an eight-year sentence, imprisoned for defending their picket lines and union during the 1984-1985 bitter fight against Margaret Thatcher's vicious union-busting.

Support for the class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the duty of those on the outside to those inside prison walls. Come to the Holiday Appeal fundraisers in New York and Chicago (see ad below). Send your checks to the PDC. Don't forget the class-war prisoners!

* * *

On December 1, Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu again steps into the dock to stand trial for his life. Vanunu faces the death penalty for his courageous exposure of Israel's arsenal of 100-200 nuclear weapons, fixed on Arab capitals and the Soviet workers state, and posing the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust.

For his courageous act Vanunu was recently named the recipient of the 1987 Right Livelihood Award, known as the "alternative Nobel Prize." He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the British Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 40 British Members of Parliament and nine Australian MPs and senators. The Nobel Commission, which normally gives the award to war criminals like Irgun terrorist Menachem Begin claimed the nomination was submitted "too late"—and then gave it to the later nominee Costa Rican president Oscar Arias. Noted author Gore Vidal wrote to the international Spartacist tendency, "Yes, I think Vanunu is a hero and so ought *not* to have a prize tarnished by such recipients as Kissinger."

Inside the Zionist fortress itself, increasing numbers are braving state repression to stand up for Vanunu. He did a great service to humanity and that debt must be repaid. International working-class defense must be mobilized to save Vanunu. Donations can be sent to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145.

* * *

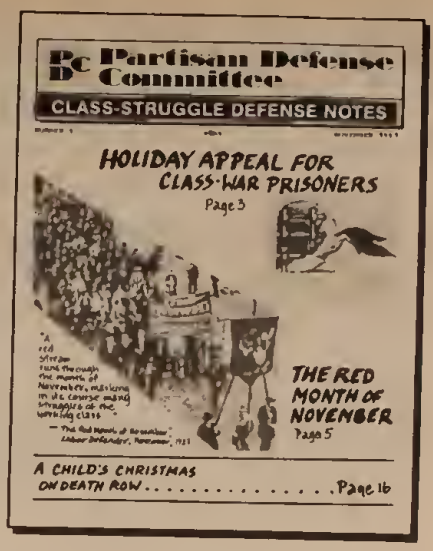
"The sentimentalization of children in America is particularly apparent at Christmas time.... This sugar-plum hypocrisy takes place against a background of a massive failure of decent feeling for children, as juveniles are legally murdered.

"Let's not begin with the statistics this time. Let's begin with Ronald Ward on death row in Arkansas. He's 16 years old. He's black. He was 15 when the crime occurred for which he was sentenced to death."

To read more of "A Child's Christmas on Death Row" get the latest issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, just published. This issue also features Cannon's "Red Month of Novemher"—honoring the Bolshevik Revolution, Haymarket martyrs and other revolutionary traditions—and updates on the class-war prisoners and other cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. Get your copy now.

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. We now have over 75 sustaining contributors from around the world, and more than 375 others who have contributed $5 or more during the past year. Help us reach our goal of 100 monthly sustainers and 500 contributors by the New Year. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

With your contribution of $5 or more, receive a subscription to Class-Struggle Defense Notes. For a single copy of issue Number 6, send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.



TROTSKY

The Revolutionary Party—Tribune of the People

LENIN

In defining the tasks of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party at the turn of the century, V. I. Lenin launched a fight against the "Economists," who restricted the workers' struggle to narrow trade-union issues. His 1902 pamphlet What Is To Be Done? *stressed that "class political consciousness can be brought to the workers* only from without," *that is, from the relations of* all *classes to the state. Acting as the memory of the working class and its leader in struggle, the party must be a* tribune of the people. *The Leninist vanguard party, mobilizing the oppressed behind the banner of the proletariat, was the crucial instrument that enabled the Bolsheviks to lead the Russian 1917 October Revolution.*

We have seen that the conduct of the broadest political agitation and, consequently, of all-sided political exposures is an absolutely neeessary and a *paramount* task of our activity, if this activity is to be truly Social-Democratic.

...the Social-Demoerat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single pieture of police violence and eapitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat....

—V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement* (1902)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 441 **27 November 1987**

Partisan Defense Committee Benefits

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Saturday, December 5
7:30-11:30 p.m.
Szechuan Empire
119 Court Street, Brooklyn
Co-sponsor: New York Labor Black League for Social Defense

NEW YORK
For more information (212) 267-1025

Sunday, December 6
4:00-8:00 p.m.
1212 South Michigan, Party Room
Food, entertainment and bar
(Childcare provided)

CHICAGO
For more information (312) 663-0719

Tickets: $5 advance, $8 at door, $10 contributing

Defend Kentucky Miners!

Facing life imprisonment and million-dollar fines, five members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local Union 2496 and one union supporter will go on trial in London, Kentucky beginning November 24. Donnie Thornsbury, the local president, his cousin David Thornsbury, vice president Irvin Smith, his brother Darrell, Paul Smith and Arnold Heightland are facing trumped-up federal charges of conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce. This frame-up stems from the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver during the bitter 15-month strike against the nation's sixth-largest coal producer, A.T. Massey Coal Company, in 1984-85. The entire labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights must rally to their defense. An injury to one is an injury to all!

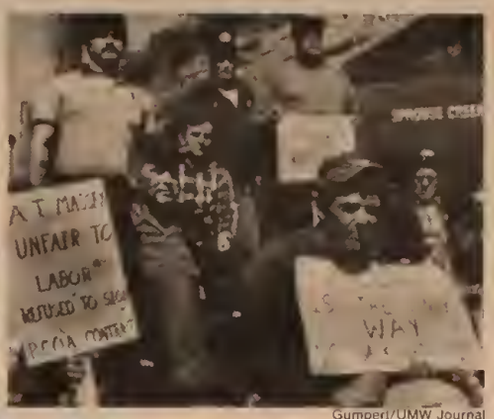
In August, heavily armed FBI agents and state police launched an early morning raid on the miners' homes, arresting five. Paul Smith was picked up last month. The workers are being tried separately and are not permitted to consult with each other in their defense. Moreover, U.S. District Judge Eugene Siler has used the police-state "Bail Reform Act" passed in 1984 to deny bail, outrageously claiming that the men are a danger to the community. As Charles Dixon, UMWA District 30 International Executive Board member, told *WV*: "It looks like the guys are going to have to prove themselves innocent."

This attack by the bosses' state is the "legal" continuation of the war which Massey and the government waged on the UMWA during the strike. A.T. Massey mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky were struck on 1 October 1984 when the company refused to sign the union's national contract because it includes crucial "panel rights," giving laid-off miners hiring rights at other mines of the same company. Massey hired scabs. Mass pickets and demonstrations in front of Norfolk & Western coal trains were answered with $200,000 in fines and hundreds of arrests. And Massey, partly owned by the Fluor Corporation which specializes in slave-labor operations in "free world" strongholds like South Africa and Chile, brought in an army of gun thugs. These killer contras included "former" Green Berets and veteran mercenaries from imperialism's dirty, losing wars in Rhodesia, Central America and the Near East.

The company spent millions on miles of chain link fences and cement observation posts; it equipped its uniformed guards with attack dogs, M-16s and, reportedly, machine guns. Massey deployed helicopters, armored personnel carriers and an armored locomotive nicknamed the "Bull Moose Special." This was the same name given to the armor-plated, machine gun-equipped train the coal operators used to transport scabs in the bloody coal field wars in Cabin Creek and Paint Creek, West Virginia in 1912-13. A few years later the battleground was nearby Tug Fork valley, a struggle vividly portrayed in the current movie *Matewan*. Many Massey strikers are from the same area and not much has changed. As Charles Dixon, who lives less than a mile from Matewan, told *WV*:

> "It's a constant struggle. They come in and they bring their big pocketbook, buy up a bunch of county officials, start controlling the county, bring in their gun thugs, put up their chain link fence. They set 'em up a little terrorist camp. During the Massey strike there were probably 100 or so UMWA members' homes that were shot up, mine included. There were lots and lots of mine workers that were seriously injured. It was not one-sided."

Bertram/Lexington Herald-Leader



Gumpert/UMW Journal

Class war in the coal fields: Striker mans picket bunker in Canada, Kentucky (left). Miners from this local now stand trial for solidarity action with A.T. Massey strikers' 15-month struggle (above).

Massey strikers fought virtually alone from the first day of their walkout. Abandoning the union's tradition of industrywide shutdowns to enforce a national contract, UMWA president Rich Trumka called for "selective strikes" against operators who refused to sign the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA) agreement. In February 1985, when Massey threatened to fire all strikers from its Sprouse Creek processing plant in Lobata, West Virginia, picket lines rapidly grew to more than 1,000. But Trumka ordered them reduced as a "gesture of good faith." The next day 50 pickets were arrested. Trumka called off the strike in December 1985, putting his faith in a National Labor Relations Board ruling that Massey and its affiliates constitute a single employer. Now, three years after the walkout, *the Massey miners have still not been called back to work and the scabs are still in the mine.*

This sabotage of the Massey strike was backed by the *Militant* (10 January 1986), paper of the very *non*-militant Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which joined Trumka in hailing the NLRB ruling as an "important step forward for the union." The SWP (far from unique as a would-be water boy for "progressive" union tops) covers for Trumka's "selective defeats," just as they were press agents for Arnold Miller's alliance with the U.S. Labor Department which dragged the miners union into the capitalist courts. They were still backing Miller even as West Virginia miners were burning him in effigy and ripping up his sellout deals with the BCOA bosses in the 1977-78 strike.

Trumka couples his losing strategy of "selective strikes" and faith in the bosses' courts and labor boards with protectionist poison—pitting U.S. miners against their class brothers in other countries in a desperate scramble for jobs. Under the pretense of fighting apartheid terror in South Africa, Trumka is campaigning to boycott Shell Oil because of its coal mining operations there. But the South Africa connection is Trumka's cover for calling to halt *all* coal imports in order to "protect" the jobs of American miners. Trumka makes chauvinist appeals that "Apartheid is a direct threat to American jobs" (*United Mine Workers Journal*, February 1986). What's needed instead is *international class solidarity*, through common strike action against the multinational giants like Fluor and Shell.

The current contract with the BCOA expires on January 31 and negotiations with the coal operators have already begun. If the miners facing trial in Kentucky are convicted it will embolden the bosses now under union contract to follow Massey's example of spitting on the UMWA. But the answer to the arrogant coal bosses comes from the mine workers' own history. During the heroic '77-78 coal strike, Jimmy Carter's strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction was burned in the coal fields.

In August 1974, a five-day national work stoppage was called to force the Duke Power Company to recognize the UMWA after a 13-month strike in Brookside, Kentucky. (That battle was immortalized in the award-winning movie, *Harlan County, USA*.) This kind of united union action would have brought Massey to its knees *three years ago* and there'd be no strikers in jail today! But Trumka doesn't want to embarrass his "friends of labor" capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party. With Reagan on the ropes, now is the time for some good hard class struggle. Miners throughout the coal fields ought to take a "holiday" and demand: Free the Kentucky miners! Drop the charges! Shove a standard union contract down A.T. Massey's throat!

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the legal defense of the Kentucky miners now facing trial. Readers of *WV* are urged to send contributions to: Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519. ■

El Salvador: Centeno Brothers Freed

Over 400 Salvadoran political prisoners were released in early November as part of the Central American "peace accords." *Workers Vanguard* has learned from San Salvador that José and Jaime Centeno, sons of telephone workers union (ASTTEL) leader Humberto Centeno, were among those released. The Duarte government's kidnapping, brutal torture and imprisonment of the Centenos for the last two years starkly revealed the hideous reality behind the "Made in U.S.A." death squad "democracy." *WV* denounced their arrest and defended the heroic ASTTEL workers, against whom the vicious treatment of the Centeno brothers was directed. The Partisan Defense Committee took up their case and sent a contribution to their aid. José now faces extensive surgical care for shrapnel wounds suffered in a barbarous attack on Mariona prison by government troops last August.

We are overjoyed to hear that the Centenos and hundreds of imprisoned unionists have been released. Still languishing behind bars, however, are those alleged to have been involved in the spectacular 1985 attack on U.S. Marine "advisers" in the Zona Rosa section of San Salvador. And for those who were liberated, their "freedom" is relative. All leftists and union militants live in fear of the terror squads whose activity has increased as the army and Duarte regime crumble. Now the "Arias plan" demands that aid to the FDR/FMLN rebels be cut off, and that they "negotiate" with the murderous oppressors of the working class. A just peace will come to long-suffering El Salvador only when leftist insurgents and militant workers smash the death squads and their capitalist masters once and for all. ■

Charles Kernaghan

Salvadoran union leader Humberto Centeno (center) with sons Jaime (left) and José (second from right).

Coyoacán Meeting Commemorates

Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik Revolution

On November 7, in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, an all-day cultural celebration was held at the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, Mexico. The site is the house where Trotsky lived and worked during the last years of his life before being struck down by a Stalinist assassin in August 1940. An art exhibition by young painters filled the grounds and various rooms, there were musical groups and a poetry reading in the Museum garden, and a video of Trotsky's daily life was shown in the dining room.

In the evening there were two round-table discussions, attended by around 100 people, covering a spectrum of views on the theme of "Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik Revolution." The first was addressed by Esteban Volkov Bronstein, Trotsky's grandson, and by Jan Norden of the international Spartacist tendency. We print their remarks below, translated from the Spanish by *WV*. The second discussion included Javier Contreras, Adolfo Gilly and Manuel Aguilar Mora of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican affiliate of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

A topic of discussion was the petition campaign by social democrats and various ostensible Trotskyists calling on the Kremlin to "rehabilitate" Trotsky. Yet Trotsky fought, both theoretically and in his practical work together with Lenin in the leadership of the Soviet state and at the head of the Red Army, for a socialist society rather different from what exists in the Soviet Union today. Thus, as the Spartacist speaker noted, it's hardly surprising that the bureaucracy should pervert Lenin and denounce Trotsky, as Gorbachev did in his 70th anniversary speech.

The November 7 Coyoacán commemoration was filmed by the Hispanic American Television Network. In addition, there has been renewed attention to Trotsky and the Trotsky Museum in the international press (see facing page).

UPI

Leon Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, reviewing troops in Moscow's Red Square, 1921.

Esteban Volkov:

After a vast press campaign in Europe, in France, everywhere, of talk about rehabilitating Trotsky on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, not only were the creator of the Red Army and Lenin's entire Old Guard—Bolshevik comrades all of them—*not* rehabilitated, but just so there wouldn't be any doubts about Gorbachev's loyalty to the group he heads, he still had to characterize the founder of the Red Army as a vacillating and cheating politician and a petty-bourgeois factionalist.

In contrast, he recognized Leninist attributes in Joseph Stalin, who assassinated the entire Bolshevik Old Guard. And Gorbachev also praised Stalin's abilities as a leader in the Second World War, when it's well known that Stalin could be charged with the crime of high treason against the Soviet Union, for decapitating the Red Army shortly before the Nazi invasion. He liquidated all the experienced generals, all the officials trained in the art of war, leaving the army headless against the Nazi invasion, with a real danger that Russia could lose the war. If it didn't lose, it was in part due to the great vitality and heroism of the Russian people, and as well to "General Winter" which has also inflicted great defeats on the invaders of Russia.

In any case, without a doubt the terms used by Gorbachev to diminish Trotsky sound quite friendly after all the diatribes and all the insults and slanders spewed out at the time of Stalin and his supporters, accusing Trotsky of being an agent of the Mikado and spying on orders from Hitler. They quickly became accustomed to changing it according to the opportunist policies and the shifts and orders from Stalin, who also changed the networks and the chiefs for whom Trotsky was supposedly working. So when Stalin carried out the non-aggression pact with Hitler, automatically Trotsky was assigned to the espionage service of England, the United States and the French Deuxième Bureau. So it seems Trotsky was quite changeable in his "terrorist" activities.

We must not forget that the clashes between Leon Trotsky and Stalin and his followers, his supporters, were not the result of antipathy or character differences, but had a very well-founded political basis: Trotsky and Stalin were on different sides of the barricade. Trotsky unconditionally defended the postulates of Marxism and the interests of the working class and peasantry, or agricultural workers, against Stalin and the bureaucracy which he headed, a voracious, ambitious bureaucracy which fought to acquire all the positions of command and administration in the new state apparatus which was forming.

Stalin can really be considered the father and the champion of this new Soviet bureaucracy, whose political elite has been designated with the name of *nomenklatura*. Today there are still differences over if it is a political class or a social class, or if it isn't a social class. Vozlensky, a Russian historian, defends the viewpoint that it is a social class. It has the most absolute and total power which any political or social class has had in the history of humanity. No one could rival or compete with it in terms of absolutism or the control that the Soviet bureaucracy has in Russia.

Little by little this bureaucracy took over every space, down to the last corner of life in the Soviet Union. And in fact, it turned what was the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship over the proletariat. But so much control, so much paternalism and so much love smothers and kills. And the economies of those countries with statified property, governed by fossilized and paralyzed bureaucracies, are falling behind in every field of creativity, of progress, in technology, not to mention the economy, in science, in the arts. In everything the situation is becoming dangerous—the countries with a statified economy headed by bureaucracies are falling totally behind the progress, so dynamic, so revolutionary, being undergone by the capitalist countries.

Thus the bureaucracy—to its own regret—has to recognize that its presence introduces so much dead weight in every sphere in the countries with a statified economy that it endangers its own survival. And that obliges the bureaucracy to look for a way out, and to pose the question of whether the bureaucracy has the capacity to modernize and renovate itself, to give way, to create space for freedom and democracy and allow the working and peasant classes to determine their own fate; that from being the proprietor and lord the bureaucracy can become a helping partner and friendly guide of the workers, and peasants, which can pare down its gains and privileges, creating a symbiotic rather than a parasitic relationship. Sounds like pure utopia, doesn't it?

It would be a way, perhaps, of acquiring a historic legitimacy which it doesn't have, because in reality the bureaucracy usurped a revolution which was made in the name of the working class

WV Photo

Esteban Volkov Bronstein, Trotsky's grandson (left), and Jan Norden (center) at 70th anniversary celebration of Russian Revolution in Trotsky's house, Coyoacán, Mexico.

The New York Times, 16 November 1987
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Mexico City Journal

Grandfather Fed the Rabbits as He Battled Stalin

By LARRY ROHTER
Special to The New York Times

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 12 — Lenin lies in his tomb on Red Square, and Stalin is interred at the Kremlin Wall. But the ashes of Leon Trotsky, theoretician of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Red Army, remain in exile and oblivion in the quiet garden of the small house here where he was assassinated by a presumed Soviet agent 47 years ago.

Esteban Volkov Bronstein, however, wants to see that changed, and has been encouraged by recent events in the Soviet Union. He is the grandson of Trotsky, whose private name was Lev Davidovich Bronstein, and guardian of his memory. Mr. Volkov, who is a Mexican citizen, wants the Soviet leadership to restore his grandfather to his rightful place in history and to acknowledge Stalin's guilt in his death.

"We are observing the process of glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union favorably," Mr. Volkov said this week, referring to Moscow's catch phrases for openness and economic restructuring. He sat and talked in a cool, dark study of the house where he once lived with his grandfather. "But until there is a reestablishment of the historical truth about this monstrous process of assassination ordered by Stalin, we must keep insisting on this point."

In a major speech earlier this month, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, condemned Stalin for "enormous and unforgivable crimes" but did not rehabilitate Trotsky, whom he called "an excessively self-assured politician who always vacillated and cheated." Mr. Volkov quarrels with that description, but says that even negative comments about Trotsky stimulate worldwide interest in his maternal grandfather and underline his importance in the Marxist-Leninist pantheon.

Stalin vs. Trotsky

Though it was never proved that Stalin ordered Trotsky's assassination, the two were bitter rivals until Stalin succeeded in expelling Trotsky from Russia in 1929 and had him later sentenced to death in absentia. Their friction went beyond personalities and power politics to include ideological differences. Stalin sought to build an invincible Communist state "in one country," while Trotsky argued for a "permanent revolution" that would engulf the world.

"He was the first to denounce state bureaucratism and deviations from Leninism," Mr. Volkov said of his grandfather. "He was always one of the great theoreticians and representatives of Marxist thought, but he is especially relevant at this moment, as Gorbachev himself has made clear by attacking bureaucracy and economic stagnation."

These days, the house at Calle Vienna 45 where Trotsky worked and lived for the last three years of his life is a museum, financed by the Mexican Government and adherents of Trotsky's doctrine of "permanent revolution." The study where he was killed with an mountaineer's ice ax has been preserved. Bullet holes in the wall from an earlier assassination attempt have also been left untouched.

Several dozen visitors tour the museum each day, ranging from curious American tourists to Latin American, Japanese and Western European Trotskyists for whom it is a shrine. There are even a few cautious visitors from Eastern Europe, where Trotsky is still a non-person, blanked out of photographs and omitted from textbooks.

"Over the years, we have had some Soviets come here, including an entire soccer team a few years ago," Mr. Volkov said. "But when they come, they don't sign the guest book."

Recently, however, there have been some signs that even that reluctance is on its way to becoming a thing of the past. Entries in the museum register on Nov. 5 include the signatures of three Russians, including one Viktor Andreyev of Moscow.

'This Legendary Figure'

"I guess that itself is one sign of glasnost," Mr. Volkov said with a shrug. "Many people in the Soviet Union just do not believe the 60 years of lies, fabrications and calumnies that are the only thing they have heard, and want to know the truth about this legendary figure."

Mr. Volkov, who is 61 years old, was born in Yalta on the Black Sea, and joined his grandfather in Mexico in 1939. When Trotsky was assassinated in August 1940, Mr. Volkov was living here with his grandfather, grandmother and assorted bodyguards and aides. He has since forgotten Russian but speaks Spanish, French and English.

"He was quite jovial, with a great sense of humor, but also very disciplined in his work," Mr. Volkov recalled about his grandfather's daily routine. "He would get up early to write and to read and to answer correspondence, and he always made sure twice a day to feed the chickens and rabbits he kept in a coop in the yard."

Mr. Volkov, a chemist by profession, said that though "I admire the ideas of my grandfather and the ideas of Marxism," he is "not a member of any Trotskyist group." But he maintains contact with his grandfather's followers.

The Followers Are Heartened

Some of those who gathered here last week for the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution said they are more optimistic about their political prospects than at any time in the recent past.

"There is a significant change in the climate right now," said Jan Norden, editor of the American Trotskyist newspaper "Worker's Vanguard" and a member of the central committee of the Spartacist League of the United States. "Events in the Soviet Union and renewed attention worldwide to the role of Trotsky have provided us with a real opening."

Mr. Volkov predicted that the struggle to restore his grandfather's reputation "won't be resolved overnight."

He went on, "Gorbachev is under much pressure from the bureaucracy and retrograde sectors that want to maintain the status quo, so he has to brake the process in order not to create too much discontent."

Nevertheless, Mr. Volkov said he hoped the Soviet leadership would acknowledge Trotsky's historical role and rehabilitate him and Stalin's other victims.

"Trotsky himself does not need to be rehabilitated, especially by his executioners, because the whole world knows him and what he stood for," Mr. Volkov said. "But other cases of collective assassination without reason and with no legal base, these need to be brought to light. Until that change takes place, the current Soviet Government cannot disconnect itself from what Stalin did."

The New York Times/Larry Rohter

Esteban Volkov Bronstein, grandson of Leon Trotsky, standing by monument containing his grandfather's ashes in garden of house in Mexico City where Trotsky was assassinated in 1940. House is now a museum.

Contrary to the *New York Times*, it has long since been proved that Stalin ordered Trotsky's execution. The Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros, author of the failed machine-gun attack on Trotsky in May 1940, has admitted that Stalin "ordered... the physical elimination of Trotsky." Stalinist leader Valentín Campa revealed that the Mexican CP leadership even debated the murder. The assassin, Ramón Mercader, was a former member of the Catalan CP, and for his heinous deed, his mother received from Stalin the Kremlin's highest decorations. See "How the Stalinists Planned Trotsky's Murder," *WV* No. 218, 3 November 1978.

and peasantry, and for the working class. Of course, in the conditions of backwardness of a country like Russia, with a not very numerous working class which still had a very low level of schooling, it really wasn't able to hold on to power. And so they were bilked of it, fleeced, by this new class, or group, however you want to call it, which is the bureaucracy.

Ultimately, the next chapters of history, which indisputably will be quite thrilling, are going to show what will be the outcome of this sometimes tragic novel which is history—whether the bureaucracy is an excrescence of a planned system, which due to its own evolution and the contradictions of the progress of the country will disappear—which is very probable. History has taught us that power is not bestowed or granted but must be conquered. And it's probable that the Russian working class, which is no longer in the stage it was at the time of the Russian Revolution—it is a numerous class, a class now with great political consciousness—if its rights are not granted by the bureaucracy, it will know how to seize them by force.

Jan Norden:

We are meeting on this November 7 to celebrate the event which after 70 years remains the greatest victory of the workers of the world, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. And we are celebrating it here, before the grave of Lev Davidovich Trotsky, in the house where he carried out, during the last years of his life, the great work of constructing the Fourth International. We do so not only to invoke the historic figure of Trotsky, co-leader together with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin of the Russian Revolution and the early Communist International, founder of the Red Army who forged the fighting force that defeated the White Guards and the invading troops of 14 imperialist countries who sought to strangle the young Soviet republic. We do so as well to *underline the importance today of the Leninist-Trotskyist program.*

From November 1917 on, the imperialists have sought to restore capitalist exploitation in the USSR. And today, with a war-crazed maniac in the White House who jokes of "bombing Russia in five minutes," with an anti-Soviet war drive whose first target is Sandinista Nicaragua, defense of the Soviet Union is today more than ever the duty of every class-conscious worker. And to defend the gains of October, it's necessary to *return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky*, fighting to extend the socialist revolution to the entire planet.

We must say it clearly: Leon Trotsky was murdered because of his fidelity to the principles and program of Leninism, which represented a mortal danger for Stalin and the nationalist bureaucracy which he headed. There was a glaring contradiction between Lenin's struggle for world revolution and the Stalinist schema of "building socialism in one country"—so this gravedigger of the revolution tried to rewrite history with a mountaineer's ax. Not only did he murder the Trotskyist Left Oppositionists by the thousands, but in order to cover his betrayal of the Octoher Revolution he had the entire remaining Central Committee of 1917 shot along with the general staff of the Red Army.

Yet still today, although they may condemn Stalin himself for a "cult of the personality" and even for crimes, and despite the fact that for the first time in 60 years there is a leadership in the Kremlin which didn't participate in the reign of terror under the "great organizer of defeats," *the spectre of Trotsky haunts Gorbachev's Russia.* Proof of this is the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev last week on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in which he "rehabilitates," to a degree, Khrushchev, says some nice things about Bukharin and characterizes Stalin's "acts of illegality" as "unpardonable," but continues to treat Trotsky as a devil. This is no accident. The differences between Bukharin and Stalin were within the framework of a bureaucratic regime, not soviet democracy, and they shared the same fundamental program of limiting the revolution to the boundaries of an isolated Russia. Today as yesterday, the bureaucracy fears the program of permanent revolution, because it seeks above all an illusory "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. And in vituperating against the "export of revolution" it resorts to lies to distort the true content of Leninism.

Gorbachev says that "the party's leading nucleus, headed by Josef Stalin, had safeguarded Leninism...." What Leninist line is he speaking of? Would it be Stalin's policy in March 1917 when he opposed the slogan "Down with the war!", when he censored Lenin's "Letters from Afar" and called to support the Provisional Government "to the extent that it fortifies the steps of the

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Trotsky: martyr's return? June Bussey in Mexico City on the rehabilitation of a revolutionary

THE GUARDIAN
10 November 1987

Trotsky's Grandson Waits for Moscow to Fill In Blank in History

'He is especially relevant at this moment, as Gorbachev himself has made clear by attacking bureaucracy and economic stagnation.'
— Esteban Bronstein

Leon Trotsky in 1933

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune
17 November 1987

Gorbachev's talk of filling "blank spaces" in history draws international press attention to Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky.

Young Spartacus

Students: Ally with Labor to Smash Racist Attacks!

Young Spartacus Photos

Madison, November 6: 300 protest racist frat rat attacks on black and Jewish students.

Berkeley, October 16: Protesters demand desegregation of liberal university.

Madison, Berkeley

The unprecedented wave of racist attacks that broke out on traditionally liberal college campuses last spring made headlines in the bourgeois press and prompted sanctimonious denunciations by university officials. Yet today minority students across the country continue to be on the receiving end of raw violence. The University of California's Berkeley campus has been rocked by revelations of racist limits on Asian enrollment, and large protest marches by black students against cowardly Klan-style attacks. As the Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club wrote in a leaflet distributed on the campus:

> "Racist attacks at Cal must be *smashed*. A black student chased out of a football game by white racists. A dead chicken placed at a dorm gym with a note around its neck reading 'Kill niggers and Jews.' The letters 'KKK'—symbol of lynch-rope murder—carved above a black woman's dorm-room bed. Racist epithets scrawled on black organizations' flyers. Two black women run out of a housing co-op. This kind of racist terror here at Cal is part of a pattern of vicious attacks against black students on campuses across the country, on a scale not seen since at least the 1920's. In Reagan's Amerika, where the capitalist rulers have been carrying out a *class war* against the working class and minorities, it has become 'respectable' to spew racist filth, and emboldened scum translate their bigotry into the language of violence."

Meanwhile, at the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus, the Spartacus Youth Club has been in the forefront of fighting for the kind of mass, militant protests necessary to put an end to the attacks by a pack of frat rats on minority students. In a leaflet distributed to a protest in Madison on November 6, the SYC wrote:

> "Last spring the campus bigots were erecting racist statues and holding racist parties. On Oct. 29, Alasdair Cripps, Andrew Falci and other members of the Phi Gamma Delta 'Fiji' fraternity violently attacked three members of the predominantly Jewish Zeta Beta Tau fraternity. They called out anti-Semitic and racial slurs, threatened with a knife, and sent three ZBT'ers including one black to the hospital.
> "This is just one of a score of attacks on blacks and Jews that have occurred recently in Madison. On Sept. 28 a black freshman was brutally beaten by four white thugs on Park Street. During registration week this fall, racists shouted anti-Semitic epithets and hurled bricks at two members of Nottingham co-op, one who is Jewish. A swastika was painted on a tree at Hillel. Langdon Street [Madison's fraternity row] has become a 'Botha Boulevard' where blacks are afraid to walk."

This racist crap has got to be stopped! The demonstrations of hundreds of students in Berkeley and Madison exposed the most recent atrocities and galvanized anti-racist forces in public condemnation of these attacks. But these protests—narrowly focused on reforming the universities and calling on the administration to ban racist fraternities, establish "racial awareness" training courses for punk bigots, or "ethnic studies" requirements for all students—will not end racism in this capitalist society.

Just look at what happened with the "Fiji" frat thugs in Madison. Suspended for installing a 15-foot statue of a black man with a bone through his nose on the front lawn of their frat house and partying in black face, the frat rats were obliged to attend special classes aimed at "behavior modification." They then celebrated their reinstatement by bashing black and Jewish students! In an editorial the *Daily Cardinal* (3 November) dryly noted, "Apparently a racism workshop didn't quite do the trick."

Anti-racist students are looking for answers. A local rad-lib paper, the Madison *Isthmus*, prominently reprinted a call for militant action from the SYC's leaflet: "Students and labor must mobilize in militant action to drive these race-terrorists off campus now, *before* anyone else gets hurt or killed! If one of these Nazi-inspired punks were nabbed and displayed naked with a yellow stripe down his back it would do more than a thousand 'race relationship workshops'."

The root cause of racism is not "bad ideas" in the skulls of aberrant individuals, but a rotting capitalist system that keeps black people subjugated as a race-color caste at the bottom of the economy, the "last hired, first fired." America's rulers shift the blame for desperate poverty and racism onto the victims of capitalist oppression. A recent grotesque example is a New York State Board of Regents study which argues that black students have an innately different "learning style" than white students, including a "tendency to approximate space, number and time instead of aiming for complete accuracy" (*New York Times*, 21 November). The aim of such bald bigotry can only be Jim Crow segregation. When pseudo-scientific racists argue that minorities learn differently, they mean to teach them separately, and *unequally*. An uproar from black educators over the implications of this report prompted the racist Regents to modify it—adding slurs against Hispanics and Asians as well!

College campuses are more segregated than ever, due in part to skyrocketing costs which deny black working-class youth access to higher education. At UW-Madison, black enrollment has dropped to *1.6 percent* of the student population. The Spartacus Youth Clubs call for open admissions

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Young Spartacus

Spartacists call for mobilizing the power of organized labor to smash racist attacks at Columbia University last spring.

Cornell Students Protest JDL Führer

Drive Out Zionist Fascist Kahane!

ITHACA—Fifty students held a picket line at Cornell University Novemher 9 to protest the Zionist stormtrooper Meir Kahane, an ultrarightist Israeli politician and the founder of the racist Jewish Delense League (JDL). Despite a massive cop presence and threats of reprisals hy the university administration, thc Spartacus Youth Club (SYC), Cornell Radical Union, Palestinian Human Rights Committee, International Socialists Organization and the "Marxist-Lenmists ol Ithaca" greeted this architect ol' genocide with chants like "Smash fascist Kahane!" and "Not Jew against Arah, hut class against class!"

Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi (who for years tried to "pass" as "Michael King"), in 1968 founded the terrorist JDL which became notorious for attacks on hlack militants, Arabs and leftists, and homhings ol Soviet diplomatic oltices. Kahane emigrated to Israel in 1971, where he built a genocidal fascist cult, the Kach party, and was elected to parliament As the Cornell SYC explained in our 8 Novemher lealet building for the demonstration:

> "Openly campaigning lor the expulsion and genocide of Palestinian Arabs lrom the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Golan, Gaza and southern Lehanon as well as the 600,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens, Kahane's armed thugs, often Jews from the U.S., have terrorized Arab communities and schools The fascist Kach party has grown rapidly in a country where sadistic police, troops and fanatical 'settlers' armed to the teeth get their Gestapo-like kicks humiliating, beating and killing Arab men, women and children "

In the U.S., if his targets were different, his methods were the same. The *Village Voice* (24 November) notes that "A federal grand jury in Brooklyn is currently probing the JDL in connection with bombings, homicides, extortion and kidnapping...." The *Voice* also reports Justice Department complaints that the Israeli government is obstructing an investigation into JDL terrorism, including the October 1985 pipe-bomb murder of Alex Odeh, an official of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Kahane and his ultrarightist party have a program of genocide—and it's an action program starting right now. After Kahane spoke at Cornell last year, Arab students received death threats, and leaflets calling Arabs "roaches" and "dogs" appeared all over campus. Yet the *Cornell Daily Sun* and dim civil libertarians lecture that students are obligated to respect this kill-crazy scum's right to "free speech." As the SYC's leaflet replied, "The issue is *self-defense* against fascistic terrorists and organizers for genocide. Drive Kahane off campus!"

Young Spartacus

Cornell University: Spartacus Youth Club played active role in building November 10 protest against JDL Führer Meir Kahane.

"Liheral" Zionists claiming to be opposed to Kahane *refused to demonstrate* with Palestinians and leftists. They hung around the fringes handing out leaflets encouraging people to protest black Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, who was speaking in nearhy Syracuse that evening. Farrakhan, a black demagogue who is openly anti-Semitic, shouldn't be underestimated as a threat to Jews and blacks, but neither can he be equated to Kahane, a Zionist state terrorist with blood on his hands. Jewish students who say they oppose Kahane but were too fainthearted to demonstrate against him should ponder what happened in Syracuse: people who claim to be anti-racists protested Farrakhan alongside a fascistic JDL offshoot, the JDO, whose Führer Mordechai Levy announced plans to show up with an armed goon squad, and threatened every black person who attended Farrakhan's talk. One older hlack man coolly faced him down: "Look mister, I liberated Belsen in World War II, so don't call me anti-Semitic."

The Cornell demonstrators against Kahane were a united front among different viewpoints. The Palestinian nationalist participants were themselves somewhat heterogeneous. Some vociferously argued, in response to the SYC's leaflet, that joint class struggle of Arab and Hehrew-speaking workers is impossible and that "communist revolution just doesn't apply to the Near East," and even, outrageously, said outright that they opposed the struggle to free Mordechai Vanunu because "he's an Israeli Jew." But others signed petitions circulated by the SYC demanding the immediate release of Vanunu, the courageous nuclear technician who revealed to the world press the massive extent of Israel's nuclear arsenal, which targets the Soviet Union as well as Israel's Arab neighbors. Vanunu has been imprisoned for over a year in solitary confinement and may face the death penalty. We say all humanity is in his debt—Free Mordechai Vanunu!

The SYC's leaflet addresscd the question of socialist revolution:

> "If they are to have a tuture, the Hebrew workers must be hroken from their Zionist rulers and exploiters and won to the cause of Palestinian national justice.... As Zionism is a deathtrap for Jews so is Palestinian nationalism for the Arahs. When the PLO ranks were heroically battling the U.S.-backed Israeli army in West Beirut, not one Arah ruler lifted a linger to defend them
>
> "The Arah/Israeli conflict is the product of the historic interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory The Zionist state was created by their forcible separation through the national expropriation of the Palestinians. There is no just democratic solution under capitalism to the claim of the Hebrew-speaking people and the dispossessed Palestinian people for the right of self-determination. This can only be achieved through a binational Palestine in a socialist federation of the Near East The urgent need is for an international workers party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the way forward to peace and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East." ■

Reefer Madness in the "High" Court

This election year, instead of a chicken in every pot the politicians can only promise a skeleton in every closet. First, we had a summer of sex and plagiarism among the Democratic Party dwarfs—Gary Hart's allegedly screwing somebody who was not his wife and Joseph Biden's swiping of speeches forced both out of the presidential nomination sweepstakes.

Now, less than a month after Robert Bork's Supreme Court nomination went up in flames in Congress, Reagan and Meese's second nominee, Douglas Ginsburg, went up in smoke over a couple of joints of marijuana.

As right-wingers shrieked in horror, Reagan swore to support Ginshurg to the bitter end. Attorney General Ed Meese, a law-and-order freak infamous for his belief that anyone charged with a crime must be guilty (now facing the music for his own business shenanigans) inquired, "You tell me that no one appointed to the Supreme Court has ever hroken the law?" (*Newsweek*, 16 November). It might have made for interesting Congressional testimony, but Nancy "just said no" and Ginsburg was gone.

The Ginsburg revelations sparked an orgy of confessions from among the remaining hopefuls and their hangers-on. Democratic presidential candidates Albert Gore and Bruce Babbitt quickly took the "high road," admitting to previous pot use before the press hounds could dig this tidbit up. Gosh—even would-be First Lady Gore has a little weed in her background (if not in her backyard). Once upon a Jefferson Airplane time, she too used to, she admits—but that was before she got religion, or at least decided to make a name for herself as a self-appointed censor of rock and roll lyrics, lest they should be suggestive of illicit substances, especially sex.

Hypocrisy? Sure. Columnist Russell Baker pointed out, "Of the many amazing things about the latest Supreme Court fiasco, the most amazing is the revelation that there are grown-up people in the United States who have never smoked marijuana" (*New York Times*, 11 Novemher). If the ruling class and their political pimps didn't feel so compelled to play "holier than thou," they wouldn't be in so much of a mess. But lying is the basic coin of bourgeois politics, a handmaiden of the program of exploitation, racism and war. America, after all, is a country where you can be sent off to die in an imperialist war before you're old enough to legally have a drink.

London Subway...

(continued from page 1)

lives with scorched lungs and burns over three-quarters of their bodies. Had the blaze erupted only an hour or two earlier, the death toll would have been ten or a hundred times higher.

This was no accident—it was wanton *murder* through negligence. The government has deliberately run down the antiquated London underground, slashing its subsidies, "privatising" maintenance and refusing to implement elementary fire detection and prevention measures. And the finger of guilt points straight to the same war criminal who ordered more than 300 young sailors aboard the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* killed in cold blood more than five years ago: Margaret Thatcher, the Ronald Reagan of Britain.

Even Thatcherite tabloids like the *Daily Express* (20 November) headlined, "They *Knew* Tube Was a Death Trap." That very day, London Regional Transport (LRT), the government agency which runs the underground system, threatened to discipline King's Cross transport workers for distributing leaflets to passengers warning of fire risks! Also on Wednesday the LRT announced it was slashing several million pounds more in expenditures, including one-third of its escalator improvement budget. In 1984, the heavily trafficked Oxford Circus station was the scene of a major fire.

As a result of Thatcher's vicious cuts in public spending in recent years, platform staff at King's Cross had been axed from 16 to 10 and the cleaning staff from 14 to 2. One maintenance worker who told the press that these old escalators required enormous amounts of grease, making them an obvious firetrap, was promptly warned by management to stop talking to the media. A project to rip out building materials covered with "black asbestos," which burns with ferocity while giving off lethal fumes, was discontinued last August when the money was diverted to "securitise" the station—i.e., to nail impoverished riders who can't pay the exorbitant fares. At the time, contractors were told by a senior LRT official: "It's a gamble, but we just have to pray there won't be a fire until March 1988 when we can start spending on this again" (*Daily Express*, 20 November).

The sole piece of firefighting apparatus on site, a 1928-model manually operated "waterfog" device, was locked behind an oak door off the machinery room beneath the escalator. The station has no emergency exits nor effective warning system, so even as passengers were trying to flee through entrances which had turned into chimneys, people continued to enter the station as passing trains dropped off passengers. Plans for a new pedestrian tunnel connecting platforms internally had been shelved for "cost considerations," so passengers trapped below were directed up another escalator to the fiery concourse.

But for the heroism of the King's Cross workers and the firefighters who arrived on the scene, the disaster would have been even worse. Scores of nurses and other medical personnel reported to nearby hospitals on their own volition. Among those who died was at least one station attendant as well as station officer Colin Townsley of Soho's "Red Watch" fire brigade, a 23-year veteran firefighter. After hearing the screams of passengers trapped below, Townsley decided to go down himself despite ordering his crew to get breathing apparatus first. For days Londoners have turned out to lay flowers for those who died, and particularly for Colin Townsley.

In her ghoulish tour of the disaster area, Thatcher cynically praised the firemen and other rescue workers. This is grotesque hypocrisy—Londoners should probably consider themselves fortunate that there were any firemen there at all, or hospitals to take the victims to. Some 800 London firefighter jobs are to be cut, while University College Hospital, a teaching hospital where most of the emergency patients were treated, is slated for closing. Across the board, the Thatcher government's cutbacks have meant death and destruction.

Press Association

Der Spiegel

Wanted for Murder! "Iron Lady" Thatcher grooved on plunging hundreds of Argentine sailors aboard the Belgrano to an icy death in 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war.

On November 13, the British satirical magazine *Private Eye* had sounded the alarm again over conditions in the London tube, citing the "vulgar policy of tarting up stations...as a cosmetic exercise," and warning, "the Underground system continues to degenerate as it is atrociously managed. New lifts and escalators fail to work, nothing is repaired, stations get more and more squalid." In the same issue, a sardonic piece headlined "Channel Ferry Arrives Drama" captured the quality of Thatcher's Britain, crowing that "A cross channel ferry, *The Spirit of Money Making*, today arrived at its destination without any major disaster occurring."

This was a reference to the *Herald of Free Enterprise*, the channel ferry which capsized last March outside Belgium's Zeebrugge harbour, killing some 134 crew members and passengers. The shipowner violated every known safety regulation, routinely overloading and regularly leaving harbours with loading doors open to cut turnaround times. And like the *Titanic*, to cut costs the ship was constructed with no vertical hulkheads, guaranteeing that it would sink as soon as it took on water. Yet the Thatcher government "inquiry" scapegoated three crew members, refusing to prosecute the company on criminal charges. The *Free Enterprise*'s parent company, P&O, owns Bovis Ltd., one of the non-union contractors hired by LRT to make the underground's escalator department more "cost effective"!

The London tube fire and channel ferry disaster are only the most recent in a series of deadly *non*-accidents. A year ago 45 oil riggers were killed when their helicopter crashed off the Shetland Islands in the North Sea, the result of known design flaws and lack of maintenance, as the oil magnates leech billions in profits out of the blood of the workforce. Imperialist decay internationally and the decrepit state of British capitalism are directly reflected in this series of disasters as they privatise the profits, "socialise" the losses and bury the victims of this inhuman system. Like Union Carbide at Bhopal, India, their main worry now is how big the insurance claims will be.

For the Thatcher government now to call a "public inquiry" around King's Cross is like calling in the arsonist to investigate the fire. During the Falklands/Malvinas war, the "Iron Lady" sank the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* in an act of sheer vindictive cruelty. Although the British war cabinet knew the *Belgrano* was outside the "war zone" and heading back to port, hundreds of Argentine sailors were sent to an icy grave anyway. The British people are now learning through bitter experience that their lives as well are cheap in the eyes of Thatcher and her henchmen.

The Labour Party will moan about Thatcher's massive budget cuts, and wag their fingers during question time in Parliament. But from waving the Union Jack during the reactionary Falklands/Malvinas war to enacting their own round of cutbacks, these fakers prop up British capitalism. The last Labour government called out the troops against striking firemen and ambulance workers. And Labour leader Neil Kinnock worked overtime to sabotage the powerful year-long miners strike of 1984-85. It will take workers revolution to sweep away the rotting edifice of British capitalism and avenge the manifold crimes of mass murderer Thatcher and her whole criminal class. ■

Smash Racist Attacks...

(continued from page 6)

and no tuition with a state-paid living stipend provided to all to make education a right rather than the bastion of race and class privilege it is today. The university administrations, watchdogs of the capitalist state, should be abolished—For student/faculty/worker control of the universities!

At UC Berkeley, more black students are entering the university, but quickly find the "ivory tower" a dungeon for minorities and flee the school in droves. The *San Francisco Examiner* (1 November) reports that the dropout rate for black students is twice that of whites and statistics show the problem is not academic standing. Instead, "student leaders say an increasing number of racist acts—both blatant and subtle—in and out of the classroom have created an uncomfortable climate for students."

Why is there an upsurge of unbridled racism on the campuses? It's a direct result of government policy, a product of the "Reagan years" (which began under racist Dixiecrat Jimmy Carter), a particularly vicious period of attacks on the union movement and unleashing of cop and Klan terror against minorities. A generation that's been force-fed anti-Soviet "Rambomania" is revved up to kill, kill, kill. But U.S. imperialism's inability to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and drag this country into a real war means that would-be Lieutenant Calleys looking for blood are restricted to the domestic front.

The working class, under sustained attack from the bosses and the government, has a powerful objective interest in smashing these racist attacks. In Madison, the Wisconsin Association of Black State Employees has called for immediate action to attack the "cancer" of "institutional racism that exists in Wisconsin today." What's needed is for students to ally with labor/black power in united class-struggle action to crush the racist thugs. As the Berkeley SYC leaflet noted in response to the "go it alone" attitude of leaders of the African Students Association in the recent protests against resurgent racism:

> "A speaker at the October 16 ASA rally said the black student's 'only ally is yourself.' This is dead wrong. During the anti-apartheid protests, students applauded when hundreds of largely black longshoremen, in disciplined formation and dressed in their union jackets, attended a South Africa rally. Organized at the point of production, the working class has the *social power* to strike at the heart of the capitalist system which breeds racial oppression.... Putting the muscle of [the] integrated, organized working class behind the fight for black freedom is key to the winning strategy of *revolutionary integrationism*—the assimilation of blacks into an egalitarian socialist society—as opposed to the despairing program of nationalist defeatism which shows no road forward for struggle against racist oppression.... The Spartacus Youth Club seeks to win anti-racist militants to the side of the working class, to help build the party necessary to lead a socialist revolution. The racist oppression endemic to this society can be eradicated only by overthrowing the capitalist system which breeds it. Smash racist attacks! Black liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

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Trotsky...

(continued from page 5)

revolution"? That policy of capitulation was rejected by Lenin in his famous April Theses which reoriented the Bolshevik Party toward the seizure of power by the proletariat. And it was this policy which laid the basis for the unification of Trotsky with Lenin and the great revolutionary events in which Stalin was not present. There is a new book on this, by Robert Slusser, with the expressive title: *Stalin in October: The Man Who Missed the Revolution.*

Stalin's policy in March, of "critical" support to the bourgeois government, was later turned into the Menshevik-Stalinist "strategy" of "two-stage revolution." And in the Spanish Civil War this formula served as the justification for strangling the revolution. But between Stalin's errors and his counter-revolutionary terror of the late 1930s, the so-called *Yezhovshchina*, there was a whole evolution. Beginning with a terrible Civil War which devastated the country [Russia], leaving the proletariat in ruins, having lost tens of thousands of its best fighters. In Europe there was the defeat of the German Revolution of 1923, leaving Soviet Russia isolated, deprived of the support of victorious revolutions in the advanced industrial countries. An anti-revolutionary policy was carried out as Stalin, together with the so-called Triumvirate and supported by a bureaucracy in the process of consolidation, usurped power. On the eve of Lenin's death, in January of 1924, a virtual coup d'état was carried out in the 13th Conference of the Communist Party, manipulating the selection of delegates so as to condemn Trotsky and the Opposition of the 46 with only three negative votes. Soon the anti-socialist thesis of "socialism in one country" was discovered, something even Stalin wouldn't have dreamed of in 1917.

Breaking later with Zinoviev and Kamenev, with whom he sympathized in October 1917, and then with Bukharin in 1928-29, the Stalin faction took over. But that wasn't enough. In the 1934 Conference of the CPSU there was wide sympathy for Kirov, party chief in Leningrad. Stalin had to eliminate another rival, this time killing him, in a murder that, as Trotsky stated, the GPU had to be aware of. They unleashed a terror not only against Trotsky and his family, but also against Stalin's former faction partners. By now there was nothing left of a workers party—it had become simply the governing apparatus of the bureaucracy. And then in the infamous Moscow Trials they piled lies upon monstrous lies to justify the extermination of all that remained of the party that had made the Revolution of 1917. This was applauded by the imperialist press, such as the *New York Times*, and by numerous social-democratic and popular-frontist intellectuals. This bloodbath, among other things, decapitated the Red Army, contributing to the collapse of the Western front in the first days after the Hitlerite invasion in 1941. And it led ultimately to the assassination of Leon Trotsky, in this very house, on 20 August 1940.

These days there are people who are demanding of Gorbachev the rehabilitation of Trotsky. Emanating from England there is a petition campaign which has collected the signatures of well-known personalities in the Labour Party, and is pushed by various ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies. In fact, a couple of days ago, *after* Gorbachev's anti-Trotskyist diatribe, they turned in a petition to the embassy of the USSR here in Mexico. *But Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks don't need to be rehabilitated.* Already 50 years ago, the Dewey Commission definitively unmasked the Moscow Trials frame-ups, and ever since Khrushchev's secret speech in 1956 nobody believes anymore that Trotsky

2c TRUTH
ABOUT THE MOSCOW TRIALS

TROTSKY BARES MOSCOW FRAUD

John Dewey Heads Mexico Inquiry

Noted Publicists Hear Trotsky; Stalinists Fear To Face Issue

HE DOES NOT CONFESS!

ONLY TRUTH CAN UNMASK FRAME-UP

Leon Trotsky

GPU Dragnet Closes On Bukharin, Rykov

Penguin Books

Trotsky doesn't need "rehabilitation"! American Trotskyists published truth about Moscow Trials frame-up (left). Trotsky testifying in Mexico before 1937 Dewey Commission, which definitively exposed Stalin's monstrous lies.

was the agent of the Mikado, the Führer and the King of England, nor that Bukharin, Zinoviev/Kamenev and Tukhachevsky were Nazi spies. So that today the Stalinist slanders against Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders *discredit the bureaucracy*. And therefore, the Kremlin chiefs are seeking to *rehabilitate themselves*.

Can the assassins rehabilitate their victims? Never! Calling on the Kremlin to "rehabilitate" Trotsky—who committed no crime, and therefore doesn't need a pardon from his executioners—implies that the Great Purges were the crazed acts of one lone man and not the work of a bureaucracy sitting atop the foundations of a proletarian state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, and which can only keep its power and privileges by means of lies. It also implies a perspective of self-reform by this bureaucracy, and abandoning the struggle for an independent Leninist-Trotskyist leadership, the key element in sweeping out the usurpers and returning Russia to the road of October. Stalin exterminated the Bolshevik Old Guard, and in particular the Trotskyist Left Opposition, for the same reason he decapitated the Spanish Revolution—to carry out his program of class collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie through the so-called "Popular Front." And only by means of a tenacious struggle for the program of Lenin and Trotsky can we put in their true place the heroes of the October Revolution.

L.Y. Leonidov

Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the 1917 October Revolution.

What is happening in the Soviet Union today is highly contradictory. On the one hand, by means of *perestroika* they are carrying out market-oriented economic reforms, thereby undermining the planned economy which is one of the fundamental conquests of the Revolution. Internationally they are seeking to conciliate imperialism, hoping to obtain an "arms control" pact and more generally to achieve a modus vivendi with imperialism. But at the same time, and in part in order to make the economic restructuring digestible, they have undertaken a policy of *glasnost*, so-called openness, in order to give the appearance, but not the reality, of a true workers democracy. This contradictory process doesn't represent a slow process of self-reform of the bureaucracy, but rather the appearance of centrifugal forces and increasingly sharp polarization. A genuine socialist renewal in the land of the Bolshevik Revolution requires a proletarian political revolution, restoring soviet democracy, reforging the economic plan in the interests of the working people, and taking up again true proletarian internationalism.

Stalin gave the planned economy a bad name. And the market-oriented reforms go against the interests of the workers. There have already been the first work stoppages—they don't dare use the word "strike" yet—in the Soviet Union: truck workers in the Kamaz factory, bus drivers in Chekhov near Moscow. There is justified resistance to a policy which slashes wages and threatens to bring back unemployment. The planned economy, even in the brutal form it was implemented by Stalin at the last minute, has made it possible for the USSR to make the gigantic leap from a peasant country to one of the great industrial and military powers of the world in the space of a few decades. It has created an economy with jobs for all, with free education and medical care, where there may be food shortages but not hunger, as in Latin America today and even for 20 million Americans. Economic planning must be freed from bureaucratic distortions, to introduce centralized planning with soviet democracy.

The Soviet archives belong to the Soviet peoples—Open the history books! This is another fundamental demand of the political revolution which is widely shared in the Soviet Union today. In contrast to what happened in Poland some years ago with the rise of Solidarność, a "union" for the Pope, President Reagan and Wall Street, in the USSR the dominant tendency is to look for a return to Lenin. In August, there was a meeting in Moscow representing hundreds of leftist circles: among them a Che Guevara Brigade. Out of this meeting came a Federation of Socialist Clubs. And although its program is a mixture of elements taken from the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the demand to open the archives, if it is carried out, would provide the possibility of seeing that in fact the policy not only of Stalin but also of his heirs, including Gorbachev himself, is not that of the Bolsheviks of Lenin's time. It's not surprising, therefore, that there are rumors of the burning of large quantities of archives. Instead of calling for "rehabilitation" of Trotsky, we demand that his works be published.

And finally, *For the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!* When the lid is lifted after six decades of total repression, you find everything, including openly anti-Semitic and fascist groups, such as *Pamyat*, or Memory, an association which seeks to combine the worst aspects of the religious obscurantism of the Russian Orthodox Church together with the excrescences of Stalinism, *under the protection of elements of the bureaucracy, including its highest levels*. At the same time, the Soviet Union faces the relentless, insistent pressure of imperialism which seeks to "roll back" revolutions from Nicaragua and Afghanistan to East Europe and the Soviet Union itself. Sacrificing the Nicaraguan Revolution, abandoning Afghanistan to the mullahs financed and supplied by the CIA, on the altar of a mythical détente with Yankee imperialism would be a blow against the defense of the Soviet Union itself.

From Kabul, where the Muslim feudalists kill teachers for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read, to Managua, where Reagan's contras kill teachers, health workers and agrarian reform specialists, defense of the USSR means a militant defense of the conquests already made and their international extension.

I would like to end with a quote from Leopold Trepper, a heroic Soviet spy and head of the Red Orchestra which did such valuable intelligence work under the Nazi boot. They warned of the German invasion of June 1941, although Stalin ignored it because he believed in his pact with Hitler. When Trepper was jailed by Stalin after the Second World War, he wrote in his memoirs:

> "Who protested? The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor .. they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did . .
>
> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

breath, but facing certain defeat in Congress the administration withdrew its $270 million contra aid request. A tax increase would only be enacted over his 'dead body, said Mr. Supply-Side Economics, yet here he is negotiating one with the Democrats. And after promising to give the liberals another Supreme Court nominee they would hate just as much, now he's nominated "pragmatic conservative" Anthony Kennedy. This is a dead duck administration which has been replaced by a Democratic caretaker government. But the remnants of the Reagan gang are still there, including the living corpse in the Oval Office.

The latest rumors are of a Thanksgiving pardon by Reagan of the key members of the National Security Council junta, including North and Poindexter. But what about Ed Meese, currently under investigation by two grand juries? As the nation's premier gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson wrote, "In a generation of swine, Ed Meese from Oakland has somehow emerged as the hoss pig" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 16 November). A pardon for the nation's "top cop"—even Nixon would've had trouble with that! Squirm as they might, they're in "deep doo-doo" (in the memorable phrase of George Bush).

With the American public consistently and decidedly opposed to *any* U.S. military intervention in Central America (witness the inventory of unsold Ollie North dolls stacked up in warehouses), the Democrats decided they had better do something to implement the Arias "peace" plan before Reagan hamhandedly provoked a revolutionary upsurge throughout the Central American tinderbox. So while Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz look on, House Democratic Speaker Jim Wright has been engaged in his own version of shuttle diplomacy. He helped Daniel Ortega craft an 11-point cease-fire proposal, then brought the Sandinista leader and the contra cardinal Obando y Bravo together in the papal nunciatura to discuss it. One Republican Senator complained that Wright's actions, making an end run around the White House and sidestepping the State Department, were "at best unseemly and at worst unconstitutional" (*Time*, 23 November). But outside the White House, nobody cared very much about the constitutionality of it all.

MacNelly/Chicago Tribune

Meanwhile the Democrats are working feverishly to outdo the Reaganites on the need for austerity in the aftermath of the Wall Street crash. The old New Deal politics of "guns and butter" has given way to more guns and no butter. But once again they have the American population to reckon with. The anti-Soviet war drive has been bipartisan policy from the start, but it has never caught on with the electorate, despite all the Rambo hype. American military intervention in Nicaragua has been consistently opposed by two-thirds of the population, not even one American in ten is for a tax increase, and the vast majority oppose the reactionary "social agenda" of the immoral minority in and around the White House.

For six years, the Reagan administration lorded it over the unions, blacks, women, gays, immigrants, the aged—all the vast majority of the American people these deeply ingrained racist reactionaries so contemptuously dismiss as "special interests." As long as the givebacks flowed and the Dow Jones rose, the bourgeoisie turned a blind eye to the pervasive corruption and incompetence of the Reagan gang. Now when they're in trouble, it's high time for the multimillion victims of Reagan reaction to turn the tables. As the Spartacist League noted in our recent conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture" (adopted September 1987):

> "The grotesque self-destruction of this rabidly right-wing regime will doubtless encourage workers to resist giveback unionism and blacks to resist racist attacks. However, the present period of a crippled right-wing government is necessarily transient, while the Democrats and their labor lieutenants will work overtime to channel opposition to 'Reaganism' into electoralism from now through November 1988. Our perspective is mobilizing the victims of the Reagan regime—centrally the organized workers movement and the black and Hispanic poor—against bourgeois reaction *at its base* while the upper echelons of the government are in some disarray and the right is demoralized."

Forge a fighting workers party to bring down Reagan and the Democrats! ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

Among those present were 16 executive board members from Cassandra's own Local 241, as well as ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge. When Seay and Bryant approached the bench with their attorney Loraine Ray, the transit unionists staged a powerful silent show of solidarity inside the courtroom, as everyone stood up. Cassandra later told *WV*, "When I turned around and saw everybody standing there, I couldn't believe it. It was really an exciting moment." One of the cops in the courtroom who carried out the attack on Cassandra turned beet red. Callie Bryant remarked, "They weren't wearing smirks *this* time."

Judge Leo Holt ordered a continuance in the case to December 22, after the prosecutor announced that not all their witnesses (i.e., the cops) were present. An enthusiastic round of applause greeted Cassandra Seay when she emerged from the courtroom. One ATU member said, "It'll be bigger next time—let's bring 1,000 people!" In a short sidewalk rally, Jackie Breckenridge told Cassandra's supporters, "On the 22nd, we have to be back here, so that means bring as many people in uniforms as you can, and your friends and your family!" Supporters collected money to continue the campaign—over $500 was pledged.

The turnout today was a powerful show of support. But the masters of the Chicago "injustice" system think they can slip this frame-up through at Christmastime. The Spartacist League calls on Chicago labor and blacks to mobilize on December 22 to bury this racist outrage for good!

Support Pours In for Cassandra

Already the Cassandra Seay case has attracted wide labor support. Telegrams have poured in from unions around the U.S., and even from Britain. As Callie Bryant said of today's mobilization, "I think really what did it was that there was a multiracial group there showing support. I think that had more impact than just the people themselves."

WV Photo

Defend the Seay family! From left: Cassandra's sons D'artagnan and David, her mother Callie Bryant, Cassandra and daughter Wendy.

From the San Francisco Bay Area, 119 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250-A at MUNI transit sent state's attorney Richard Daley a telegram protesting the legal lynching of Seay. Trade unionists in five other Bay Area unions followed suit, including IBEW, ILWU, UAW and CWA members. In New York, one hundred TWU Local 100 subway workers sent a protest to Daley, as did ATU members and officials in Atlanta and Philadelphia who were outraged at the attack on their sister and her family. UAW Local 719, at the GM Electromotive Division plant outside Chicago, wired a protest, and the president of AFSCME Local 100, representing Cleveland city employees, fired off an angry letter.

From Britain, there were protests from 35 bus drivers in Sheffield and 42 trade unionists in London Transport, demanding the charges be dropped. They noted that "We in Britain are all too familiar with police victimisation of the minority black, Asian and Irish communities." Both the Bay Area Labor Black League and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense sent telegrams of protest. A letter from the Partisan Defense Committee condemned Daley for charging "the victims of this brutal attack with assault" and demanded all charges be dropped.

Seay didn't face Chicago's racist courts alone because transit workers demanded their union come to her defense. Scores of ATU members in Locals 241 and 308 signed a motion put forward by militants in the union, calling for integrated working-class *power* to stop this racist frame-up. As a result of this pressure from the ranks, both locals posted a call throughout the city for members to show up today.

The efforts of black women bus drivers were key in bringing out transit workers for the trial. Two days before the courthouse mobilization, workers met to build for the defense at the Gentle Persuasion, a popular South Side lounge. Among those present were women drivers who led the successful struggle to smash the racist frame-up of bus driver David Johnson in 1985. Kevin Quirk, one of the transit militants who initiated today's union mobilization, pointed to the Johnson defense as the kind of labor/black power that's needed to bust the bosses' anti-labor, racist offensive. Breckenridge also spoke, recalling that in 1965 it took mass action to free his wife from a

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PRESS RELEASE

We are reporting a violent incident which contradicted the democratic principles of establishing justice and promoting the welfare of American children.

The principal and a 12 year old student of the Lower East Side International Community School were arrested November 6, 1987.

Five police officers and two detectives from the local 7th Precinct insisted on entering the school to arrest a minor aged student who allegedly assaulted and robbed three male students after school hours in the streets on the previous day. When the *principal* refused their entrance citing her constitutional rights and responsibility to protect the students in the school who are minors, she was beaten, handcuffed and forcibly removed from the school premises. These officers and plainclothesmen detectives proceeded to enter the building in search of the minor aged alleged perpetrator.

Approximately 30 or more police officers invaded the building using terrorist tactics without recognizing the teaching staff, went from class to class, subsequently arresting a twelve-year old girl, handcuffing her and forcibly removing her from the school and taking her to the 7th Precinct jail.

Justice must be administered in this uncalled violent, traumatic disruption of this school with minor aged students. Parents confidence must be restored that the principal of LESICS or any other school will not be prevented from fulfilling the administrator's responsibility to protect the rights and welfare of our children entrusted to the school's care.

WV Photo

Courageous LESICS school principal Wallie Simpson was beaten and seized by racist NYPD for defending her students. LESICS issued a press release (left) on November 16 and marched on City Hall the next day to protest cop terror.

NYC School...

(continued from page 12)

the building, she was arrested, handcuffed, and dragged by her hair into a police car and then jailed for 40 minutes without any charges being filed. A 12-year-old girl, accused of fighting and stealing belongings of boys at a neighboring school, was hauled out of her classroom and carted off to jail as classmates looked on in horror.

At a press conference November 16, parents and students denounced the police invasion of their school. Mae McGill, who has three children attending LESICS, said angrily: "we have our principal beaten, teachers threatened and our children frightened out of their wits—afraid to go to school for fear that 'those men with guns and clubs might come back'." Another parent, Ron Gibbs, stated: "We are deeply angered and outraged over the physical abuse and psychological rape which was committed against our principal and our children in this institution. We are sick and tired of this Rambo type of police activity.... In South Africa you have legalized Rambo police raids. Enough is enough." PTA head Helene Lumumba asked, "Who do we complain to? Certainly not the police."

The children were terrified. Eleven-year-old Faraji Boddie described how a uniformed cop barged into his sixth-grade classroom without knocking, as a boy pointed out two girls who were then taken away without explanation. "Everyone in the class was scared because we didn't know why they were there, if one of us would be called out next, or where they were taking the girls and why." Faraji's brother Fadaiba was chased by four cops. Genard Howard was walking down the hall when three cops came up to him. "One of them grabbed me by the collar. A second policeman pulled me away from the first policeman and he threw me up against the wall. He said, 'get out of the way.' My back was hurt. I was scared because I thought they would continue to hurt me."

To underscore the police racism, after the November 16 press conference, Kenyan long-distance runner Ibrahim Hussein was surrounded by cops and detectives who wouldn't let him leave the school, demanding to know his itinerary. Hussein recently won the New York marathon, the first black ever to do so, and had come to greet the kids at LESICS as part of a citywide tour. But while he has received a hero's welcome from black New York, ABC-TV refused to show him crossing the finish line!

At the November 17 City Hall demonstration, LESICS principal Simpson insisted that parents and children "must feel secure and know that at any given moment outside forces cannot come in and disrupt the school." Noted black attorney C. Vernon Mason called for the firing of all those responsible for the cop riot, all the way up to Koch's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward, saying: "No more invasions of our schools. No more Howard Beaches." Mason, himself a target of cop harassment for defending the surviving victims of that racist lynching, has been retained as legal counsel for the school and a civil suit is expected to be filed shortly.

In a city where the public schools have been turned into segregated prisons, Wallie Simpson stressed to *WV* that LESICS has offered children a full range of courses including five foreign languages from French to Japanese and Swahili, and a culturally diverse curriculum. Taking their cue from racist pig mayor Koch, the cops figured they could ride roughshod over the school, from the principal down to pre-kindergarten tots. But the parents who send their kids to LESICS care too much about their children to take this lying down. Mae McGill vowed that "We, the parents, teachers and concerned citizens will not let these acts go unpunished and we will not be brushed aside." Stand with the LESICS students, their teachers and parents—Keep the cops out of our schools! ■

Ku Klux Klan kidnapping.

In the days before the trial, more than 300 Chicago transit workers bought copies of the latest *Workers Vanguard*, with the back-page article "Chicago Labor Must Fight Racist Cop Terror!" In some bus barns drivers posted *WV* on bulletin boards alongside the official union call. At the Limits garage one union member wrote next to the masthead: "Try to be there. This could happen to our family. She along with her family needs our support."

Smash Racist Terror in Segregation City

Workers' solidarity with Cassandra and her family is fueled by deep anger at years of racist cop and Klan terror in Segregation City USA. Installing black Democratic Party mayor Harold Washington has done nothing to stop the nightriders in white sheets or blue uniforms. Washington was put in to *derail* struggles by black and working people, to shove the bipartisan austerity budget down their throats. Himself a target of the Klan/Nazi terrorists and hated by the notoriously racist Chicago cops, Washington betrays black Chicago as part of the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party. The fight against cop and Klan terror must be part of the fight to forge a class-struggle workers party, which can lead black and working people to victory.

The wave of terror by the nightriders in blue against working people and ghetto poor has emboldened the Klan and Nazi scum. Even as Local 308 was voting on November 10 to mobilize for the trial, a gang of Nazi trash evoked Hitler's *Kristallnacht*, shattering store windows and painting swastikas in a North Side Jewish neighborhood. When labor/black Chicago smashes the racist frame-up against Cassandra, it will be a victory for all the victims of cop and fascist terror in Chicago.

The Seay case has struck a deep chord. After years of Reagan reaction, the cowboy in the White House is now a stumbling loser, serving out his term only because he is propped up by the Democrats. Transit workers and other unionists who have had giveback contracts and mass layoffs shoved down their throats by the union tops and their "friend of labor" Democrats now see a chance to win—for Cassandra, her family and for all working people. What's necessary to reverse these attacks is hard-hitting, integrated *class struggle*. The heavily black and Hispanic ATU locals, along with other integrated unions like the teachers, are strategically placed mass organizations capable of welding the working class and ghetto poor into a powerful movement against capitalist oppression.

As ATU Local 241 militant Kevin Quirk said: "For seven long years now we've seen Reagan and the racist ruling class in this country beating down the just struggles of working people and minorities in this country much in the same way that those vicious, racist cops kicked and beat Cassandra and her mother last July 21. What we need today is for labor to fight back against Reagan, against the rulers of this country, against their racist police and courts which uphold the whole system of capitalist oppression." Chicago labor: Fight racist cop terror! All out for Cassandra Seay on December 22!

We urge *WV* readers to contribute to the defense of the Seay family. Checks should be made out to: Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant, c/o Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law, 1120 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago Transit Workers Protest Racist Cop Frame-Up

Defend Cassandra Seay!

CHICAGO, November 24—Seventy transit unionists and their supporters packed the courtroom and spilled into the halls of Cook County Circuit Court this morning, determined to stop the racist frame-up of black bus driver Cassandra Seay, her mother Callie Bryant and her two sons. Victims of a vicious beating by seven cops who invaded their home last July 21, Seay and her family now face trumped-up charges, including assault on a police officer, with possible sentences of up to 15 years in prison.

As Cassandra and her family arrived at the courthouse, they were greeted by members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (rail), chanting, "Free Cassandra Seay! Drop the Charges Now!" The transit militants carried signs reading "Old Rope, New Tree—Stop the Frame-Up!" "Drop the Charges Against Cassandra and Her Family!" and "How Long Does It Take for the Madness to End?" Before entering the courtroom Cassandra thanked her supporters and gave a short interview to the press including three TV stations and the *Chicago Defender*.

The fifth floor courtroom was jammed with ATU members, most of them black, dressed in Chicago Transit Authority uniforms or union jackets. Many waited in the hallway, unable to find even standing room in the aisles.

continued on page 10

WV Photo

Cassandra Seay (center) and her mother, Callie Bryant (in hat), surrounded by supporters from Chicago transit unions outside courthouse, November 24.

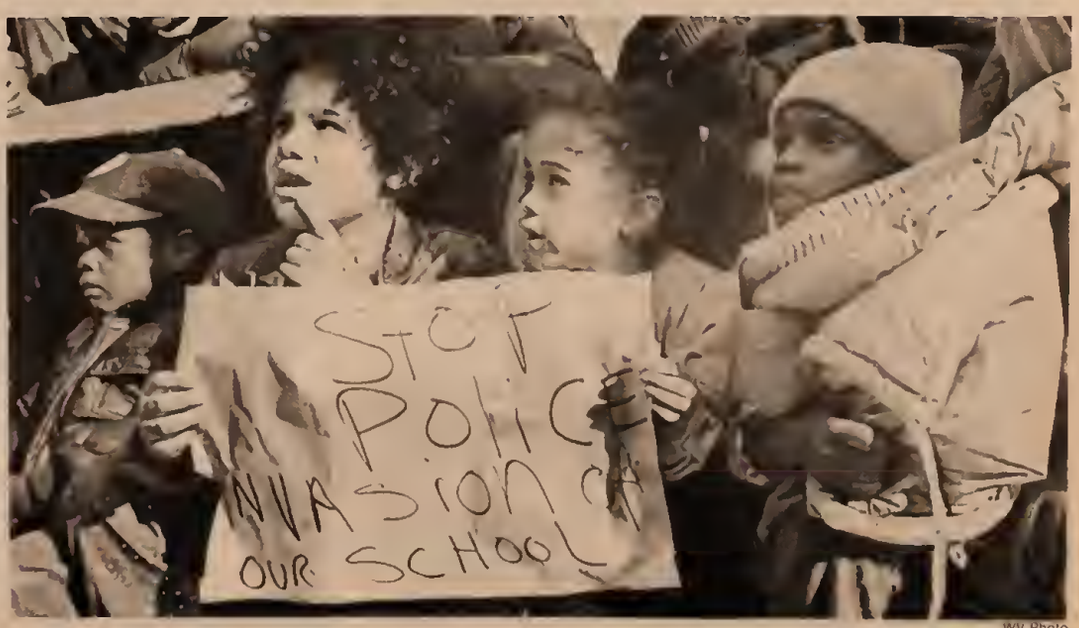
Principal Seized, Children Terrorized

Cops Invade NYC School

A lot of New Yorkers are outraged over a blatant act of police terror against the children and principal of the Lower East Side International Community School (LESICS) in Manhattan. On November 17, almost 100 out of the 160 students at LESICS, accompanied by parents and school principal Wallie Simpson, marched from the school to City Hall where they sat on the steps chanting, "We want education, stop police invasion!" and "Up with education, down with Koch!" We call on NYC labor and minorities to join them in protesting the racist cop riot which left their school in an uproar and the young students traumatized.

On the morning of Friday, November 6, some 30 cops rampaged through the small private school, whose predominantly working-class student population of pre-kindergarteners to eighth-graders is 90 percent black. Students were chased and pulled out of classrooms without explanation; one student was slammed against a wall. When principal Simpson attempted to consult the school's attorney before admitting a contingent of armed cops into

continued on page 11



WV Photo

The latest victims of NYC cop terror—defenseless minority schoolchildren terrorized in their classrooms.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 442 11 December 1987

Homeless and Hungry in America

Here comes Christmas. It's freezing outside and on the streets the homeless will be dying. On the coldest day of the year so far, a homeless man lies under a foot and a half of snow on a park bench in Lafayette Park in the shadow of the White House. In New York City, one man has frozen to death already this year. While NYC mayor Ed Koch is trying to forcibly incarcerate the city's homeless in mental institutions, the big business media is starting its cynical charity campaign for the "needy." Who will they choose as this year's most worthy "Tiny Tims"? From the thousands huddled over subway gratings against the frigid weather of Northern and Midwest cities to the tent city under an L.A. freeway, the cities of the "land of opportunity" are a landscape of destitute men, women and children discarded by a capitalist system in deep economic crisis.

Having looted the wealth produced by the working people of this country, America's rulers now throw workers out on the streets—and then try to sweep them away like so much garbage. The contrast with the unbridled greed and opulence of the rich is stark.

• On the mean streets of New York City—against the backdrop of yuppies in their BMWs, corporate raiders, inside traders and condo kings like Donald Trump flaunting their riches—are the thousands of people who live on the

continued on page 10

Lipski/Washington Post

On the coldest day of the year, a man sleeps in Lafayette Park in front of the White House.

Haiti: Election Drowned in Blood

U.S. Imperialism Hands Off!

Their backs against the wall, the Haitian masses have no choice but to fight. They have suffered grinding poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy under decades of tyranny "made in U.S.A." Today, "Papa Doc" Duvalier is dead, "Baby Doc" has fled, yet his hand-picked American-backed junta is clamping down a new dictatorship. On November 29, as people turned out to vote, the army and the Duvalierist Tonton Macoutes' thugs unleashed a massacre, slaughtering more than 80 and wounding hundreds. The election was canceled, the impotence of the "democratic opposition" revealed in this latest episode of a bloodbath that has engulfed the country. And in Washington, imperialist Democrats are calling for a new U.S. occupation. The last time the Marines came in, it took 20 years for them to leave. For the impoverished Haitian peasants, workers and poor, in this "nightmare republic," their "choice" is simple: fight or die. *It is the obligation of American workers to see that they don't fight alone!*

General Henri Namphy and the National Governing Council (CNG), the military regime installed by the U.S. to oversee the "transition to democracy" after the collapse of the terminally corrupt Duvalier dynasty in February 1986, have made it clear that they cannot be removed except by civil war. And that's what looms in Haiti today. If a 48-hour protest strike called by the unions and the bourgeois opposition drew only partial support, it is because a solid month-long general strike last summer didn't make the CNG budge. Now people are talking of "armed struggle." As the army and Macoute gangs rampage through the slums, their marauding could provoke a Port-au-Prince Commune.

continued on page 9

UPI

Election Day—Voters slaughtered at Port-au-Prince polling station.

Philly Mayors of Murder

The following letter was received from Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison. Mumia, the courageous former president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Journalists Association, was sentenced to death on frame-up cop-killing charges for his courageous defense of the Philadelphia MOVE group against the state's racist vendetta.

On November 19, four Philly cops who played key roles in the bombing of MOVE were granted tax-free disability pensions for supposedly suffering "post-traumatic stress disorder" due to their participation in the 1985 Mother's Day massacre of MOVE. Among those rewarded for murder was the cop who designed the bomb which set off the fiery inferno on the Osage Avenue house, incinerating eleven black people including five children. Yet over a dozen MOVE supporters remain in jail today, among them Ramona Africa, the only survivor of the massacre. Save Mumia! Free all the MOVE prisoners!

10 November 1987

Kudos on your latest *WV* (#439)—Your piece on a "Philly Election" was superb!

Didya ever have the feeling someone was reading your mind, and upon reading written material, feel that it was replaying those very thoughts?!? "Philly Election—Goode, Rizzo—Mayors of Murder" hit that mental mark quite accurately. Whatta piss-poor choice of a generally paltry political pack! To Blacks, the very thought of voting for Rizzo, even against Goode, smacked of racial treason. To progressive whites, and whites in general, the arch-fiend of Osage Avenue represented anathema.

Viola/Philadelphia Inquirer

Candidates Frank Rizzo and Wilson Goode: "No matter who wins, the people lose."

Once again, by choosing the players, the ruling class has decided the outcome—No matter who wins, the people lose—No matter who loses, the system wins! Ain't that a bitch? The system, by putting up that fraudulent front of fascists, played on the people's racial fears and divisions, once again. Your article did a damn good job of analysis and uncovering of the bullshit behind the Goode-Rizzo "battle"—it revealed the utter foulness of *both*!

Ona MOVE!
Long Live John Africa!
Mumia Abu-Jamal

The Pope's Maoists

25 October 1987

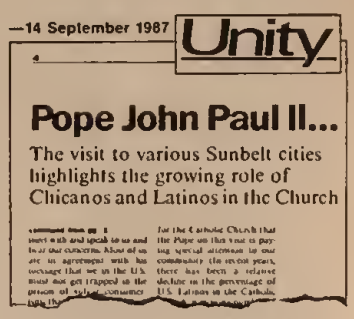
To the editor:

As a former nun who left the Catholic church during the civil rights movement, I thought *WV* readers would share my revulsion that a "left" group is trying to hitch a ride in John Paul Wojtyla's "Popemobile." *Unity*, paper of the pro-China Stalinist League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), put out a "Special Complimentary Edition on the occasion of the visit of Pope John Paul II" to the U.S. Eager to blaze new frontiers in opportunism, they bend over backward to kiss the Pope's posterior, gushing that the visit "has stirred up tremendous excitement among U.S. Catholics," that it's a "rare privilege," and: "Most of us are in agreement with his message that we in the U.S. must not get trapped in the prison of vulgar consumerism..."—in other words, eat less, pray more.

How gross can the fake-left get? Who are these guys appealing to? Who wouldn't be grossed out by their paeans of praise to a papal visit which "gives us hope that the Church will continue to heed Christ's admonition to feed the hungry, clothe the poor and seek justice for the oppressed." Twenty years ago I left the convent and the church, like thousands of others, realizing that this pillar of social reaction was the enemy of the social justice I sought. Now *Unity* wants us to believe everyone from Voltaire to Marx and Lenin had it all wrong about the Vatican. They finish up emphasizing "that we warmly greet the Pope...." Tell it to the American Indians protesting the Pope's beatification of the role of the church in enslaving and murdering the first inhabitants of North America! The Pope is widely despised among Catholic workers in the U.S., many of whom *detest* his anti-abortion, anti-contraception, anti-sex, anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-people diatribes. What next—the Inquisition Fan Club (M-L)?

The holy war against red Russia is what unites *Unity* and the Pope. This Pope is notoriously the most ravingly anti-Communist and reactionary bigot to occupy the Holy See for decades. Everywhere he goes he commits new outrages, meeting with Nazi war criminal Waldheim, making the viciously anti-Semitic and anti-woman equation between abortion and Auschwitz, etc. As for counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, of which Wojtyla, NATO and the CIA are the sinister godfathers, *Unity* adores it.

When *Unity* gushes that the church plays "an increasingly positive role in the Latino community" and that it feels "great pride" that Wojtyla deigned to



—14 September 1987 Unity

Pope John Paul II...

The visit to various Sunbelt cities highlights the growing role of Chicanos and Latinos in the Church

Stalinist LRS paper "warmly greets" Pope of counterrevolution.

visit cities in the Southwest, what it means is that it hopes kneeling to the Pope will help ingratiate the LRS with union bureaucrats in the farm workers and cannery workers unions, who cynically exploit many workers' religious beliefs for their dirty work of selling them out and chaining them to the bosses' Democratic Party. In its contempt for the working class, *Unity* believes advanced workers will never accept proletarian class politics, so these condescending saviors paternalistically feed the workers more and more backwardness. "After all, that's what they want, isn't it?" No—plenty of workers are looking for a strategy to stand up and fight, not crawl on their knees and beg for blessings from the bosses. This is a *class* question.

Communist greetings,
Janet McCullough John

TROTSKY

When Black Slaves Rose Up in Haiti

LENIN

The Haitian slave revolt and war of independence against France, from 1791 to 1804, foreshadowed the national liberation struggles of the 20th century. The black republic of Haiti was also an inspiration for slave revolts and resistance in the American antebellum South symbolized by the names Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. The Black Jacobins *by the West Indian C.L.R. James, written when he was a Trotskyist, points to the world-historic significance of the Haitian Revolution and its great leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture.*

In August 1791, after two years of the French Revolution and its repercussions in San Domingo, the slaves revolted. The struggle lasted for 12 years. The slaves defeated in turn the local whites and the soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of some 60,000 men, and a French expedition of similar size under Bonaparte's brother-in-law. The defeat of Bonaparte's expedition in 1803 resulted in the establishment of the Negro state of Haiti which has lasted to this day.

The revolt is the only successful slave revolt in history, and the odds it had to overcome is evidence of the magnitude of the interests that were involved. The transformation of slaves, trembling in hundreds before a single white man, into a people able to organise themselves and defeat the most powerful European nations of their day, is one of the great epics of revolutionary struggle and achievement.

—C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938)

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Be There! December 22, 9:00 a.m., Cook County Circuit Court

Chicago: All Out for Cassandra Seay!

CHICAGO—Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) locals representing over 10,000 workers are calling on their members to mobilize December 22 at the Circuit Court of Cook County to stop the racist frame-up of bus operator Cassandra Seay and her family. Seay, a member of ATU Local 241, and her mother Callie Bryant were viciously assaulted by seven Chicago cops who invaded the Seay home last July 21. Seay was hospitalized for over a week and missed three months of work at the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) because of severe injuries inflicted by the police.

On December 22 Seay and Bryant must go back to court for the fourth time to defend themselves from trumped-up charges thrown at them by the cops, including "assaulting a police officer." They face penalties of up to 15 years. Seay's two teenage sons, David and D'Artagnan, whose only "crime" was to witness the brutal attack on their mother and grandmother, face similar charges in juvenile court. The labor movement must not let the bosses' cops and courts destroy this innocent black family! A massive labor/black outpouring, representing every major union in the city, must answer the call issued by ATU Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (rail)!

Seventy members of the ATU locals and their supporters turned out for Seay's previous court appearance November 24, packing the courtroom and spilling into the hallway. Included in this crowd were 16 members of the Local 241 executive board and ATU International Vice President Jackie Breckenridge. When Cassandra's case was called, everyone in the courtroom (except the cops and prosecutors) stood in a silent and moving display of solidarity. After Judge Leo Holt ordered a continuance in the case, the union members pledged to return December 22 with a large turnout.

WV Photo

Cassandra Seay (right) and her daughter Wenndi at November 24 rally outside Chicago courthouse. Her coworkers and supporters demand: Drop the charges against Cassandra Seay and her family!

The campaign to defend Cassandra Seay and her family has attracted support from across the country and even from Britain. Telegrams to Cook County state's attorney Richard M. Daley demanding that all the charges be dropped have been sent by trade unionists, particularly transit workers, in the Bay Area, New York, Atlanta, Cleveland and Philadelphia, as well as London and Sheffield, England. From Cleveland, Harold Mitchell, president of Local 100 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, wrote:

> "This racist frame-up and others like it will not be tolerated by the Labor Movement *or* the Black Community.... Challenges by racist, brutal police to their victims to 'go tell Harold,' bring to mind similar incidents which occurred in Cleveland during the term of office of former 'black' Mayor Carl Stokes.... Police murder, terrorism, violence and brutality must end *now*!"

A telegram from Transport Workers Union Local 234 president Roger Tauss in Philadelphia said:

> "Transit workers around the country are incensed by the racist treatment and legal frame-up of transit worker Cassandra Seay. Do not let the Chicago legal system replace cross burning as the new symbol of racial oppression. Drop all charges immediately."

After four years under black Democratic mayor Harold Washington, recently deceased, racist attacks are rampant in Segregation City. Police superintendent Leroy Martin brags, "I've got the toughest gang in town, the Chicago Police Department" (*Chicago Tribune*, 7 November). This gang of gun thugs for the racist capitalist system is carrying out an escalating campaign of terror against working people and minorities in Chicago. For a young black man, even a misdemeanor arrest on disorderly conduct can carry a death sentence at the hands of the police. For example, young Anthony Wesley was booked on disorderly charges November 30 and dead within a few hours; the cops say he hanged himself with his jacket, but the severe bruising about his head told the real story (*Chicago Defender*, 31 November).

This racist police terror must be stopped, and only massive labor/black mobilizations can do it. *All out December 22 at 9 a.m.*, 1340 S. Michigan Avenue. Be there! ■

KKK Terror Rape in Upstate New York

Black Teenager Kidnapped

Two days after Thanksgiving, black teenager Tawana Brawley was found near her upstate New York home, trembling in a plastic bag, her body covered with excrement and the letters "KKK" scrawled across her breasts. On November 24 Tawana had been brutally kidnapped by three white men shortly after visiting a prisoner at the nearby Orange County Jail in Goshen, the scene of a Klan-style riot by prison guards two days earlier. The 15-year-old cheerleader was raped and terrorized for four days by a gang of Klan scum, including one who was wearing a badge.

The racist Dutchess County cops have done their best to cover up this hideous crime. They did nothing when Tawana's mother reported her missing. After the ordeal, the severely traumatized young woman became hysterical when questioned by two white cops. Later, when she identified two cops as having been among her attackers, the information was squelched. Tawana was only given a perfunctory physical examination and now the Dutchess County Sheriff Frederick Scoralick even questions whether a crime was committed!

The area has long been infamous for its Klan-infested state police and prison guards. The cop riot at the Goshen jail November 22 began when black and Hispanic prisoners complained about overheating and dangerously poor ventilation in their cells. The guards, some of whom donned Klan hoods, then set upon the prisoners with fire hoses and guard dogs. They forced the inmates to strip, shackled them and beat them with nightsticks and mop handles. At least two prisoners required hospital treatment, suffering head and abdominal injuries. It was after visiting one of the victims of this racist assault that Tawana Brawley was herself attacked two days later. And on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, the home of an interracial couple in nearby Peekskill was firebombed.

Noted black attorney Conrad Lynn, attorney for the Mid-Hudson region chapter of the NAACP, connected the racist atrocities to the economic situation: "There's a rise of racial bigotry, and that always happens when you're on the verge of a Great Depression," noting "the terrible riots and the lynchings of blacks after the First World War" (WBAI, 4 December). The cops and courts of American capitalism are instruments of oppression of blacks and Hispanics, and twisted racist sickos like those who raped and terrorized Tawana Brawley are doing the same "off duty." These filthy swine (who often wear blue uniforms under their white sheets) are on the wrong side of the prison bars—they ought to be put away for good!

Minority families in the Hudson Valley north of New York City face a growing racist backlash: blatant segregation by the Yonkers city council, cop riots against Hispanics in North Tarrytown, open terror against the black populations of Hudson River towns and some Catskills communities. The Klan is notoriously active among prison guards from Sing Sing to Goshen jail. And the police are no different. Rockland County is a "bedroom suburb" crawling with racist NYPD cops who don't dare live in the city they ride roughshod over every day. Last December, Jimmy Bruce Lee, whose mother is the chairman of the Ellenville NAACP, was chokeholded to death by Middletown cops. And in July two members of the New York Eight were arrested in Monroe as the police continue to hound these black militants.

Blacks in upstate New York are isolated and vulnerable. But they're close to the Big Apple. New York City labor and minorities must stand ready to come to their aid to stop the racist scum in their tracks. ■

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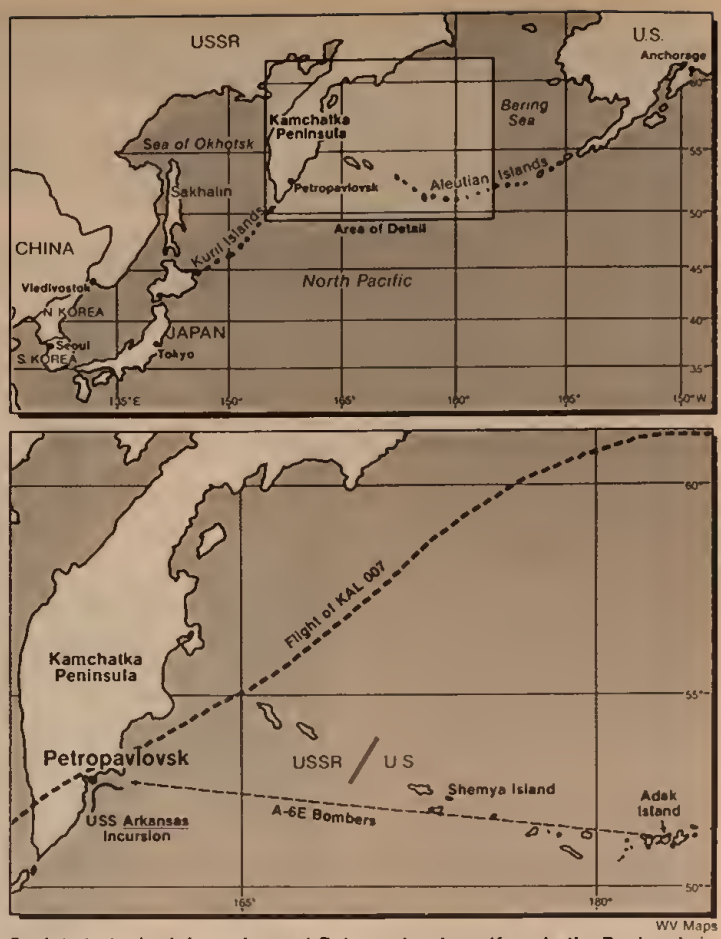

WV Maps

Soviet strategic defense base at Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka Peninsula in Far East threatened by U.S. Navy A-6E bombers based in Aleutians. The same region was invaded by U.S. guided missile cruiser Arkansas last May and overflown by KAL 007 spy plane in 1983.

Petropavlovsk, the USSR's vital naval port on Kamchatka Peninsula where almost half of the Soviet strategic nuclear deterrent force of missile-firing submarines is based, has been subjected to "mock" bombing runs by U.S. Navy jets for well over a year. As revealed in a little-noticed Associated Press report buried in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 November), the "mock attacks... are waged by A-6E bombers based on Navy-controlled Adak Island in the Aleutian island chain" and "an estimated 24 to 27 missions have taken place since spring 1986, with the most recent mock attack in late October." And in November, 10,000 U.S. sailors and airmen conducted an eight-day "exercise" with 100 planes and eleven ships in the Aleutians.

"This is the first time either [power] has used armed supersonic bombers on a heeline run toward an adversary's city," Navy officials casually observed. The Navy bombers "reportedly stop about 90 miles short" of Petropavlovsk—less than eight minutes from their targets! These provocations were begun around the time the U.S. destroyer *Caron* and guided missile cruiser *Yorktown* were invading Soviet territorial waters off Black Sea Fleet headquarters at Sevastopol, followed by the criminal U.S. bombing raid on Libya—a supposed Soviet "surrogate." The White House madmen have been deliberately yanking on the trip wires of World War III.

The Reaganauts are particularly obsessed with the Soviet Far East, which has been the focus of repeated U.S. war provocations. Last May, the guided missile cruiser *Arkansas* deliberately invaded Soviet waters at Petropavlovsk as part of a provocative "exercise" by the Third Fleet. While the Soviets responded with naval and air defense forces in a tense confrontation, the ship's captain launched a small boat so that a photographer could snap a photo of his exploits. As we wrote in *WV* No. 435 (4 September), this was a dry run for "a Pearl Harbor-style sneak attack," part of U.S. nuclear first-strike plans.

In April 1983 during Pacific "exercises" the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway* suddenly went into electronic silence, as it would in wartime, and then popped up southeast of Kamchatka, followed by a sudden "mock" attack by Navy planes which violated Soviet airspace over the Kuril archipelago. A few months later, on the night of 31 August-1 September 1983, the KAL 007 spy plane made its provocative flight across Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island, triggering Soviet defenses along the way as intended by U.S. intelligence agencies monitoring the "errant" flight, before being shot down. Just before the plane penetrated Soviet airspace at Kamchatka, it rendezvoused with a U.S. RC-135 electronic spy plane, which had flown from its base on Shemya Island in the Aleutians—about 40 minutes west of Adak Island, where the A-6E bombers are based. Petropavlovsk is clearly a top target on the imperialists' hit list.

Now Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is sitting down to sign an "arms control" treaty with President Reagan. Naive pacifists and muddle-headed Stalinists seem to think that peace is breaking out all over. But for the last 70 years, the imperialists have sought to wipe out the conquests of the October Revolution. Those Soviet radar operators staring at their screens in lonesome outposts would do well to keep their eyes peeled: when Reagan talked in 1984 about bombing Russia "in five minutes," it was no joke. ■

On the Minsk Partisans: A Correction

TASS from Sovfoto

WV No. 437 (2 October) ran a photograph of a young woman and a young man being hanged by the Nazis with a caption reading, "...fascists publicly execute young Jewish partisans in Minsk, USSR, 1941." In fact, while the young woman, Maria Bruskina, was Jewish, her comrade, Volodya Shcherbatsevich, was not.

This photograph has long been famous, depicting the first public executions on Soviet soil by the Hitlerite occupiers. But it was given particular importance because of a recent article in the *New York Times* (15 September) detailing Soviet authorities' ongoing cover-up of Maria Bruskina's Jewish identity. For years, Shcherbatsevich and Kirill Trus, two comrades executed along with her, were named in Soviet history textbooks. But Maria remained an "unknown partisan."

In fact, after an exhaustive search Soviet journalists discovered her identity and published the story in the Moscow newspaper *Trud* in 1968. But authorities in Minsk to this day refuse to recognize that the girl who walked to her execution with her head held high was a Jewish partisan. Soviet Stalinists still do not acknowledge a particular role played by Jewish fighters in the war against the German occupation.

The *Times*, however, has its own anti-Soviet ax to grind in this affair, absurdly attempting to cast the young girl as a Zionist, "the ultimate 'refusenik'." Nonsense. She was a Soviet heroine. The *Times* doesn't consider it news "fit to print" that Maria Bruskina was a Young Communist who at the age of 17 volunteered for clandestine work to free captured Red Army prisoners of war.

An article on "The Unknown Girl" by Soviet journalists Lev Arkadyev and Ada Dikhtyar (published earlier this year in *Yiddish Writers Almanac*, a collection of translations from the *Sovietish Heimland*) reported that almost all of Maria's classmates at Jewish School No. 28 in Minsk also joined the partisan movement. Indeed, in the Minsk area alone *thousands* of Jewish partisans fought under the command of the Red Army.

As a Jew, Maria Bruskina was in particular danger, subject to being shot on sight by the Nazis simply for leaving the ghetto in Minsk, as she did every day to carry out her work, disguising herself by dying her hair blonde. When an informer exposed them to the Nazis, Maria and eleven of her Communist comrades were arrested, tortured and murdered by the Nazi beasts in public hangings on the streets of Minsk.

Maria and her comrades died as fighters. More than a million Soviet citizens were slaughtered by the Nazis simply because they were Jews, including the victims of the infamous massacre at Babi Yar. But the Stalinist bureaucrats, purveyors of Great Russian chauvinism, refuse to acknowledge that Jews were singled out as special targets of the Nazi Holocaust.

The October Revolution smashed the tsarist Black Hundreds who terrorized the ghettos with their murderous pogroms. Yet in order to crush oppositionists such as Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and other Bolshevik leaders, Stalin revived anti-Semitism. Shamefully, this scourge is raising its head again today in the form of the fascistic association *Pamyat* (Memory). Protected by elements of the bureaucracy, such groupings are a counterrevolutionary threat to the conquests of October.

The *New York Times* rants about Soviet anti-Semitism, but itself joined in covering up the extensive employment of Nazi war criminals by American imperialism in its anti-Soviet Cold War. It also ignores the fact that the Soviet Union eventually provided refuge for Jews fleeing the Holocaust (while the U.S. kept its doors tightly shut) and it was the Red Army and the Soviet peoples who heroically fought and defeated the Nazis.

"Free Enterprise" Kills

AP

Denver, November 15—Continental airliner, owned by vicious union-buster Frank Lorenzo, flipped over on runway, killing 28 passengers. There were numerous public warnings that this model DC-9 was unsafe in icy conditions.

Death on the Runways

The first snowstorm of the season hit Denver's Stapleton airport November 15 with 40 mile-per-hour winds, subfreezing temperatures and blinding swirls which cut visibility to one-eighth of a mile. Two of the four main runways were closed, major airlines like TWA cancelled many flights. In theory, a pilot has the right to refuse to take off in such unsafe conditions. But the men in the cockpit of Flight 1713 worked for Continental Airlines, which broke the pilots' union four years ago. So the DC-9 with 82 people on board rolled down the runway, lifted off for a few seconds, then rolled violently to the right, then back to the left, clipping a wing in the process, then flipped completely over and skidded 1,200 feet, breaking into three big pieces along the way.

The control tower at Stapleton could not even see the wreckage of the plane in the storm. Many of the survivors were trapped for hours into the night, hanging upside down strapped into their seats as rescuers fought in sub-freezing temperatures to pull them from the tangled metal dripping with explosive jet fuel. One such victim, David Daniel, was pressed against his 26-year-old wife Tami's back for *six hours* in the numbing cold—he heard her whisper, "I love you, hang on," and then felt her go limp as she died (*Daily News*, 18 November). This was not an "accident"—28 people were murdered by "the magic of the marketplace."

These disasters have become so commonplace that even establishment papers like the *Los Angeles Times* (17 November) are starting to delicately mention "the Reagan Administration's widely perceived shortcomings in management of the deregulated airline industry." Indeed, investigators for the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) were gathering last week in Detroit for hearings on last August's crash of a Northwest Airlines jet, in which 156 people died, when they were suddenly dispatched to Denver for the latest tragedy. In the first nine months of this year alone "near misses" in the air have shot up 50 percent. On December 1 a Delta 737 nearly taxied into a United Airlines jumbo jet taking off from L.A. International Airport. Two days later there were four traffic incidents at LAX, one plane missing another by 35 feet!

"Free enterprise" has created a jungle of air traffic far beyond what the system can reasonably handle: "On a typical evening at Chicago's O'Hare International," notes the L.A. *Times*, "roughly 70 takeoffs and landings were scheduled between 6 o'clock and 6:15.... The nation's aviation system is pressed to the limit." The system has been doubly strapped by Reagan's firing of all 11,400 PATCO air traffic controllers during their 1981 strike. The high-tech Reaganauts expected to be bailed out by a $12 billion computerization plan for the air traffic system, but like the "Star Wars" scheme, it fizzled—the system is years behind schedule. Instead, they have created pandemonium in the skies, something like an amusement park bumper cars ride, but with deadly consequences.

And so the drumbeat for more and more profits, completely unrestrained in this era of government deregulation, continues to pile up the bodies. The airline pilot who decided to take his chances in that Denver snowstorm was pulling the throttle for profit-hungry Continental Airlines, owned by takeover artist Frank Lorenzo, who with the help of bankruptcy laws in 1983 cut Continental pilots' wages in half and then smashed their strike. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (24 July) is disturbed by the resulting "chaos" at Continental, where managers "have to cajole overworked crews to fly on their days off." Lorenzo, of course, was only following the example of President Reagan, whose destruction of PATCO set the tone for the union-busting '80s.

Continental has become notorious as one of the worst airlines in America. Last July the federal government announced it led the list in passenger complaints. In a recent survey, 52 percent of airline pilots named Continental as the company least concerned about safety, followed by Eastern (also controlled by Lorenzo). Investigations following the Denver crash are focusing on the lack of experience of the cockpit crew. Last year Continental paid a $402,000 fine for safety violations, including improper pilot training. Yet only a few months ago Continental was ballyhooed as the high-flying paragon of union-free enterprise in the skies. The deaths in Denver are really an indictment of the whole profit-driven capitalist system.

Ghost of Crashes Past

"I have to suspect ice," was the comment of Richard Shevell, one of the designers of the DC-9, after the latest crash in Denver. The 21-year-old plane lacked a critical modern feature: extending wing slats on the forward edge of the wings which provide extra lift on takeoff. After a crash in 1985 the NTSB had issued a prophetic warning: "Aircraft without leading edge devices are more sensitive to even light amounts of airfoil ice, which may not always be visibly detectable and which may accumulate during pretakeoff taxi operations." This Continental DC-9 had sat for *23 minutes* in a snowstorm waiting for takeoff permission from the control tower. Air turbulence from a wide-body jet landing on a parallel runway may have added to the takeoff difficulties.

It appeared to be an eerie replay of the 1982 Air Florida tragedy in which a Boeing 737 crashed into the Potomac River, killing 78. In that case, after routine de-icing the plane had waited 49 minutes in a snowstorm until takeoff. Months earlier a British aviation official had issued a warning letter that the Boeing 737 was "unusually sensitive" to wing contamination. In fact, the manufacturer had known of the 737's vulnerability to snow and ice coating ever since it was flight-tested in the early '70s. But advertising such shortcomings does not sell airplanes, and maximum profit is the "bottom line." After the 1982 crash, the NTSB had recommended that deicing take place at most 20 minutes before takeoff, but the Federal Aviation Administration—ever sensitive to the "needs" of business—ruled in favor of no time limit.

With the feverish growth of airline travel since deregulation, the number of passengers is up by almost half in the last five years. Today many airports face 20 percent more air traffic but "there are 26 percent fewer fully qualified controllers" (*Newsweek*, 23 November). Controllers work six-day weeks and often must forego vacations. Things are so bad that this workforce, many of whom scabbed on the 1981 strike, are now seeking a new union for themselves. Some Congressmen are pushing for rehiring the fired PATCO workers, but the Reaganauts are "standing tall" against such obvious necessities. (Reagan has Air Force jets and Marine helicopters to protect him from stray aircraft when he's in the air, but the rest of us are not so fortunate.)

And don't forget Elizabeth Dole, just-resigned Transportation Secretary and wife of the Republican presidential candidate, who helped make air travel what it is today. But deregulation was a bipartisan affair: it began not in the Reagan years but under Democratic president Carter, with the 1978 Airline Deregulation Act sponsored by Democratic Senators Edward Kennedy and Howard Cannon. The game plan to destroy PATCO was also drawn up by the Carter administration—Reagan merely implemented it. Today the two parties of big business sit down together to draw up austerity budgets which will mean more sacrifices for millions. And in order to make the federal deficit look smaller, the government continues to sit on $5.6 billion accumulated in the Airport and Airway Trust Fund.

John J. Nance, a professional pilot with 10,000 hours experience flying for the Air Force and Braniff International, has documented the decline of air safety in the deregulation years in his book *Blind Trust* (1986). "The system was not adequately safe in 1978," he admits, but at least the major airlines kept operational safety levels above federal minimums by passing on the costs to ticket prices, so that many flights consisted of business executives on expense accounts. But under today's cutthroat competition, the "safety buffer...is being thinned drastically and dangerously by the free-market forces of cost accountability unleashed by deregulation." The result: crashes are skyrocketing. The solution is not simply a reversal of deregulation, bringing back monopoly price-fixing, but going to the root of this disaster-prone system.

Under capitalism profits are paid for in blood, literally. If the labor movement had stood fast with the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 by *shutting down the airports*, Reagan's anti-union offensive would have been stymied and we'd all be a lot safer now. But the labor bureaucracy shrank from the task. As we wrote in "Reagan's Deadly Skies" (*WV* No. 383, 12 July 1985): "But the development of air transportation requires the highest level of human skill, technology and coordination, while cutthroat competition produces fiery disaster. In a concentrated form, the life-and-death question of air safety demonstrates the need for international planning in a socialist society."■

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.
Our next issue will be dated January 1.

Spartacist League/U.S. Holds Eighth National Conference

Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture

The Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S., the highest body of our democratic-centralist organization, was held in New York, September 18-20. The political situation confronting the conference was the end of the Reagan years coming with the Iran/Contragate scandal. The main conference document, "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture," noted:

> "Surveying our work during the Reagan years, the striking incongruity is our small size. For we are, more visibly than before, the nucleus of America's communist party, which defends the Soviet Union, combats fascist proliferation through mass action, champions science and culture, defends America's class-war prisoners, retrieves the lessons of class struggle that built the unions, and so on."

The years of Reagan reaction have seen some of the most wanton and vicious attacks on virtually every oppressed sector of the population, generating much social tinder. Since Contragate we have seen a heightened receptivity to our propaganda for class struggle to bring down Reagan, shown for example by the success of this fall's *WV* subscription drive (see *WV* No. 439, 30 October, for a discussion of the sub drive).

On the domestic front the conference was pretty much a nuts and bolts working body seeking to expand and consolidate areas of party work. This was reflected through commissions on labor/black, defense and youth work. The conference was prepared by a three-month period of internal discussion (somewhat unusually for us, the draft document was available on time at the beginning of pre-conference discussion). Debate took place in the party branches and in writing through the internal discussion bulletin. An additional bulletin published by the International Secretariat ("On the German, Jewish and Russian Questions—Reforge the TLD!") dealt with the reconstitution of our tendency's German section. Additional contributions to the conference discussion were included in the delegates' packets, while other materials were distributed to conference working commissions. These covered a wide range including reports on regional and black work, a debate on the limits of post-Civil War Reconstruction and several contributions to a discussion led by the SL Medical Commission on the AIDS witchhunt.

In a formal sense, the main business before the conference was to debate and vote on "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture" and to elect a Central Committee. Anticipating broad agreement within the party on the main thrust of the document, we took the unusual step of making the draft available for public sale immediately, to enrich the discussion with contributions from ex-members and other non-party supporters. (Copies of the SL conference document can be obtained by sending $5 to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.)

The document concentrated on what's new in the world—essentially, from our standpoint, two things. First was the "Russian question" today, with the rapidly developing and highly contradictory phenomenon of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union. Things have moved so quickly that the "Gorbachev's Russia" section of the document already seemed somewhat stale when the conference was held (for an evaluation of recent events, see especially "Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," *WV* No. 434, 7 August, and "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" *WV* No. 440, 13 November). The bureaucracy in Gorbachev's Russia—a ruling caste administering a degenerated workers state, lineally descended from Stalin's destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party—nevertheless responds to a somewhat different sociology and cultural level than that of Stalin's Russia.

Second, on the domestic terrain, the document argues that the Reagan regime has definitively come to an end over the so-called Iran/Contragate scandal, but that in the absence of any upsurge of union struggle or massive social upheaval, the reactionary and racist social climate termed "Reagan reaction" will not just go away. As far as the Spartacist League is concerned, the document argues that the party, although not devoid of worrisome symptoms, has emerged in a good position to take advantage of the new openings for our politics likely to be presented.

The proposal to publish an issue of *Spartacist* devoted to the "Russian question" became a major focus of the conference. The table of contents was a hot topic in the main sessions, at the most heavily attended commission meeting, and at the meeting of the International Secretariat (I.S.) held the day after the conference, taking advantage of the presence of leading comrades from our French, British, Australian and Canadian sections. Comrades who have visited the Soviet Union during the past several years enriched the discussion with their observations.

MacNelly/Chicago Tribune

A rich and lively point at the conference reviewed the timing of the call for the Fourth International, weighing the magnitude and character of the 1933 defeat in Germany (Hitler's rise to power essentially unopposed by the powerful German workers movement) against the impact on the workers movement internationally of the *popular front*, codified at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, whose opportunist legacy is still with us today. The discussion stressed Trotsky's recognition in *The Revolution Betrayed* that Thermidor, the Stalinist political counterrevolution, occurred in 1924 and was politically expressed that same year in the anti-Leninist slogan of "socialism in one country." The conference passed a motion directing comrades' attention to "The Evolution of the Comintern"—a document from the first International Conference for the Fourth International—which points out that, after 1924, "The Comintern, created to be an instrument of world revolution, now became the tool for the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy." This discussion was not conclusive nor was it meant to be. Rather it was to feed into a broader international discussion, similar to a discussion on the Trotskyists in World War II held at the eighth plenum of the Spartacist tendency's International Executive Committee in 1985 (see *Spartacist* No. 38-39, Summer 1986).

The American conference and the I.S. meeting also took up the question of the recent intervention of Indian troops in Sri Lanka. Spurred by a very thoughtful contribution to the pre-conference discussion, some comrades suggested a more pointed line. What was proposed to the international for consideration was the slogan, "Indian troops out of Eelam!", which must be linked to the call for "workers to power." The situation is complicated and bloody and becomes more so every day. The concerns which shape our line are the Sinhalese-chauvinist government's violent oppression of the Tamil people, the gulf separating proletarian revolutionists from the genocidal Tamil nationalists, and opposition to the hegemonic move by the Indian government, in the context of the relationship of international forces.

The conference voted to adopt "Toward Revolutionary Conjuncture" with three substantive changes (minor and stylistic points were referred to an editing commission). These were: an additional section on "Deng's China and Political Revolution" (see *Spartacist* No. 41-42, which *WV* subscribers will receive along with this issue of *WV*); a pair of amendments to the "Gorbachev's Russia" section which are incorporated in the revised document section also published in the new *Spartacist*; and an amendment on black nationalism.

Revolution and Truth

The main conference document drew a response from two outfits buzzing around the pro-Democratic Party popular front: Irwin Silber's Stalinoid *Frontline* (20 July) and the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party (*Working Class Opposition*, September 1987). Although from somewhat different parts of the reformist spectrum, both share a capacity for the most fatuous dishonesty about themselves and willful lies about us. For the Frontliners, even the Khrushchev revelations were too honest—they sent Silber running straight into the Democratic Party. As for the Morenoites, theirs is an organization of political swindlers, made in the image of their late *lider máximo*, Nahuel Moreno, a notorious chameleon, cheat and thief. That our document told the truth about the problems our small revolutionary organization has faced during the Reagan years has both outfits ecstatically proclaiming the supposed imminent demise of the Spartacist League.

Both the Morenoites and Silberites seize upon a statement SL/U.S. national chairman Jim Robertson made to the New York local executive in October 1986 that: "...only a stupid person would join an organization like ours at the present time." In the Reagan years, even among the advanced layers of black workers and others who have been eagerly buying the Spartacist press, there was a keen awareness of the negative consequences of joining a small revolutionary Marxist organization which has increasingly stood out as the hard communist opposition in Cold War North America. The hideous MOVE massacre in Philadelphia drove home in blood and fire what the rulers of this country intend to do to anyone who steps out of line. But for the "dizzy with success" Stalinoids and the "ever deepening radicalization" fake-Trotskyists, facing reality squarely is a crime against nature. For them, lying is a method—and it's not enough to do it, you've got to live it and *love* it.

Flowing from our estimation of the period were certain tasks centering on

WV Photo

The vanguard party must be a "tribune of the people." Spartacist supporter Richard Bradley tore down Confederate flag, symbol of slavocracy and KKK lynchers, from San Francisco Civic Center.

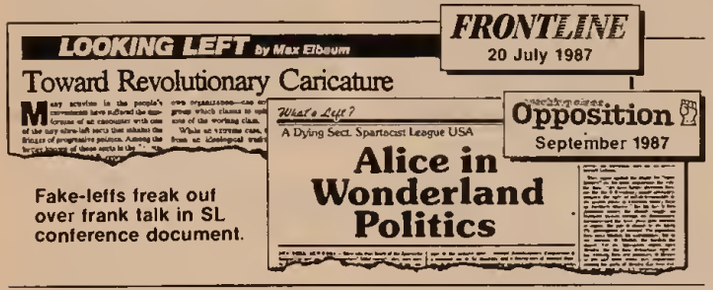
the understanding that the party's role as a "tribune of the people" (Lenin's phrase to describe the vanguard's obligation to champion the special needs of all the oppressed as an integral part of the working-class struggle against capitalism) could draw around us advanced elements not presently willing or able to join a small socialist cadre organization. The founding of the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the SF Bay Area as an activist organization of struggle against racist oppression reflected this perspective. Similarly, the non-sectarian legal defense work of the Partisan Defense Committee has been warmly received. The impressive legal initiatives of the SL and PDC have included a successful suit against the FBI's equation of political dissent with "terrorism" and a challenge to the efforts of "creationists" to impose religious bigotry on the public schools. In this period, the PDC has become a living defense organization with a monthly column in *WV*, its own newsletter and 75 sustaining contributors.

As a *fighting propaganda group*, we have sought to intersect the outbursts of sharp class struggle which have stood out against the background of "givebacks." We have distributed to strikers many tens of thousands of our supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," which argues the futility of labor seeking to play by the bosses' union-busting rules. At the same time, through the successful anti-fascist mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League, we have sought to provide the working people and black masses of this country with avenues to fight back against racism and all-sided bourgeois reaction.

Throughout the Reagan years our organization looked for openings to advance our program. And we have been pretty bold, especially as brought

Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense built demonstration against racist segregation of workforce at San Francisco General Hospital, December 1985.

laboration must combat the idea that *class struggle* is the alternative—that with the American bourgeoisie embarrassed and divided, *now* is the time for a union offensive to "take back the givebacks," *now* is the time when powerful mobilizations of integrated labor organizations and minority communities can reverse the rising line of racist violence. What are the obstacles to such a fightback? Primarily, a labor "leadership" which has shackled labor's power to the bosses (and the Democrats), and would rather go under than rock the boat, particularly at an unstable conjuncture like the present. In the absence of major social struggles, certainly many black workers and others targeted by Reagan reaction are going to do what Jesse Jackson tells them to do next election day, and not what we tell them. Yet we suspect most of these people are a lot less "fired up" about the


LOOKING LEFT by Max Elbaum

Toward Revolutionary Caricature

FRONTLINE
20 July 1987

What's Left?
A Dying Sect, Spartacist League USA

Opposition
September 1987

Alice in Wonderland Politics

Fake-lefts freak out over frank talk in SL conference document.

home in our leadership of the 5,000-strong mobilization of black unionists and youth that stopped the Klan from marching in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982. While showing the SL's ability under unusual circumstances to play the role of a small mass party leading vanguard layers of the working people, this political success was not consolidated in membership growth. (In the aftermath of that event, we observed that if this kept up we'd be in danger of becoming "a mass party with no members.")

Contrast this with the sorry record of our opponents from the popular-frontist milieu which Silber and the IWP, in their own ways, speak for. These outfits are endlessly prating about how the anti-Reagan fightback of the masses is daily increasing; indeed anyone who in 1983 believed the American fake-left press would have had no doubt that Walter Mondale was about to be elected president. Behind this cynicism, they all share a secret program which, though wrong, has the virtue of simplicity: that until or unless the Democrats recapture the White House in '88, everything is *hopeless* and the only thing to do is take more and more political dives in hopes of getting closer to Jesse Jackson.

The Silberites are among the most devoted (if hardly the largest) peddlers of the idea that Jesse Jackson and the Democrats in general are the alternative to discredited Reaganism. The purveyors of "Rainbow"-style class collaboration must combat the idea that *class struggle* is the alternative—that with the American bourgeoisie embarrassed and divided, *now* is the time for a union offensive to "take back the givebacks," *now* is the time when powerful mobilizations of integrated labor organizations and minority communities can reverse the rising line of racist violence. What are the obstacles to such a fightback? Primarily, a labor "leadership" which has shackled labor's power to the bosses (and the Democrats), and would rather go under than rock the boat, particularly at an unstable conjuncture like the present. In the absence of major social struggles, certainly many black workers and others targeted by Reagan reaction are going to do what Jesse Jackson tells them to do next election day, and not what we tell them. Yet we suspect most of these people are a lot less "fired up" about the merits of Jackson and the Dems—whose "strategy" is to be politically indistinguishable from Reagan insofar as possible—than the Silberites are.

Now let's look at the purported crisis of the Spartacist League. Speaking to the New York local executive committee on 25 October 1986, comrade Robertson emphasized the contradictory aspects of the "Reagan years" which give rise to frustration and friction in the party. His observations are as a matter of fact revealing of the difference between us and our popular-frontist opponents:

> "Basically around here nobody is joining. And rightly so, because we don't want to recruit stupid people. And only a stupid person would join an organization like ours at the present time.
>
> "Let me hasten to add that America is a very large and disparate place. There are all kinds of pockets and unevenness.... I've been screaming ever since the Yanks were jerked out of Saigon that this country is really unstable. But it is a very powerful, very stable country which is unstable. In any 30-day period this country can be turned around...."

It wasn't much more than 30 days after this speech that Iran/Contragate blew up. And when Ben Linder, a young American volunteer working on rural electrification in Nicaragua, was murdered by Reagan's contras, the war "came home" to America, becoming an active issue for many of the millions who already viewed Reagan's adventures in Nicaragua with a very suspicious eye. Now the Wall Street crash—which in one day wiped out a third of the paper value of corporate wealth—has added another dimension to the perceived instabilities of the American capitalist order.

Black and Red

As part of the pre-conference discussion a former member wrote a letter objecting to the discussion of a "70 percent black party" at our 1983 conference. The comrade questions "the substantive political difference between an approximately half black leadership and membership, which is what I thought the SL's long-standing perception of what an American workers' party should be, and th. higher figure."

Since our inception as a tendency we have recognized the struggle for black freedom as strategically key to the struggle for proletarian revolution in this country. As we wrote in "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," one of the founding documents of the Spartacist League/U.S.: "Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."

Our struggle to forge a black Trotskyist cadre is not based on some kind of arithmetical prescription or racial quota. Throughout the Reagan years, the most concentrated hatred for and opposition to the new "Cold War" and its domestic reflections has been among the black population. We expected (and still do) that our *breakthroughs* in mass work will be among black workers and youth, hence the question put to the 1983 national conference: "Are you willing to live in a 70 percent black party?" The discussion was posed when a section of the party was resistant to the tasks clearly posed by our successes in leading exemplary labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist provocations in the large Northern cities. That political struggle, which was then reviewed at the 1983 conference, had prepared us to lead the important anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C.

Recognizing that the recruitment of black communists is a *strategic* question for the American revolution, nonetheless we take our breaks where we get them. To give an example, in the 1960s we began to recruit ex-Catholics hand over fist. With the election of a Catholic president (Kennedy), there was a change in the political psychology of Catholics: they became part of the "mainstream" of American society and more susceptible to its political differentiations, including socialist politics.

Organization and Politics

Going into the Reagan years we knew that we would have our losses; at the same time the cadres of our party have stood at their posts for ten years. Overall we have emerged pretty much intact—a bit smaller, harder, older and with a fair degree of programmatic homogeneity. A very important aspect of the conference was the deliberations of the Nominating Commission, a body constituted to arrive at a slate proposal for Central Committee after hearing from all members wishing to offer arguments about general slate criteria or particular comrades proposed for CC. At our 1983 conference, we elected a CC which was quite large for our size. This year, the alternate and candidate CC lists were cut back to a more appropriate number. In the discussion, it was noted that the voice of all comrades will be heard in the discussions which shape party policy, whether or not they are on the CC. This was held up against the negative example of the pernicious "discipline of higher bodies" as practiced by the SWP in its degeneration—i.e., that discussing with members the differences within leading bodies of the organization is a violation of "discipline." Our practice is codified in our "Organizational Rules," a proposed revision of which was adopted by the conference delegates.

The relative stagnation of a decade of protracted bourgeois reaction (beginning with the resurgence of rabid anti-Sovietism under Carter) can't help but lead to certain deformations among the cadre of a communist organization. The deindustrialization of the SL (reflecting the overall savaging of the industrial workforce in America) has produced a somewhat staid social composition. Under these circumstances, it behooves an organization undergoing the intense political process of a national conference to soberly assess weaknesses that

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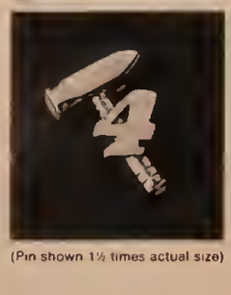

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Remember Michael Stewart

NY Transit Cops' Racist Dragnet

Decoy squad transit cops "collar" a passenger.

Davidson/Magnum

You are black or Hispanic and you're riding a packed Lexington Avenue subway at rush hour. Naturally there are no seats and you're trying to keep your halance as the train pitches around curves. It finally lurches to a stop and then—"You're under arrest!" You're charged with sexually molesting a white woman or maybe attempted grand larceny. You are now a "perp," collared by the NYC Transit Police. This is the M.O. of five white undercover transit cops who made hundreds of deliberate false arrests, mainly of black and Hispanic men, in a 12-month period during 1983-84. The victims were hauled away in handcuffs, sometimes chained to basement steampipes in the station house, waiting in jail for up to three days before being dragged into court. That's if they're lucky—they could have been killed: remember Michael Stewart!

The scandal broke last week when Thomas Dargan, a retired lieutenant from the Transit Police Internal Affairs Unit, made public his 1984 report on the cops' racist dragnet. Dargan blew the whistle when he heard about a "malicious prosecution" lawsuit filed against the city by Ronald Yeadon, a black NYC cop. Hell-bent on promotions and racking up "arrest overtime," the racist cops busted Yeadon even after he identified himself as NYPD. Charges of sexually abusing a female passenger were later dropped. In the other cases, many of the "victims" were unaware that they had been victimized or that they had pressed charges. Dargan was ordered to close the case and Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau stood by his racist enforcers in blue: "They were arresting, by and large, the right people."

The TA racist cops' targets included Robert Young, a black day-care center worker from Queens who was awarded $400,000 for false arrest on sexual abuse charges. In the first few days after Dargan's suppressed report became public some 30 victims have added their names to the list of those falsely arrested. Evidence now implicates at least nine officers who together "made 51 percent of all sexual-abuse arrests carried out by the 3,500-member force in a 16-month period," according to the *New York Times* (8 December). Most of the "collars" were made at Union Square. It was the same time, same place, where on 15 September 1983 eleven transit police fatally stomped and choked black artist Michael Stewart in full view of students watching out of dormitory windows. Six cops went on trial and all of them walked. From the TA to the D.A., the apparatus of racist state repression covered up the crime.

Koch now promises to "go after" anyone involved in a cover-up of the TA cops' dragnet. Then MTA chairman and ex-CIA spymaster Robert Kiley jumped on the bandwagon, suspending the operation of the TA's "decoy" unit amid investigations of 18 cases in which the elite undercover cops employed "aggressive enticement" to make arrests. Now U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani and the FBI are entering the case. Have the forces of racist "law and order" suddenly had a change of heart? Hardly. The New York "justice" system runs on the idea that the cops' word is the truth. TA cops getting caught out in blatantly false arrests undermines that image. A few dumb racist cops—out of more than 30,000—may twist in the wind but in New York City the bottom line is still: Koch's cops kill!

Amid the furor over this latest racist outrage, the trial of four members of the Howard Beach lynch mob is wrapping up. During the two-month long trial the black victims were subjected to never-ending character assassination and abuse while the racist murderers of black construction worker Michael Griffith have been portrayed as "youngsters" in a "turf fight." If they get off, or a slap on the wrist, it will be a green light to racist terrorists in or out of uniform. We have repeatedly insisted that a massive show of power by organized labor at the head of the black and Hispanic population is urgently needed to make the streets and subways of New York safe for all.■

SL Conference...

(continued from page 7)

have shown up and the measures taken to deal with them. It is this kind of critical review, totally alien to the hullshit-and-backstabbing school of internal political life among the lake-lefts, which gave the Morenoites and *Frontline* some quotable quotes; of course they suppressed our conclusion: that through internal political struggle when necessary, the SL/U.S. has come out of the Reagan years in pretty good shape.

But complacency is not in order. One of the benefits to the SL of the formal abandonment of Trotskyism by Jack Barnes' SWP—shaking a whole layer of remaining party veterans out into the cold (who then began writing voluminously, if from our standpoint not too accurately, about party history)—is that we were prompted to re-examine the SWP's embrace of centrism and then reformism as its program (associated with the embrace of Jack Barnes and his clique as the party's "next generation" of leaders). Our *Spartacist* No. 38-39, Summer 1986—particularly in "The SWP—A Strangled Party," the obituary of George Breitman and the text of our 1974 memorial meeting for SWP founder James P. Cannon—reviews the intersection of the aging of the SWP founding cadre with the isolation experienced during the McCarthy witchhunt.

If our cadres and leaders have gotten older at the usual rate while being only inadequately replenished by the infusion of younger forces, this underlines the importance of recruiting youth. Happily we have seen a resurgence in recruiting young people to our organization. The meeting of the youth commission reaffirmed the value of some of the younger comrades taking the opportunity to participate in some of the harvest brigades in Nicaragua this year. Additional discussion in this commission centered on leftist opponents in the U.S., even some of the smaller ones like the "Spark" group which is presently making its appearance on American campuses. That this Detroit-based semi-syndicalist group would venture onto campus at all, 20 years after its leader split from the SL on a program of "going to the workers" (i.e., turning one's back on the campuses during the height of the Vietnam War/"New Left" radicalization), suggests that even they recognize there is a new layer of students open to radical political ideas.

Today, millions of people deeply and actively hate the greedy, incompetent rulers of this country. But more than hatred is required to bring down this vicious system—that takes a revolutionary leadership. As Trotsky observed in the *Transitional Program*, the objective conditions for revolution are overripe; what is lacking is a *party* to fight for workers power. Now that the regime of the White House cowboy is in deep disarray, radical students, militant blacks, advanced workers can be won to the communist movement. In the teeth of Reagan reaction, our party has won itself a hearing among some very impressive people, but we badly need *more members*. And members don't recruit themselves; we have to go out and get them. That's a lot of what our conference was about—now, we just have to do it.■

Corrections

In the article on "Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik Revolution" in *WV* No. 441 (27 November) there were some omissions due to transmission and translation errors in the speech by Esteban Volkov. The sentence beginning "In everything the situation is becoming dangerous—the countries with a statified economy headed by bureaucracies are falling totally behind" should have ended with: "the progress, so dynamic, so innovative, being undergone by the technology of the advanced capitalist countries." And the end of the first sentence of the last paragraph should read: "whether the bureaucracy is an excrescence of a planned system, which due to the evolution of its own contradictions with the progress of the country will disappear as a privileged group or class—which is very probable."

In "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" in *WV* No. 440 (13 November) we incorrectly stated that after submitting to Stalin, Bukharin was later named editor of *Pravda*. Bukharin had been editor of *Pravda* prior to his ouster from the Politburo and Comintern leadership in 1929, he was named editor of *Izvestia* in 1934, before being executed in 1938.

In "Lutte Ouvrière Censors Trotskyist Defense of the Soviet Union" in *WV* No. 438 (16 October), we mistakenly wrote that it was a "liberal Democratic city administration" in New York which tried to break the 1968 teachers strike there. At the time, Mayor John Lindsay had been elected on a Republican/Liberal ticket. In the same issue, the article "Divided Germany and Gorbachev's Glasnost" incorrectly described Unter den Linden street in East Berlin as the former Stalinallee. Unter den Linden has always been called so; Stalinallee is now Karl-Marx-Allee.

The article "Reagan's Amerika" in *WV* No. 437 (2 October) gave the number of German Communists killed by Hitler's Holocaust as a million. While different figures have been given by various sources, *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (History of the German Workers Movement) published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Socialist Unity Party reports: "Of the roughly 300,000 members that the KPD had in 1933, about 150,000 were persecuted, jailed or sent to concentration camps. Tens of thousands of officials and members of the Party were murdered."

A box accompanying "Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia" in *WV* No. 430 (12 June) excerpting Lenin's Testament (written December 1922-January 1923) said that it had been "totally suppressed in the Soviet Union for almost 40 years" before being published in the 1961 edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*. A letter from a comrade who researched the question notes that it "was first published in 1956, in the Russian-language journal *Kommunist* (a CC organ), No. 9," and was reprinted separately as well as translated into numerous languages.

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

What then? Like the Santo Domingo commune of 1965, it would quickly be met by an imperialist "peacekeeping" force, perhaps under the auspices of the OAS, which Che Guevara aptly called a "Yankee ministry of colonics."

The Haitian masses desperately want revolution. Crowds of starving people march on food warehouses and empty their contents. Chanting "We want communism," hundreds storm the airport to prevent a notorious Macoute criminal from fleeing. In Fort Liberté protesters march with red flags complaining there's no work, electricity or running water. It's clear to all that only a struggle for power can uproot Duvalierism without Duvalier. *A bas CNG, pouvoir ouvrier!* (Down with the junta, workers to power) must be the battle cry—for a workers and peasants government! Yet the social base *inside Haiti* to sustain such a revolution is exceedingly narrow, with a tiny proletariat amid the masses of rural and urban poor. The life line for any revolutionary struggle by the working masses in Haiti must be militant proletarian-internationalist support in the imperialist centers. As American rulers talk of another Grenada invasion, American workers must demand: *U.S. imperialism hands off Haiti!*

The hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers abroad can play a key role in defending the embattled masses in Haiti by joining in struggle with their class brothers and sisters from Santo Domingo to New York, Montreal and Paris. A revolutionary struggle for national and social emancipation in that black Caribbean nation would have a real impact on the American proletariat. The common enemy is U.S. imperialism, which busts unions and sows racist terror at home while superexploiting Haitian workers at miserable wages of $3 a day and less. With Reagan on the ropes in Washington and his contras on the run in Central America, now is the time to strike a blow against the imperialist war drive. The urgent task is to forge a Leninist party to unite and lead these struggles to victory!

Duvalierism Without Duvalier

Election day in Haiti was a gruesome massacre. As voters stood in line November 29 at a school near downtown Port-au-Prince which was being used as a polling station, a mob of 50-100 soldiers and Tonton Macoutes charged at them. Dozens were killed, riddled with bullets, blown apart by grenades, dismembered with machetes. Reporters were shot, opposition radio stations were destroyed. From the slums, reported the *New York Times* (30 November), "came the alarm of the poor—terrified calls for help on whistles and conch-shell horns and the banging together of pots and pans. The pleas went on all night. But the only response was more gunfire." Particular targets were the neighborhood vigilance committees who fought against the Macoute terror in the days preceding the elections. A terrified young woman told the *San Francisco Examiner* (3 December) of a massacre of 46 civilians inside the Fort Dimanche military prison.

Such scenes were repeated at schools, churches and other voting sites around Haiti. But the rivers of blood on election day were only the culmination of a months-long massacre by the soldiers and Duvalierist thugs. Two presidential candidates were shot dead, one of them on the steps of a police station where he was demanding freedom for a political prisoner. Offices of the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) were bombed, and the plant that printed ballots was burned down. Gunmen in jeeps fired into the offices and homes of election officials and candidates. The streets of the capital were deserted at night as people stayed indoors for fear that they would become the next victims of arbitrary killings.

When mass uprisings forced Reagan to oust "Baby Doc" in February 1986 Washington was hoping it could pull off a Cory Aquino-style "people power" coup, installing a U.S.-loyal regime with a democratic façade credible enough to quell popular struggles. Key members of the CNG were former Duvalierist officers. With the junta in place, U.S. aid to Haiti was increased to $100 million and millions were poured into the army and police. The masses demanded *rache manyok* (pull up manioc—a euphemism for rooting out Duvalicrism): peasants demonstrated for land, a general strike for higher wages shook the country. But all of the regime's democratic promises were broken and new massacres began. In late June the militant CATH labor federation was outlawed and its headquarters were bombed. A month later 300 peasants were massacred by Tonton Macoutes in the pay of rural landowners outside the rural town of Jean Rabel.

To bolster its anti-Communist crusade from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, the Reagan regime (backed by liberal Democrats) has posed as a champion of "democracy" by ousting used-up dictators like Marcos and Duvalier. In Haiti, the CEP election board no less than the CNG junta was U.S.-controlled. While excluding notorious Duvalierist candidates, it okayed former World Bank official Marc Bazin, a one-time Duvalier cabinet member who was favored by the State Department. Yet the social contradictions are so acute in these lands of starvation-wage capitalism that the U.S.' local flunkeys often find they can't indulge in the "luxury" of elections, however tightly controlled. So after the flak he got from Washington for shooting up the elections, Namphy decided to call up his fellow strongman General Noriega in Panama to commiserate. Maybe next these two rogue puppets will have a conference call with Salvadoran death squad leader D'Aubuisson!

Now various liberals are calling for the U.S. to intervene militarily, either directly or through the OAS. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, Democratic Congressman Stephen Solarz, Cold War columnist Abe Rosenthal and others are calling for U.S. troops to defend "human rights" in Haiti. They are joined by various black Democrats including D.C. Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy and New York Congressman Major Owens. In Haiti, the same plea is heard from Christian Democrat Silvio Claude and IMF plutocrat Bazin.

Haitians who took to the streets of U.S. cities to protest the election massacre were not interested in any Washington-imposed "solution." In Miami they chanted, "We want Castro," and in New York City, November 30 several thousand protesters proclaimed: "No U.S. intervention, power to the people!" and "The only solution is revolution!" They eagerly snapped up over 400 copies of *Workers Vanguard* as well as *Le Bolchévik* (newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France) and other Spartacist literature. Spartacist League signs demanded: "U.S. Hands Off Haiti!" "U.S. Fleet Out of the Caribbean!" "For a Workers and Peasants Government in Haiti!" and "Macoutes to the Wall, Workers to Power!"

From Toussaint to Trotsky

The social conditions endemic to Haiti, the poorest country in the Americas, cry out for revolution. *Business Week* (7 September) reported that after the army massacred eight civilians earlier this year, popular Catholic priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide reminded his congregation that Jesus' disciples always carried swords for self-defense and asked, "What is the modern equivalent of swords?" The crowd roared, "Uzis!" In Haiti there is no lack of will to fight. Many of the courageous militants who today face the Macoute and army terror unarmed must be dreaming of Soviet AK-47s miraculously arriving from Cuba, just as the die-hard Duvalierists fear this. But to liberate the masses from hideous poverty and brutal military dictatorship will take more than guns. It will take the discipline and social weight of the international proletariat.

Juan B. Arellano/El Diario-La Prensa

Spartacists join outraged Haitian community protesting bloodbath, New York City, November 30.

The Haitian masses need not fight alone: next door, the Dominican Republic is perpetually on the verge of explosion over government austerity plans dictated by the International Monetary Fund. Today Dominican workers have an opportunity to join in revolutionary class struggle with their Haitian class brothers and sisters—and a special obligation to do so as thousands of imported Haitian laborers have toiled for years in slave conditions in the Dominican cane fields. A revolution in one half the island of Hispaniola must quickly spread to the rest of the island or be crushed, while a joint struggle could set the Caribbean aflame.

Yet today the entire Haitian left is prey to nationalism and class collaboration. The reformist United Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) ran in the phony elections, despite calls by various mass organizations grouped in the National Popular Assembly for a militant boycott of the Washington-orchestrated hoax. Various "far left" groups joined with radical Catholic priests in opposing the elections, but when the masses threw up neighborhood vigilance organizations defending the polling stations (and their own safety) against army/Macoute attacks, the left was marginal. In calling for the December 7-8 general strike, rather than giving it a clear class character the leftist CATH called for a mobilization of "workers, the unemployed, pastors, students and voodoo people." But above all they have limited themselves to the Haitian terrain.

In drawing the lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1905, Leon Trotsky first put forward the perspective of permanent revolution, which applies with burning immediacy to Haiti today:

> "Our liberal bourgeoisie comes forward as a counter-revolutionary force even before the revolutionary climax. At each critical moment, our intellectual democrats only demonstrate their impotence. The peasantry as a whole represents an elemental force in rebellion. It can be put at the service of the revolution only by a force that takes state power into its hands. The vanguard position of the working class in the revolution, the direct connection established between it and the revolutionary countryside, the attraction by which it brings the army under its influence—all this impels it inevitably to power. The complete victory of the revolution means the victory of the proletariat. This in turn means the further uninterrupted character of the revolution."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky,
> *Our Revolution* (1906)

This program was realized by the October Revolution of 1917, through the vehicle of the Bolshevik Party, forged by Lenin through sharp struggle against the Menshevik program of class collaboration with the "liberal" bourgeoisie, which was later taken over by Stalin with his treacherous dogma of "two-stage revolution." While tsarist Russia was a vast, populous country—a major European power—Haiti is a tiny half of an island in an "American lake." Thus, the need to extend the revolution internationally is all the more acute in the case of Haiti.

When Haitian peasants burn effigies of "Tonton Sam," it testifies to their understanding, however unformed, that they face not only the pathetic Haitian bourgeoisie but also their Yankee imperialist masters. When Haiti was occupied by the Marines in 1915, Charlemagne Peralte, a patriotic army officer, organized a peasant army which put up a valiant but isolated resistance to the U.S. invaders. Occupied until 1934, Haiti has been a de facto U.S. protectorate ever since, condemned to misery under the military boot. The example of Cuba next door shows the tremendous advance which social revolution can bring: the infant mortality rate there is 15 per thousand, compared to 20 in Harlem and 126 in impoverished Haiti. Yet aside from aiding a single abortive expedition by Haitian exiles in 1959, the nationalist Castro leadership has not sought to spread the revolution across the narrow Windward Passage.

Under French domination, Saint Domingue (the future Haiti), was once the richest colony in the world, supporting whole sections of the French bourgeoisie. The uprising of the Haitian masses, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, created the first black republic in history. But hemmed in by the colonialists' blockade and subjected to imperialist domination, Haiti declined into misery, the land ruined, the people destitute. Yet today the very "diaspora" of hundreds of thousands of Haitians fleeing poverty to Miami, New York, Boston and Montreal serves to give greater resonance to revolutionary struggle on the island. As we wrote at the time of the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship (*WV* No. 397, 14 February 1986):

> "...the Haitian Revolution of 1793-1804...sent shock waves through the Caribbean, inspiring slave revolts in Jamaica, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and Curaçao as well as the American South. Today, the Haitian masses, beset by decades of U.S.-imposed dictatorship and IMF-dictated starvation, can spark a revolt against capitalist wage slavery, for workers revolution throughout the region. This is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, the program of the international Spartacist tendency."■

Homeless and Hungry...

(continued from page 1)

subway trains, who lie on the street, who build fires in building entrances; families crowded into squalid, unheated SRO (single room occupancy) welfare hotel rooms and armories filled with tens of thousands of cots that look like the barracks for the shell-shocked refugees of World War II.

• In the nation's capital Nancy Reagan is haughtily planning to show off the "good life" of capitalist America to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in her gala black-tie-only fete. But Gorbachev would only have to cross Pennsylvania Avenue to see the other America, the bodies covered in newspaper which are the product of "free enterprise." While the number of homeless in Washington, D.C. has shot up more than 500 percent in the last year, Metro officials have fenced off a downtown subway station where many huddled to keep warm.

• In sunny Los Angeles with an estimated homeless population of 50,000 there was Mayor Tom Bradley's "urban camp" for the homeless. A banner read, "Soweto, USA." Surrounded by a chain link fence and with guarded entrance, some compared it to a concentration camp. But for the hundreds of men, women and children this modern-day "Hooverville" was the alternative to freezing to death on the streets of Northern and Midwest cities. This "Bradleyville" even had showers—that is until it was torn down last September.

A couple of years ago Reagan pontificated about "the homeless who are homeless, you might say by choice." This is not just the arrogant callousness of the B-grade Hollywood star in the White House. It is the statement of a system incurably debased by production for profit in which human beings are simply another commodity to be produced and maintained when times are "good" and to be gotten rid of through poverty, starvation and disease when they are no longer useful.

The homeless are an eyesore for the bourgeoisie. But it is *their* stock market which is crashing; it is *their* system which condemns millions to live in the streets; it is *their* government which is paralyzed. For the multimillioned victims of Reagan reaction and its Democratic front men, now more than ever the cry should be: Don't beg—Take it! It's yours! This country is rotten-ripe for some militant hard class struggle that can put a stop to the ever-increasing brutalization and degradation of everybody from black welfare mothers in Harlem to unemployed industrial workers in Detroit and farmers facing foreclosures in Iowa.

One Paycheck Away From Destitution

Since Black Monday, October 19, the day the stock market lost half a trillion dollars, a lot of people are scared and not just on Wall Street. Plenty of Americans are rightly worried that they could be just a paycheck away from being the body that others trip over on their way to work, the person waking up after sleeping all night on the E train. Today there are an estimated *three million* homeless in America, over 20 million hungry. Even according to official statistics 33.1 million Americans—14 percent of the population—live in poverty. According to the National Coalition for the Homeless over 500,000 children are homeless. Many never go to school, in some cases the schools won't let them because they have no permanent residence in the school's district.

As Congress axes ever more social programs, America's rulers argue that there must be something wrong with the impoverished, the hungry, the homeless. Ed Koch, the racist pig who runs New York City, says the homeless are demented. In Seattle the poor are wanted "criminals" to be tracked down, arrested and jailed under a new city ordinance against "aggressive" begging on the streets. In L.A. black Democratic Party mayor Tom Bradley sent out the notorious LAPD to tear down the cardboard shanties in the streets of "tinsel town." In Congress the Democrats wail "are there no workhouses?" as they push to "rehabilitate" the poor by shoving welfare recipients into minimum wage "workfare."

For years the Reaganites and Congressional Democrats stole lunches from the mouths of black schoolchildren to help pay for MX missiles. Cut back Medicaid for the aged. Sold government-financed low-income housing to private investors who threw out the poor and moved in the rich. Slashed welfare benefits for single mothers. Meanwhile the Republicans and Democrats are getting ready to vote some more millions in "humanitarian aid" to their "dependent contras" in Nicaragua who specialize in murdering defenseless peasant families, torching day-care centers and destroying health-care clinics.

In recent years millions of men, women and children lined up for Velveeta cheese as the government paid dairy farmers to slaughter or export their cows. Now America's rulers are congratulating themselves for cutting back the agricultural "surplus" which for several million people had provided a source of nutrition for themselves and their families. Next year the Velveeta will run out. In Fort Lauderdale a city councilman suggested spraying garbage bins with rat poison to stop the homeless and hungry foraging for food. Not since the deepest, darkest days of the 1930s Great Depression, when farm "surplus" was dumped before the eyes of starving millions, has the cruel irrationality and vicious inhumanity which is a constant feature of the capitalist system of production for profit been so glaringly exposed.

Davis/NY Post

Bograd/Public Employee Press

Billie Boggs (above) says: "Koch can't run my life for me." Grim shelters are crime-infested, disease-ridden hellholes.

New York, New York—It's a Hell of a Town

New York City—the financial capital of the world—it's "a city of beggars and limousines," as *New York Times* columnist Russell Baker put it. And homelessness is big bucks. The slumlord owners of SRO welfare hotels charge up to $100 a night for families to stay in freezing cockroach-infested rooms where they are menaced by junkies and more often than not have no access to cooking or bathing facilities. At the same time, *60,000* city-owned, low-income apartments stand vacant!

Then there are the shelters. Row after row of cots lined up in the dungeons of armories across the city. You have to sign up by 4.30 p.m. and you're thrown back out on the streets at 6:00 a.m. If you stay in the shelters you're cut off welfare. Disease is rampant. Tuberculosis, the scourge of the 19th century, is spreading. Most people don't sleep for fear of being robbed or murdered. They are preyed upon, degraded, dehumanized. No wonder most homeless prefer sleeping in the abandoned buildings, on the subways or on the streets.

But that's not so easy. As Anatole France said: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." Recently NYC city council majority leader Peter Vallone gave his own Orwellian twist to France's famous quote, declaring, "I don't care whether you're a Harvard physicist and perfectly sane or anything else, you do not have the right to occupy the sidewalk or the street. Otherwise, we have a total breakdown of law and order."

The court of Catherine the Great which erected Potemkin villages to hide the poverty of tsarist Russia doesn't hold a candle to New York City mayor Koch for sheer arrogance and viciousness. A few years ago Koch put up decals to hide the burnt-out rubble of buildings in the Bronx, which look like Dresden after the WW II firebombing. Now Hizzoner shows his "concern" for the homeless by sweeping "offensive" bag ladies off the streets of affluent, white neighborhoods like the Yupper East Side where *he* lives in Gracie Mansion. The first person targeted in the roundup ordered by the egomaniac and sociopath who runs NYC was Joyce Brown, a black woman who calls herself Billie Boggs. It was a pure vendetta. Brown had been living for the past year and a half over a cafe air vent on the Upper East Side where she had been spotted by Koch and apparently ruined his evening outing. According to columnist Sydney H. Schanberg, in May Koch went out with a team of city "outreach" workers where he picked Brown "out for the signal honor of being the first to cut the ribbon and enter his model program for keeping sidewalks clean" (*Newsday*, 6 November).

The Koch rules call for picking up anyone who poses a "foreseeable" danger to others or to themselves. Koch had determined that Brown was insane because she was unwashed, used the street as a toilet, talked to herself. But this supposedly demented woman quite rationally shot back: "Provide public facilities. Let them shower and go to the bathroom instead of saying 'you're insane' because you're on the street." "Koch can't run my life for me," she said. "My rights have been violated."

State Supreme Court judge Robert Lippman ordered Brown released from the psychiatric unit at Bellevue, noting: "She refuses to be housed in a shelter. That may reveal more about conditions in shelters than about Joyce Brown's mental state. It might, in fact, prove that she's quite sane" (*Newsday*, 17 November). Koch went nuts. The city appealed and Brown was locked up again. Now they want to perform a spinal tap on her and force her to take anti-psychotic drugs.

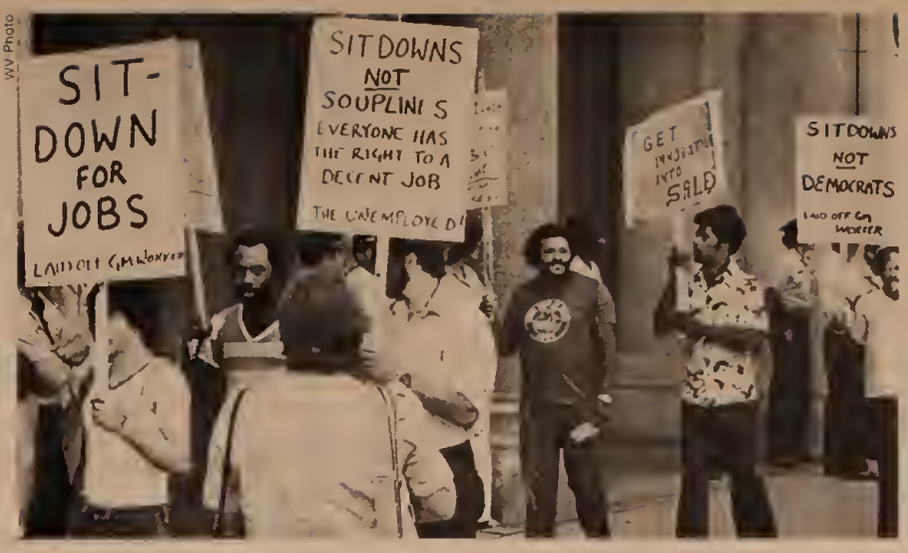
The gentrification of the inner cities which has driven the poor, working class and blacks onto the streets across the country has its own perverse pathology in New York. One slumlord paid kids $2 for each bottle of cockroaches they put under the door of an old woman he wanted evicted. Another

WV Photo

New York City, a city of luxury condos amid squalid misery.

turned pit bulls loose in a building he wanted to sell. Slumlord Zenek Poldolsky hired gangs of pimps, prostitutes, pushers and thieves to take over empty apartments and terrorize the tenants. Utilities were shut off, windows smashed, locks removed, fires set, floors flooded and apartments burglarized. But the deadliest eviction squad is the murderous NYPD, who in October 1984 blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment because she was $386 behind on her rent. Triggerman Sullivan the cop got off—and got promoted to detective.

New York has become a giant horror house of hunger, poverty and racist cop terror. And Billie Boggs has become a folk hero as many New Yorkers see Mayor Koch as a "foreseeable danger" to themselves and their loved ones. Meanwhile, Democratic Party leaders are urging Republican mega-millionaire real estate developer Donald Trump to join the Democrats: "The message Trump has been preaching is a Democratic message." And the message Citizen Trump preaches from the Xanadu of his $200 million complex on New York's Fifth Avenue is, let 'em starve in the streets. The Rockefellers own the city, Koch runs it for them and for Donald Trump, a gross example of the Reagan-era tycoons who have yet to learn to be inconspicuous and "genteel" robber barons.



Laid-off GM workers protest in Detroit, 1982. American capitalists have driven industry into the ground, throwing millions of workers onto the scrap heap.

The American Dream: A Nightmare for Blacks

Last hired, first fired, victimized and terrorized—blacks always get the worst of what this deeply racist capitalist society has to offer. Every social and economic indicator shows that life has become more and more desperate for the black "underclass." Unemployment for black men has averaged 17 percent during the "prosperous" 1980s and double that for black youth; last year nearly half of all black men were without stable full-time work. And as the number of employed black men nose-dived, the number of black families headed by single women—the poorest of the poor—skyrocketed. The U.S. census could not even *find* 20 percent of the adult black male population: joblessness, poverty, homelessness have turned them into non-persons.

Rabid bigot Ed Koch at work.

Nearly half of the poor are black, and nearly half of those are children, over 75 percent of whom live in single-parent families. Hunger has reached epidemic proportions, school dropout rates are at a record high and the black infant mortality rate of 19.2 per 1,000 is higher than many Third World countries. Every year over 40,000 black babies die before their first birthday. More and more are born with AIDS, which is rapidly spreading among users of intravenous drugs, who are heavily black and Hispanic. For those black youth who make it to adulthood without being killed or flung into jail, the only way out of the ghetto (for those who are high school graduates) is to enlist in the military—to serve as cannon fodder abroad for the imperialist rulers who have destroyed them and their families at home.

Republicans and Democrats alike maintain that the poverty of the ghetto is the fault of the blacks themselves. Two decades ago Daniel Moynihan—then a Nixon adviser, now a Democratic Senator—blamed the economic plight of blacks on "the breakdown of family values" in order to justify a policy of "benign neglect." But the hellish conditions of the ghettos are the product of *the decay of American capitalism*. During World War II millions of blacks migrated from the rural South to the booming war industries in the North and West. In the relatively prosperous 1950s, blacks—predominantly black men—made up a sizable part of the American industrial proletariat: auto workers in Detroit, steel workers in Chicago/Gary. But by 1985 black unemployment was 29.9 percent in Detroit and 24.5 percent in Chicago.

A recent article by liberal political scientist Andrew Hacker (*New York Review of Books*, 3 December) points out that in 1954, at the tail end of the Korean War boom, 75 percent of all black men were working, many in unionized, relatively well-paid jobs. Their incomes sustained the ghetto economy. Last year, only *40 percent* of black men had full-time, year-round jobs. In Chicago, where the steel industry has been gutted, a survey showed the typical homeless person is a black male high school graduate in his late 30s who has been without a job for 120 months (*Science*, 13 March 1987). That's *ten years* without work! They were laid off in the 1975-77 depression and have never been hired back.

The liberals and reformists put it all down to "Reaganism" and argue that things will change if people vote Democrat in '88. But the Democrats are trying to out-Reagan Reagan in their calls to slash poverty programs. Meanwhile the black Democratic big city mayors serve as overseers on Reagan's plantation. Atlanta's Andrew Young has set up a special cop squad to disappear the homeless from the streets of the city by creating a "vagrant free zone" around the site where the Democratic Party Convention is to be held next summer. Philadelphia's Wilson Goode, who murdered eleven black people including five children and destroyed an entire black neighborhood in the hideous 1985 MOVE massacre, hosted a "summit on the homeless"!

In Coleman Young's Detroit, there are high school drug pushers armed with Uzi submachine guns, and desperate young kids blow each other away for a few bucks. Under the shadow of the glitzy Renaissance Center there is a billboard reading, "Stop the Madness," with a young black wearing a cap with the motto, "Shoot me. I'm already dead." This was once Motor City, but greedy auto bosses have destroyed and lumpenized this center of the black proletariat, turning it into a ghetto wasteland. And the pro-Democratic Party labor traitors who head the union movement hopped on the corporate gravy train, taking seats on company boards, as mass layoffs sent their members to the soup lines. For black auto workers, UAW came to mean "U Ain't Workin'."

The horror and misery of the ghettos is rooted in the decaying racist capitalist system. While decreasingly integrated into the economy, American blacks have been forcibly segregated at the bottom. The beneficiaries of the "Great Society" programs of the 1960s are what today is called the black "middle class." In reality these are mainly white-collar workers. They have moved out of the ghettos where the blacks who were once the "industrial reserve army" of American capitalism, to be tapped when there was a labor shortage, are now a permanent "surplus population." The struggle for black equality and survival must necessarily confront—and destroy—the capitalist system which is at the root of black oppression. And it is the American working class, those who still have a job and the social power that flows from it, who must fight racial oppression, mass homelessness, hunger and poverty by breaking the chains of exploitation.

Writing about the horrid condition of housing for the families of the working class in Britain a century ago, Frederick Engels explained:

> "The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished, they are merely *shifted elsewhere*! The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself."
>
> —Frederick Engels,
> *The Housing Question* (1872)

More than 200 years after the industrial revolution, the quality of life of millions in the advanced capitalist countries and hundreds of millions in the neocolonial countries is no better than it was for serfs under feudalism. The young are denied a future, the elderly are discarded, human life is devalued and degraded. Capitalism long ago outlived its progressive role in the development of human civilization. It must be rooted out through workers revolution and replaced by a planned, collectivized economy in which the energy of humanity is devoted to satisfying the needs of humanity, and not the greed of a handful. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1987 SUBJECT INDEX

9 January to 11 December 1987 (Issues Nos. 419-442)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1987, from issue No. 419 (9 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 442 (11 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with one exception: corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Student Protests in China, #420, 23 Jan. (16, 15)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 420, 23 January, beginning on page 16 and continuing on page 15.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Drugs—See **AIDS; Civil Liberties: Cases; Sports; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that additional articles on drugs can be found by going to the subject head **AIDS**, by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategory **Cases**, by going to the subject head **SPORTS** and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles on the Iran/Contragate scandal in the Reagan administration are listed under **UNITED STATES: "Contragate"**.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C	Correction	S	Series
L	Letter	YSp	*Young Spartacus* article
R	Review		

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